

Conflicts and visions in the woods of Diana

Cultural landscape management in Ariccia, Italy

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Abstract

This research is an investigation in landscape policies to counter cultural landscape degradation in the Castelli Romani, a region of central Italy change.

In the municipality of Ariccia, well-known in the region for its policies for sustainability, two contemporaneous projects aim to restore a degraded landscape long associated with historical, natural, and cultural meaning.

The first, initiated by the municipality, seeks to recreate a wetland in the crater of Vallericcia as a response to hydrogeological instability.

The second project, initiated by a citizen movement, succeeded in rescuing a historical park on the top of a hill overlooking Vallericcia from privatisation and is currently planning its management for public use.

This research, with the European Landscape Convention as its guiding principle, is an investigation in the local dimensions of landscape management and planning, the different perceptions of landscape among local stakeholders and authorities and the driving forces behind the decisions.

In the context of the many debates on landscape in Italy, this case study will show that participation is an important level of landscape governance and that planning must take into account the views and knowledge of the local communities.

Keywords: cultural landscapes, participation, urban sprawl, peri-urban, social movements, cultural and natural heritage

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1. Introduction

The Castelli Romani (Italian for Roman castles) is a historical region of central Italy, within a thirty-minute drive from the city of Rome and its natural, cultural and historical features are unique. It has strong connections with the ancient history and religion of Rome, and as a place dramatically shaped by volcanic activity, it has always drawn attention. Celebrated by Grand Tour travellers such as Stendhal and Goethe, cultivated by the Roman nobility and papacy, its cultural landscape is rich with layers of history and tradition.

In the second half of the 20th century, with the growth of the neighbouring city of Rome, the landscape changed rapidly; the historical centres on the hills were progressively surrounded by new residential and industrial areas while the rural and agricultural landscape disappeared. Nowadays, this peri-urban region is almost unrecognisable from the landscape paintings of the 19th century and some municipalities are starting to realise that urban development is unsustainable for the landscape's resource.

Two recent projects in my municipality, Ariccia, took up my interest. Sharing in common similar goals and visions, I could not fail to notice the dissimilarity in approaches. While keeping in mind the principles of the European Landscape Convention (from here onwards, simply the Convention), I chose to investigate local phenomena of landscape planning to understand how decisions about landscape come to be and how individuals relate to the landscape they live in. The first project was initiated by a citizen movement and its purpose was to reclaim a historical hill, Colle Pardo, from a bankruptcy auction, and manage it as a multifunctional park for the citizens of Ariccia and Genzano. The second project was implemented by the municipality in the valley of Vallericcia, at the foot of Ariccia. In a valley which has lost much of its agricultural identity to urban sprawl, the municipality combined the goals of reducing hydrogeological instability and restoring a natural area, by creating a wetland.

These projects may become pilot-projects for the region but it must be assessed whether they have been conceived according in agreement with the local community and whether they can be self-sustaining on the long-term, especially in relation to the participatory aspect.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The main purpose of this research paper is to investigate the state of local landscape policies in a peri-urban region of Italy and to explore the driving forces that shape the decision-making process.

As this paper will demonstrate, there are multiple interpretations of landscapes and this causes conflicting views, sometimes leading to disaffection, contrasts and planning failures.

The main research question in this paper will be the following:

In the context of landscape policies, what are the driving forces of top-down approaches versus bottom-up approaches and what does this tell us about local landscape governance in the light of the European Landscape Convention?

To answer this main research question, I will investigate these sub-questions:

1. How are decisions about landscape management and planning among citizen movements and local municipalities made?
2. How do perceptions of cultural landscapes motivate actors and what are the driving forces behind the decision-making process?
3. In the light of the European Landscape Convention, what can these projects tell us about participatory measures and landscape policies at the local level?

1.2 Landscapes and sustainability

The industrial and post-industrial societies have accelerated land-use change and the transformation of landscapes at a pace which sometimes concerns local communities (Dramstad & Fjellstad 2011). The transformation is caused by several driving forces (Bürgi et al. 2004, 859), such as urban development and resource extraction, a change in livelihoods and socio-economic systems, resulting in a loss of traditional practices and values (Antrop 2005).

In several countries, landscape degradation has not declined despite the growing interest in sustainable landscape management (Dramstad & Fjellstad 2011, 330).

According to the Brundtland Report, the aim of sustainable development is “to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987).

A sustainable management of the landscape, which takes into account the needs of future generations, is necessary in the light of the many services that landscapes provide.

Landscapes support natural processes and resources, such as fertile soil, groundwater aquifers, local flora and fauna.

From a social perspective, landscapes are tangible and concrete cases of human-nature relations; they are social-ecological systems that reveal practices of human development and synergies with

the natural world. They are also distinctive in highlighting identities which can then contribute to a country's cultural richness (Born 2012, 79).

Valuable laboratories where traditional practices and worldviews subsist, they are repositories of cultural and historical memories, but above all, they differ in all of these aspects and provide a diversity which can encourage the search for solutions to "wicked" sustainability problems (Antrop 2005, 31; Magnaghi 2012, 136).

Moreover, landscapes are often more tangible to lay people than abstract ecological principles; their value as contexts for ecosystem services and cultural heritage could be more easily understood by the public, in the goal of increasing awareness about the environment (Dramstad & Fjellstad 2011, 331). They are also important to individuals in many different ways and correct management of landscapes can enhance or maintain the quality of life of the people who depend on them (Buijs et al. 2006, 387).

Landscapes also represent the local scale on the spectrum of action. There is an urgent need to improve the dialogue and exchange of information between scales: policies seeking to tackle global problems need to be adapted to local conditions in order for local dynamics to contribute to problem-solving at the global level (Oles & Hammarlund 2011, 481; van Oosten 2013, 661).

Present goals should be, therefore, to involve the public in landscape management and planning and to improve the knowledge exchange between local stakeholders, the different levels of administrations and experts.

2. Theory

2.1 Landscape as a concept

Landscape can be both subjective and objective (Tosco 2007, 12), in that it can be perceived on a personal level, and therefore invested with meaning, emotions and memories, as well as being a place with all of its natural and artificial characteristics that can be studied and managed as a separate entity (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 5-6).

The first definition has become increasingly important in the past decades, as the cultural value of landscapes to local communities and individuals has entered landscape studies.

This definition has a much more extended history than the objective stance, as its origins lie in the emergence of landscape in visual arts and literature in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance, culminating in the schools of *landschap* art by the Flemish and Dutch painters. Landscape in this context was largely a sensorial, spiritual and personal experience, and therefore, worthy of representation (Tosco 2007, 17-19). Another important contribution to landscape perception came

from the Romantic age, which established two categories (Buijs et al. 2006, 378): the Arcadian landscape (in which rural societies are seen as being idyllic and in harmony with nature) and the Wilderness landscape (in which the human component is absent).

The second definition, also defined as landscape as morphology, emerges more recently, alongside the establishment of scientific discipline such as history, geography, archaeology and architecture, ranging from the work of Alexander von Humboldt in the first half of the 19th century, *Kulturgeschichte* of Burkhardt and the *Annales* school in France (Tosco 2007, 42-46; 59-63), to the *Landschaftskunde* of geographers, in which landscapes became an area of study for their visual and functional dynamics and could be divided in typologies accordingly (Tosco 2007, 75-77).

The emergence of new fields, like landscape architecture and landscape planning, which rest on the engagement of the individual with the landscape (Tosco 2007, 88), and landscape ecology, in which the landscape is an ecological unit with social dimensions (Tosco 2007, 110-111), demonstrate the wide-ranging interests in this unit of research.

In the field of geography, the New Cultural Geography, with its focus on landscape as a social construct, contributed significantly to directing the studies in perspective more relevant to the social sciences (Palang et al. 2011, 344).

There is also a trend to return to an aesthetic (or hedonistic) view of landscapes (Keulartz et al. 2004), as arcadian views survive with the increasing demand for rural tourism while wilderness views are evident in the birth of initiatives such as Rewilding Europe.

Both views often originate among urban populations seeking to “re-connect” with nature and rural landscapes (Buijs et al. 2006, 379) influencing local policies (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 7).

These notions of landscape, therefore, infuse our current understanding of landscapes with their tensions, historical background and contradictions. They demonstrate that the notion of landscape permeates society’s relationship with its surroundings and they explain why landscapes are such a critical issue in this age. The case of cultural landscapes will demonstrate this point even further.

2.2. Cultural Landscapes

In 1992, the World Heritage Convention was the first organisation on a global scale to recognise the value of cultural landscapes. The Committee adopted measures to include them as a category in the World Heritage List and defined them as being “illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal” (UNESCO 2008).

Cultural landscapes are therefore the visual construction of culture, but at the same time they also influence human culture (Bürigi et al. 2004, 858), since, through signification, local communities and individuals attribute meaning to specific elements (Tosco 2007, 104).

These can include less tangible aspects such as memories and immaterial culture (Tengberg et al. 2012, 14) or aspects of rural history which have not been deemed worthy of conservation until recently, such as agricultural systems or “minor” archaeological remains (Scazzosi 2004, 339; Tosco 2007, 121).

The challenge, therefore, lies in the need to define the cultural landscape and the elements which contribute to its identity, as well as devise how these elements ought to be studied, managed and preserved.

An interdisciplinary approach, which brings together researchers of different fields, can contribute to a holistic landscape studies approach that can then in turn influence landscape management policies, by highlighting the many values of cultural landscapes, especially when they are most threatened (Antrop 2005, 22; Tosco 2007, 125).

However, due to the complexity of socio-ecological systems and the dependence of cultural landscapes’ distinctiveness on socio-economic practices, preservationist approaches for each distinctive cultural landscape on the planet, are unrealistic. Cultural landscapes are, indeed, functional landscapes, in which they also serve a productive role for man’s activities (Buijs et al. 2006, 378), activities that are sometimes intimately connected with the landscape and as threatened by change as the setting itself.

Cultural landscapes are not static entities, repositories of memories and places dedicated exclusively to the preservation of heritage; they are constantly in flux, shaped by the perception of those who live in the present, who re-interpret and re-fashion the memories of past generations and they are not only shaped by inner changes but also by natural and anthropic driving forces which are strongly influential (Antrop 2005, 25).

2.3. The European Landscape Convention – recognising new ideas about landscape in Europe

The European Landscape Convention (the full text is in Appendix 1), signed in the year 2000 in Florence by eighteen European states, is the first international legal instrument covering landscapes of its kind (Pedroli 2008, 351) and it was designed to provide a legal instrument and reference for national landscape policies and laws.

Prior to the Convention, awareness about the need to protect and manage landscapes sustainably had been shared by other major organisations, such as the World Conservation Union’s (IUCN) Parks

for Life report in 1995 and the World Heritage Organisation inclusion of landscapes in its heritage lists (though, admittedly, this only covers landscapes “of outstanding value”).

This is an international, institutional response to two trends emerging in Europe: the first is the interest of citizens across Europe in landscape conservation and management (Pinto-Correia et al. 2006, 427), the second is that European landscapes, seen as a common identity, may strengthen a sense of European identity and cohesiveness. The trends in landscape perceptions described in previous sections explain the urgency of devising legal frameworks and management policies to ensure sustainable management of Europe’s landscapes.

The Convention has been innovative in many ways, but it has especially emphasised participation as a tenet in landscape management (Art. 5c)

Its focus on awareness (Art. 6a) also implies that participation can only be effective and meaningful if governments and non-governmental organisations encourage awareness of landscape issues among stakeholders especially, but citizens in general (Sartori & Pirovano 2008, 299).

The Convention also extends the legal protection of landscapes to all typologies (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 4) a stark difference with countries where only certain types, such as landscapes of exceptional scenic value, are truly protected (Art. 2).

In establishing this, the Convention states that the management (Art. 1e) of landscapes should not be exclusively of a preservationist nature but that transformations of a social, economic and environmental nature should be recognised in a perspective of sustainable landscape development, since landscapes are especially the result of interactions between human activities and their surroundings across time, and not only scenic views or exclusively natural sites (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 5).

Overall, the Convention represents a powerful statement about landscape ethics and phenomenology, setting the agenda for a valuation of the landscape which is no longer exclusively the province of policy-makers and experts (Olwig 2007, 583; Jones & Stenseke 2011, 2).

Critiques of the Convention highlight the difficulties in its applicability and its legitimacy. The European Council is not the European Union and the Convention has only been signed by 36 countries and ratified by 30. Several EU countries have not signed it, or have signed it and not ratified it. Moreover, the Convention is not above the national constitutions, but it is rather an instrument to promote awareness about landscape values across Europe (Settis 2012, 256) as the concept of landscapes in European countries has evolved differently, generating different policies and approaches; the European Convention is not intended to replace these tools but to contribute to an understanding of shared landscape values in Europe (Scazzosi 2004, 338).

2.4. Local participation in landscape management

The discussion this far has recognised that landscapes, in their present understanding, are value-rich, in that communities and individuals share strong relationships with landscape elements, which can be cultural or natural, material or immaterial, etc.

The functional links that connect individuals to landscape are different, and a change in the understanding of how landscapes should be managed, implies a shift from expert-centred and top-down approaches to more inclusive strategies, which account for different means of valuation (Oles & Hammarlund 2011, 472), as well as integration of landscape policies with other domains, such as agriculture, rural development and infrastructure (Pedroli 2008, 351).

If we recognise the different bonds that connect local communities to a landscape (social, cultural, ecological, etc.) we will assess the value that communities and individuals attribute to the resources, as well as the capacity and interest in managing these resources sustainably and fairly (Sartori & Pirovano 2008, 299). There is, therefore, a need to recognise the interests, comparative advantages, capabilities and willingness to invest resources and time on managing the landscape among local communities and stakeholders (Selman 2004, 368).

However, the problem is that often local participation in the decision-making process regarding landscape management is not included (Mydland & Grahn 2013, 581).

Local participation should not merely an attempt to pay lip-service to ideals of 21st century democracy, but a necessity to manage local and natural resources more effectively, to facilitate the integration and implementation of international and national policies at the local level, increase commitment and awareness in the public sphere, sharing responsibility and benefits and reducing top-down approaches and intervention policies which increase management costs (Selman 2004, 366).

It has been described as a form of “co-management in resource utilization” (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 12) in which there should be no discriminations: no one, in theory, should be outside of the decision-making process. However, in landscape policies, difficulties emerge, as traditionally, decisions have been top-down and technocratic (Jones & Stenseke 2011, 15).

However, when governance does not take into account citizen participation, strife and conflict may occur. Landscapes themselves are embedded with conflict; social networks meet and overlap in the landscape. Local communities attribute value to places and landscape degradation is often the driver of collective stakeholder mobilisation when symbols of local, distinctive identity are threatened (van Oosten 2013, 662).

Within communities themselves, there are often conflicts of power over resource use and access, over ownership, often resulting in conflicts of a political nature which complicate decision-making processes (Oles & Hammarlund 2011, 481; van Oosten 2013, 663); at times, it may also be difficult to identify the “nature of community”. Different landscapes will also motivate different communities to act: NGOs, specialist communities, communities with specific interests in mind, spontaneous local action, citizen movements, etc. (Selman 2004, 381).

As a result, participation may be time-consuming (Jones 2011, 33), in that the extended process of deliberation may lengthen the time it takes to implement a decision, which may often be of an urgent nature; other times, the communities of citizens may be historically sceptical of the intentions of local administrations or may share a sense of apathy in political participation (Jones 2007, 630).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

I have designed this research to be a case study of two cases of landscape management where different approaches were implemented, within a bounded municipal and regional system (Creswell 2007, 73) and I collected detailed data from different sources.

The research had a deductive premise, the principle of participation in landscape management in the Convention, and the case studies were selected to assess its theoretical principles. The results that emerged were then integrated in a discussion centred on the scientific literature on the themes analysed herein.

I have approached the cases in this research from an ontological perspective that owes much to constructivism. Though I recognise that the structures in place and culture have been fundamental in shaping landscape perceptions and phenomenologies of place among peri-urban communities in Italy, this research will demonstrate that social actors play a significant role in shaping and forming social reality and the structures that they belong to. For what concerns perceptions of landscape specifically, they vary in time and are structured by the individuals who interact with them, with meaning, as the conceptual background has demonstrated, changing and being influential in its own time in guiding the decision-making process (Bryman 2012, 34).

From an epistemological perspective, this research owes much to the interpretivist stance, with its focus on the understanding of human behaviour. As the research became an investigation in social

aspects such as participation, decision-making, conflict and perception, I chose to observe and interpret forms of social action in order to explain and outline the underlying motives and the resulting outcomes. This is specifically a phenomenological approach as the researcher is in the position to study and understand human perceptions of the world surrounding them and how these same perceptions influence their actions (Bryman 2012, 30).

The difficulty in this specific approach lies in the levels of interpretation: as the researcher interprets the subject's interpretations, he/she must also interpret his/her own interpretations according to the conceptual or theoretical frameworks that have been chosen to explain the phenomenon at hand (Bryman 2012, 31).

3.2. Data collection

The research design outlined above suggests that the foremost research strategy here will be qualitative, as this approach is aligned to the ontological and epistemological perspectives of this research, especially in terms of investigating individual views of social reality in relation to a given issue, such as landscape perception.

In addition to the three main methods described below, observations, analysis of publications and websites, and informal conversations also contributed to the data.

3.2.1. Survey in Colle Pardo

In designing this research, an opportunity emerged in the form of a major event taking place at the case study site of Colle Pardo. In preparation for this event, I designed a short survey with ten questions (presented in Appendix 3). The questions were structured to collect participant's impressions of the initiatives at the Park, valuation of the local landscape and opinions regarding landscape management, among others. Participants were given a choice of answers for each question but observations and extended answers, when provided, were noted. The length of the survey was designed in order to not generate answering fatigue and to leave enough time for the interviewees to reflect on their answers.

During the event, I succeeded in interviewing forty participants and the results will be presented in the following section in visual format.

3.2.2. Interviews

Interviews were the main source of data in this research as they provided information directly from the major stakeholders and actors involved in the local projects as well as their worldviews (Creswell 2007, 20).

For this research, I chose semi-structured interviews with decision-makers who stood out as major players in the process, as well as other representatives whose names were recommended by more than one interviewee.

The format of the interviews differed, as the research was largely iterative; each interview provided new information which, in turn, shaped the succeeding ones. I had the opportunity to return to the earlier interviewees in case new questions or clarifications emerged. Except for one interview, which took the form of a narrative walk (with the president of the Association on the site of the hill itself), all other semi-structured interviews were held in either the interviewee's workplaces or in public locations in the municipality of Ariccia.

I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Association and two municipalities and I held three informal conversations with three stakeholders in Vallericcia (Table 1).

Table 1: Names and roles of local actors

Name	Typology	Role
Emilio Cianfanelli	Semi-structured interview	Mayor of Ariccia
Flavio Gabbarini	Semi-structured interview	Mayor of Genzano Laziale
Fabrizio Profico	Semi-structured interview	Urban planning and environment councillor in Ariccia
Virginio Melaranci	Semi-structured interview	Local development councillor in Genzano; member of the scientific committee of Colle Pardo
Domenico Gilio	Semi-structured interview; Narrative walk	President of the Colle Pardo Association, local poet and author
Giorgio Magistri	Semi-structured interview	President of the Colle Pardo scientific committee, local architect
Maurizio Biagi	Semi-structured interview	Member of the scientific committee, local herbalist
Farmer	Unstructured conversation	
Retired farmer	Unstructured conversation	
Agribusiness owner	Unstructured conversation	(also a former administrator in Ariccia)

I then coded the interviews with four major themes, which are listed in the Convention, namely: landscape as heritage, landscape management and planning, participation and awareness.

3.2.3. DPSIR – feeding in the literature review, media analysis and interviews

In order to present a coherent narrative which would help the reader identify with the regional drivers and impacts of landscape management policies I chose the DPSIR framework (an acronym for Drivers, Pressures, State, Impacts, and Responses) and applied it to the Castelli Romani region as a whole.

This facilitates the reader's task in understanding, at least on a basic level, the local dynamics and trends which are major drivers of decision processes and conflicts in the case studies analysed in this research.

A DPSIR assessment framework is a chain of causal links, composed of the following five elements (Kristensen 2004; Ness et al. 2010):

- 1) Drivers or Driving Forces: external forces of a social or ecological nature
- 2) Pressures: the ways in which human drivers alter the environment (excessive resource extraction, land use changes, emissions)
- 3) State: the physical, chemical and biological conditions as a result of the pressures; i.e. the observable conditions of the system
- 4) Impacts: the measurable environmental or social consequences
- 5) Responses: societal decisions, adaptive or mitigative directed at any of the elements above to solve the problem (though their effect on any of the above may be reinforcing or neutral; Haase 2007, 3).

One of the main strengths of the DPSIR framework is that it clarifies relations between the different elements, it assesses whether policies are effective (Bürgi et al. 2004, 860; Haase 2007, 11) and it presents an overview of the problem (Ness et al. 2010, 480). However, it is largely employed, having been developed by the European Environment Agency, to visualise socio-ecological systems, leaving out especially the impacts on socio-economic systems in its most common uses (EEA 1999).

The DIPSIR, however, does not assist in visualising the relations between spatial levels (which often has a direct influence on the specific case study) nor does it highlight the disconnects which may occur between levels and contribute to the problem (Ness et al. 2010, 481).

The information that contributed to the DPSIR framework came from a variety of resources:

- 1) A literature and publication review assessed national and local policies, as well as local histories in connection with landscape perception and management
- 2) Media analysis was largely based on a selection (based on availability) of local newspapers and magazines (in print) and online resources, such as NGO websites, local administrations, and online newspapers.

- 3) I attended three conferences throughout the duration of the research: the themes were waste management in Ariccia, hydraulic problems in the Castelli Romani region and a conference in Rome on the problems of regional planning.
- 4) Finally, information from the interviews listed before, as well as conversations and interviews with several members of the technical staff of the Regional Park of the Castelli Romani (Urban Planning, Biodiversity, Promotion), as well as representatives of a local NGO for landscape conservation, Italia Nostra.

3.3. Limitations

The main limitation of this study is the small number of respondents from Vallericcia. Originally, the municipality had suggested organising a focus group meeting; unfortunately, this meeting never took place, possibly due to the conflicts between the authorities and the inhabitants of the valley. I tried to involve the local committee who initially responded to my invitation but never got back to me, despite my renewed attempts. As a result, I decided to attend the Friday's Farmer's Market in the valley and found out that only one of the stands at the market belonged to an inhabitant of the valley. An analysis of the committee's blog and past articles on land planning conflicts in the valley are an attempt to add additional data to the research.

Another limitation has to do with my role. Being a resident of Ariccia, with no local political affiliation but with past experiences in local environmental activism, I tried to be as objective as possible and, fortunately, all of the interviewees were individuals I did not know before the fieldwork. Additionally, as a resident I have a long-term projection in the past and a personal understanding of landscape dynamics in the region. In order to back up my statements in this aspect, I used as much secondary data and information as possible.

A final limitation has to do with the timing of the fieldwork period. Several events which could have contributed to this research, such as the only public conference that was held on the project in Vallericcia or the yearly meeting of the Colle Pardo Association, occurred at times in which I was not in the region. In my interviews, I collected information about these and other events, but I could not add an element of external observation which could have contributed to my results.

4. Landscapes in the Italian context

4.1. Cultural landscape and heritage in contemporary Italy

4.1.1. Landscapes in Italy

Italy has constructed its nationhood and unity on its landscapes; the Italian constitution is among the few in the world that specifically recognises the state's role in protecting the landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the nation.

However, as in many other European countries, in the 19th and 20th there was an acceleration of urban development and, therefore, major changes in the country's landscapes. Industrialisation in the North of Italy and the engineering works of the Fascist regime (Tosco 2007, 69-70) were among the major drivers of land use change across the country.

The adoption of the Constitution in 1946 also included political debates on the importance of landscape and cultural heritage to Italy's nationhood, culminating in the establishment of the Franceschini Commission in 1964. The Commission's task was to investigate the state of Italy's cultural heritage and associated landscapes. Its suggestions and analyses were not heeded as the country entered an age of decentralisation in the 1970s that shifted responsibilities from the central state to the regional authorities (Settis 2012, 227).

This was the prelude to a decade-long conflict regarding which level in the institutional scale should guarantee the safeguarding and enhancement of Italian landscapes; a conflict which is still ongoing. Regional administrations that focus on developing their landscapes, while defending the principle of subsidiarity, often come into clash with the State's more protectionist stance (Mirri 2007, 17; Settis 2012, 240), embodied by the national legislation.

In the 1980s environmental NGOs campaigned aggressively to pressure the central government in protecting the landscape, as they sought to prevent urban sprawl and large-scale infrastructural development.

NGOs, local pressure groups, community associations and informal groups have often been trailblazers in this field, ranging from national organisations such as the World Wildlife Fund and Legambiente ("Environment League") to local groups committed to defending and promoting their heritage sites. However, there have not been strong tendencies to integrate NGOs, societal and commercial organisations, in the decision process. Currently, Salviamo il Paesaggio ("Let's save the landscape"), a national organisation bringing together representatives from interest groups, lobbies the government in landscape conservation issues (Martinelli 2013), while providing a forum for citizen movements across the country.

Currently, the main legal and political framework in Italy is defined by the *Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio*, introduced in 2004 and influenced by the Convention, which protects landscapes of great cultural, artistic and historical value, upon which the institutions should promote cultural development (art. 1, 2; Mirri 2007, 14-15).

Among other aspects, the *Codice*, at least on paper, seeks to reconcile the State's functions with regional autonomy, by stating that the Ministry for Cultural Assets and Activities should identify the national guidelines and criteria in landscape policies to facilitate the development of regional urban planning (art. 145, 1).

However, this approach has not been as smooth as it seems; most administrative regions are behind in the implementation of their development plans. The region of Lazio, in which the two case studies are located, is currently analysing all of the observations that local institutions, authorities and stakeholders contributed to the devising of the plan and has therefore not yet implemented its plan which will have a strong influence on landscape policies at the local level.

In Italy, the institutional framework for landscape and heritage protection is extremely convoluted, contradictory and undermined by a history of conflicts emerging between the different levels of administration. Among these, the principle of decentralisation also advocated by the Convention, may increase the conflict between the states, regions, provinces and local municipalities and dilute the power of the central government (Settis 2012, 257).

4.1.2. Phenomena of landscape degradation in Italy

Over the past decades, Italy has witnessed a large expansion of artificial surfaces to the expense of rural regions (Falcucci & Maiorano 2008). This phenomenon, known in everyday talk and in the media as *cementificazione* (soil sealing), varies from one region to another, with the plains and hill-lands suffering especially from increased urbanisation, both in terms of urban settlements and network infrastructures (Romano & Ciabò 2008; FAI & WWF 2013, 8). Another phenomenon is outsourcing of urban activities in rural areas due to the lower costs of building on farmlands as well as the reduced environmentally protective restrictions compared to urban areas (FAI & WWF 2013, 42).

These changes are due especially to a strong belief in equating economic development with urban expansion and infrastructure construction. At the local level, due to changes in national administration and financing, municipalities have an interest in increasing their revenues through urban expansion (FAI & WWF 2013, 10), as they can cover up to 50% of their expenses through planning fees (FAI & WWF 2013, 42). Agriculture is often not seen as being profitable enough, as the

average utilised agricultural surface in Italy is less than eight hectares (FAI & WWF 2013, 42); combined with land abandonment the loss of rural lands to urban sprawl is accelerated.

Additionally, unlawful building projects across the country have effectively contributed to landscape degradation processes, along with the governmental practice of approving, post hoc, conditional amnesties and acts of indemnity (FAI & WWF 2013, 19). According to one report, there have been over 4,600,000 cases of unlawful building projects in Italy since 1948 (FAI & WWF 2013, 24).

Another major threat, which has become one of the catchphrases in the mainstream media in these past decades, is hydrogeological instability (Gisotti 2008). Conversion of natural surfaces into non-permeable, artificial surfaces has worsened the impact of landslides, flooding and storm-water runoffs, causing extensive damage to private property, state property and human lives and livelihoods. There have been an estimated 6,300 victims of hydrogeological instability between 1950 and 2009 alone (FAI & WWF 2013, 47) and 470,000 landslides in the same time frame, with a marked increase due to an intensification of rain which may be linked to changing climatic conditions (FAI & WWF 2013, 48). The increasing number of destructive events which have compromised landscapes of exceptional value indicates what has been determined by some recent studies: the social-ecological resilience of Italian landscapes is decreasing (Salvati et al. 2013).

4.2. Case studies background

The Castelli Romani (Italian: Roman Castles) is a hilly region south-east of Rome (Figs. 1 & 2). It is composed of a number of hills rising to just under 1000 metres above sea-level and formed in ancient times by intensive volcanic activity. Nowadays it is recognisable for its craters, one of which, Vallericcia, is the focus of this research paper, and its distinct cultural and historical heritage.

The history of landscape conservation in the Castelli Romani is not a recent one.

The Castelli Romani regional park was established, by regional law, in 1984, as a result of a citizen initiative to protect a number of archaeological and natural heritage sites from privatisation and construction projects. The Committee that was formed to defend the sites organised a petition, collecting over seven thousands signatures to present to the regional council of Lazio.

Thirty years later, the Park's responsibilities and roles are unclear, as its setting plan, which would be above the plans of the local municipalities, has not been approved. Several municipalities perceive the Park as being too large, an obstacle for their development; the Park instead does not have sufficient resources to enforce its rules. The result is a fragmented protected area surrounded by fifteen municipalities and over 300,000 people.

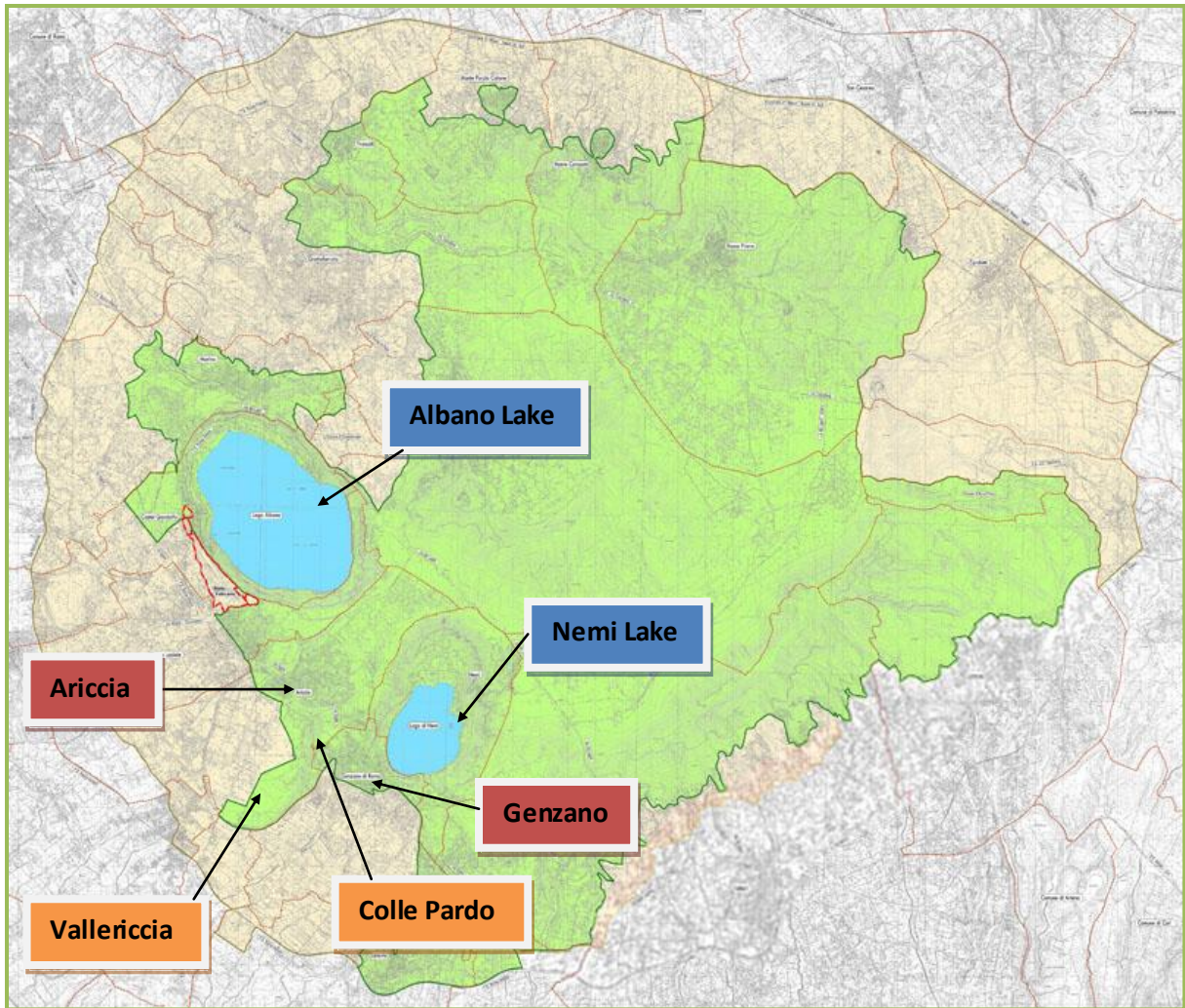


Fig. 1. Boundaries of the regional park of the Castelli. The case study areas are marked in orange. The municipalities of Ariccia and Genzano are red. Source: Parco Regionale dei Castelli Romani, retrieved: <http://www.parcocastelliromani.it/images/stories/vivere-parco/1a25000.jpg>



Fig. 2. Aerial view of the Castelli Romani region. Locations are marked. Source: Parco Regionale dei Castelli Romani. Retrieved from: http://www.parcocastellirromani.it/inners/pages/carta_volo_uccello

4.2.1. The municipality of Ariccia

Ariccia is a historical town in the southern section of the Castelli Romani region. There are over 18,000 inhabitants living in its territory (18 square kilometres), which comprises Ariccia and the settlements of Fontana di Papa and Vallericcia. The town is a popular destination for day-trips from Rome for its famous culinary tradition, as well as its artistic and cultural heritage, especially architectural works by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and the palace of the Chigi family.

It also has a long history dating back to pre-Roman times, in which the city played a major regional role; the archaeological remains in Vallericcia and elsewhere in the municipality's territory are a testimony to its rich cultural heritage.

In the past decade, Ariccia has chosen to pursue an aggressive sustainable strategy, which, in many respects is unusual in the region.

Some of these strategies include: the implementation of a recycling programme, the adherence to the European Commission's Covenant of Mayors which seeks to, among other things, to reduce emissions by 20%, and the drafting of an Action Plan for Sustainable Energy Use in 2012.

The policies for sustainability are connected to the vision of the Mayor, Emilio Cianfanelli, who has also been advocating the creation of a "UNESCO-worthy" connected landscape which would bring

together cultural and natural heritage sites in the municipality's territory, including the two case studies of Vallericcia and Colle Pardo (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Network of Ariccia's parks including Colle Pardo and Vallericcia. Retrieved from the municipality's website (<http://www.ariccia.rm.gov.it>)

4.2.2. The "wetland" in Vallericcia

Vallericcia is a valley located in the municipality of Ariccia. It is an elliptical crater in the volcanic system of the Alban Hills region, measuring two-and-a-half kilometres from north to south, and two kilometres from east to west (Lilli 2002, 45).

Nowadays, as in ancient times (Lilli 2002, 36), the crater, due to the fertility of its soil, is largely used for agricultural purposes. A number of private houses, commercial activities and farms cover most of the territory, as well as the roads that connect the settlement with the networks beyond the valley. However, none of these artificial structures can be considered to represent an intensive form of human settlement, but rather, an extensive one, which adds to the chaotic development of the roads and the lack of both social services and an urban centre (Lilli 2002, 94).

The old town of Ariccia is located on its northern edge and on all sides, but the southern, the valley is surrounded by high ridges. Historically, the valley bears traces of pre-Roman and Roman sites including the ancient emissary which regulated the water level of the lake of Nemi and entered Vallericcia through a tunnel dug in between the two craters to carry excess water to the coastline (Lilli 2002, 87).

Nowadays, the drop in the water level of the Lake of Nemi has made the emissary obsolete though the structures are visible in the landscape. In the 1960s, as part of a larger sewage system construction project, the canal was refurbished with cement which also decreased water drainage. In addition to this, the water table in the crater is just below the surface, or near-superficial, which results over long periods of the year, especially in winter and early spring, in a wetland. The state of things is also worsened by storm-water; its effects are more devastating due to the decrease in permeable and natural surfaces.

The project therefore, seeks to dismantle the changes that were brought to the canal in the 1960s and to make it more natural, by reducing soil erosion, by planting wetland species, and by creating a natural wetland on the left bank for a length of approximately 500 metres and a width of 30 metres on average.

The purposes of this intervention are to manage storm water runoff, to reduce nutrient leakage, to recharge the water table and the creation of a wetland for recreational, landscape, commercial and educational purposes.

4.2.3. The hill of Colle Pardo

Colle Pardo is a hill overlooking the crater of Vallericcia and placed in between the municipalities of Ariccia and Genzano (while being in the territory of the first one). It is among the most recognisable sites in the region due to its high position (490 metres above sea level) from which there is a 360° view over the surrounding landscape, including views of the city of Rome, the Pontine islands and the Circeo mountain, and its ancient pine trees which rise above the highest point of the hill (Gilio 2010).

Together with the park of the Chigi palace in Ariccia, it is also one of the last wooded areas in the Vallericcia crater and it is recognised by local activists and ecologists as an important green corridor in the region, covering 28 ha.

Historically, the site was closely connected with the Romans. According to the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani, the site was known as the Hill of Farewells, due to the fact that legionaries walking up the old Appia road, through Vallericcia and up the hill, could have one last view of the city of Rome from its heights, before proceeding to military campaigns in the south of Italy (Gilio 2010). The section of the hill overlooking Vallericcia also shelters a number of ancient funerary sites and a Roman cistern, which supplied water to the farms in the valley below (Lillo 2002, 107), as well as the remains of the famous viaduct that connected to the valley to the upper fringes of Colle Pardo.

The hill is also a “botanical treasure” and is the site of an ongoing research project which will be analysed further on in the paper.

In August 2010, a local association established the Colle Pardo onlus with 230 members and 350 signees, which coordinated the purchase of the hill from private property (the area had been assigned to a public bankruptcy auction but had been subsequently purchased by the municipality of Ariccia with provincial funding) in order to “conserve and appraise the landscape, but also to make a gesture of civility and culture, in order to “restore a state of being in the landscape instead of owning the landscape” (Associazione Colle Pardo Onlus 2012, 3).

The Association has organised a number of events in the past years to finance its projects, as well as to raise awareness among the local citizens of the value of the site. It has also defined four major development plans which are attached in Appendix 2.

5. Results

5.1. DPSIR

The purpose of this DPSIR (Fig. 4) is to visualise the main issues that affect landscapes in the Castelli Romani region so that the reader may be better acquainted with the drivers, pressures, states, impacts and sometimes responses which influence landscape policies.

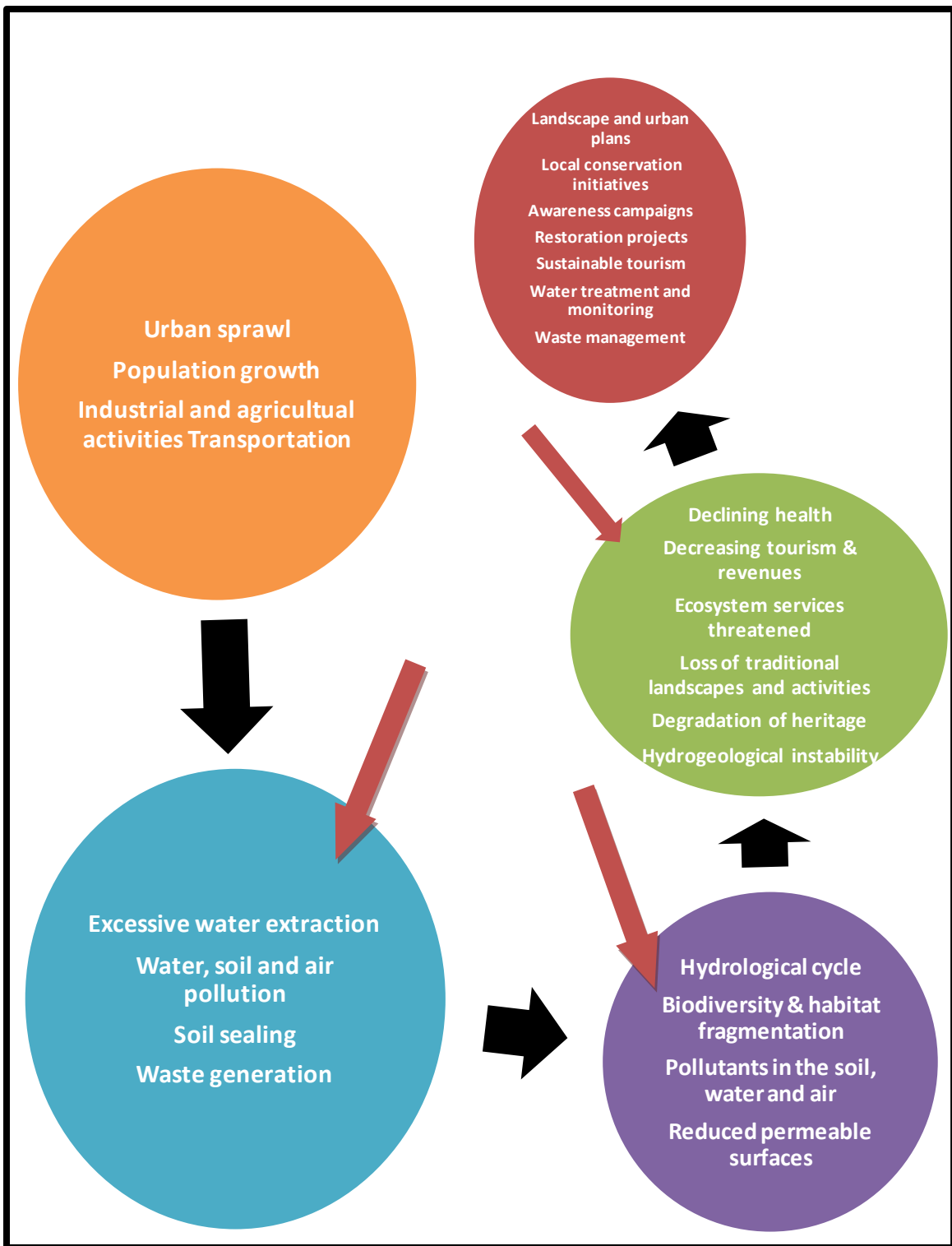


Fig. 4. DPSIR framework of the Castelli Romani Region (drivers = orange; pressures = blue; state = purple; impacts = green; responses = red; responses targets = red arrows)

Drivers

The major drivers in landscape degradation in the Castelli Romani region is land use change due to urban sprawl and population growth, these are both of an intrinsic and extrinsic nature.

The region, originally rural, is slowly becoming peri-urban (Ravetz et al. 2013), as intensive urban sprawl from the municipalities surrounding Rome and some of the municipalities in the region, is progressively decreasing the distance from the Italian capital (Salvati et al. 2012; FAI & WWF 2013, 14). In one study, covering the period that went from 1961 to 2001, the province a Rome underwent a 1,8% increase per year in urban areas (Salvati et al. 2012b, 48). More worryingly, the ratio of surface area of land without buildings decreased in all non-urban categories between 1961 and 2001 (in forested regions, the decrease from 75% to 40%; Salvati et al. 2012b).

This has led to an increase in population, culminating in over 300,000 inhabitants nowadays, as well as an increase in settlement size, artificial structures and traffic. The reasons behind this are the proximity of the nation's capital and the cheaper costs of living as commuters (Salvati et al. 2012b).

The growth of the population, along with the poor enforcement of landscape protection laws, has been matched by the number of illegal construction projects occurring in several areas.

Pressures

The major pressures on the environment are excessive water extraction, air and water pollution, reduction of permeable surfaces due to land use change and waste disposal.

In a recent report on soil erosion and land degradation, the authors produced a graph showing the speed at which specific landscape types underwent urbanisation. Volcanic hill-lands, like the Castelli Romani, were classified as the fifth landscape with the fastest land use change (over thirty-four landscape types were included in the study), with an average of 20,000 square metres of land converted each day (FAI & WWF 2013, 17).

Excessive water extraction is due to an unknown number of illegal wells across the region and a demand on water which is greater than the availability; air and water pollution through heavy metal contamination and greenhouse gases emitted by the local transportation and the poor waste management systems of several municipalities represent strong pressures on the land (Montini 2013b).

State

The state of the environment in the Castelli Romani region is mostly degraded, except for some isolated patches that have enjoyed special protection which are representative of a fragmented environment with direct impact on biodiversity and ecosystem services (Salvati et al. 2012b). The Mediterranean landscape of the region, as in others, is described as being ecologically fragile and soil fragility and land sensitivity has increased (Salvati et al. 2012).

The major concern in the region is the state of the aquifers and the water supply. The level of the region's two major lakes is dropping steadily as illegal wells and water channelling systems are extracting water at unsustainable rates. At a recent conference on the state of water in the Castelli Romani one researcher (F. Medici, Crisi Idrica ai Castelli Romani, May 5, 2014) stated that the current water usage in the Castelli Romani region corresponds to 65 million cubic metres per year, while the availability from the main supplying systems (local aquifer and external aqueducts) only supplies 47 million cubic metres per year.

Additionally, the 2013 yearly report on the state of Italian lakes by the environmental NGO Legambiente indicated that two out of three samples taken in the Lake of Albano were either heavily polluted or polluted (Fiore 2013). Occasionally the lake is off-limits for swimming in certain years due to algae infestations or pollutants contaminating the shores.

Impacts

The social-ecological and socio-economic systems of the Castelli Romani are significantly affected by the three components above.

In the case of the water crisis, there are three major impacts on both systems: water availability, water quality and lake tourism and landscape degradation.

Water availability in recent years has significantly decreased, with water shortages becoming more and more common in the drier months.

Water quality has been affected by the practice of having to drill deeper in the volcanic ground, sometimes even up to 550/700 metres (Montini 2013). This has led to arsenic poisoning and serious threats to the health of citizens, and in a recent report in a local newspaper (Buda 2012), nine out of forty samples had more than 10 micrograms of arsenic per litre.

Moreover, the lakes of Albano and Nemi have become shallower, with their water level dropping steadily from the 1960s onwards. Especially in the case of the former lake, this has contributed to the overall sense of degradation that many citizens perceive and it has also damaged tourism, with a noticeable decrease in tourists during the summer months.

The decrease in surface permeability increases hydrogeological instability through the occurrence of damage to infrastructures, private property and agricultural activities (Buda 2013). According to a recent report, in the administrative region of Lazio, 372 out of 378 municipalities have a high chance of flooding or landslides occurring in their territory. Recently, a major landslide threatened an ancient nunnery overlooking the Lake of Albano and interrupted one of the lake's main hiking trails, further contributing to landscape degradation.

Responses

The responses at a local level have lacked strategy and cohesion. For example, to solve the water shortage problem, instead of tackling the drivers, local administrators connected the region to a new external aqueduct (Montini 2013b). In other stances, such as waste management, an initial collaboration was struck between the municipalities of Ariccia and Genzano, and a few other municipalities initiated recycling programmes of their own. The recent protests of the inhabitants of the region against a planned incinerator and the waste management scandal that was discovered in 2013 in Lazio are forcing administrators to implement different measures. A meeting held on the 30th of November has paved the way for more collaborative management of the region's resources and needs, such as waste management, transportation and urban planning. The mayors of six municipalities have discussed the establishment of a "Unione dei Comuni" (a union of municipalities") in order to manage the region's requirements with a shared vision (Castri 2013). However, the response which targets the drivers directly is the approval of a solid setting plan for the regional park which would halt further urban expansion in protected areas and force the municipalities to pursue new forms of economic development. Along with the regional development plan, the approval and implementation of these two measures in the future, through participatory measures such as the V.A.S. (strategic environmental evaluation) and observations and recommendations on the plan, will provide a legal and administrative tool to define land uses and protection zones. To this day, these plans have not yet been approved.

5.2. Local perspectives of the landscape

5.2.1. Landscape as heritage, a component of people's surroundings and a foundation of their identity

One of the main premises of this research is that landscape has meaning to the individual and to communities and also influences their decisions and perspectives. In seeking to understand the motives behind certain decisions, I found out that each individual interviewed in the process, recognised the landscape for different inherent values.

The president of the Association, Domenico Gilio, who is also a renowned poet, attributes powerful aesthetic meaning to the hill of Colle Pardo:

"Here we can admire the beauty of the landscape; the landscape is everything that we can take in with our sight, the things that fascinate, seduce and move us. (...) This is the stage of beauty"

Along the same line of thought, Mr. Melaranci, who claims to be very interested, as an architect, in the human/landscape interface, adds:

“The landscape is an interaction, it’s a story, within it you carry your existence, your memories and, therefore, you bring it to life. It moulds the soul and the people. It is not only something that can be studied scientifically by geographers.”

Another important element is that of landscape memories; Mr. Gilio, for example, highlights the ancient histories of the site, connecting the present generations with the historical memories of the Roman and Latin people:

“Colle Pardo could be a corridor for the ancient rituals of the Romans, the pilgrims who passed by Genzano to go down to the temple of Diana, by lake Nemi. We can bring back the opportunity for the people to use this space again, to reconstruct the sense of place, the itinerary, by which from Rome one can once again trace these ancient lost traditions.”

However, often the driving force behind landscape protection measures is the fear of cultural loss. The mayor of Genzano, Gabbarini states:

“We have a landscape to protect because it represents both our richness and Rome’s; if we destroy the landscape we lose the uniqueness of the Castelli Romani, we will become something else, to be confused with the suburbs of Rome. This is not parochialism (...) there is a history behind it all, traditions that must be preserved.”

Ariccia’s municipal vision is to become the Municipality of parks, by establishing a network which can strengthen landscape connectivity between the different green spaces within its territory. The environmental counsellor, Mr. Profico, states that the driving force, in his opinion, “is to restore a historical memory, to recover that which has been lost, and reinstate a sense of sustainability which has been threatened by all that had been destroyed in time, and to hand it over to future generations so that they may also enjoy what their grandparents did.”

Within this plan, the municipality has decided to restore the wetland in Vallericcia as an element of the connected landscape, but also, as the Mayor has proclaimed in the local media and during the interview, as the recreation of an ancient landscape of which the original lake was part of.

5.2.2. *Landscape protection, management and planning*

Throughout the research, these three principles of landscape policy were discussed in different ways among stakeholders, administrators and local actors.

The Colle Pardo Association has been working on developing guidelines and strategies for the future of the area, in order to “reveal and appraise the characteristics of this landscape” and “integrate it in a new economy, in which historical, cultural and ecological aspects can be appreciated” (Gilio).

The plan of the Association, therefore, is to preserve and manage the site in order to provide a service which can enhance the quality of life of the local inhabitants and also participate in a renewed vision of cultural tourism for the region as a whole.

Magistri underlines that the planning phase at the beginning caused some conflicts, since “we are all driven by passion, we all have a vision according to our perception and our fields of expertise”. However in terms of management he states that “we did not start with the assumption that we were only managing the site for the municipality, as we were not its owners (...). Indeed, (...) we choose to make ourselves available for the public asset while assisting the municipality. In turn, they will decide whether we are the right partner for the site’s future management.”

However, Melarandi recognises that there may be some difficulties in this management approach: “The case of Colle Pardo is positive, despite all the limitations. Volunteering can only go so far. The institutions should then provide support. Once you’ve increased awareness among the citizens, how do you achieve your results? I agree that there should be a debate about whether the park should become multifunctional or whether it should be kept as a “wilderness”. You must take into account different opinions. (...) The real problem is how do you manage it? Even the wilderness needs some management. I think management could be a problem in the future.”

The Colle Pardo representatives, taking pride in the organisation’s success in bringing together different municipalities on one issue, criticise the absence of a common vision for the region. According to Gilio, “there is not yet a shared plan (...). No one has put forward any serious proposal, and we must replace each community’s parochialism, with intent on local development alone, to a policy which places landscape development at the centre. (...) It is difficult to make an integrated policy among the different municipalities.”

However, collaborations and agreements between municipalities are starting, not only among Ariccia and Genzano but also among others. On this point, Gabbarini states that there is a good collaboration between his municipality and Ariccia: “I would start small. Let the two of us start, then we’ll expand.”

From the regional dimension, local experts and administrators were critical of the system in place in Italy. On this point, Melarandi instead was critical of the way landscape planning had been conceived on the national level:

“As an architect, I don’t think that historically landscape planning has been positive. Experience and the literature seem to confirm that the authorities have been incapable of preserving the landscape. The answer must be found in positive practices, which can in turn influence more positive practices and new models. I think that a good example can contribute to a strong citizenship more than a regional planning act that we have been waiting for, for thirty years.” To this, Magistri adds, that the problem with regional development plans is that they are conceived in Rome, by local experts and politicians who are not aware of local realities. In turn local experts and politicians revise the plans and send them back, slowing the process further. To this one can add that “there are also attempts to protect local interests” and that the lack of clarity in planning contributes to land degradation as illegal construction projects are legalised as time goes by.

Gabbarini singles out the problem with the national habit of placing many environmental restrictions on landscapes: “There is that ideology that a place must be super-protected. Woe betide man if he crosses. (...)Protected areas can also contribute to the development of communities with a smart management of the landscape.”

Magistri is much more critical of the collusion between politicians and the electorate in driving landscape degradation: “If a politician or local administrator needs to be elected in order to govern, there will be a strong collusion with private interests that will then result in poor planning decisions.” Magistri agrees with Gabbarini in recognising that environmental restrictions foster illegality: “In Italy ... we do not respect these at all, it’s an institutional problem at the national level.”

Both mayors were critical in their discussion of the development plans of the other municipalities in the region and argued for their choices in their own mandate. Gabbarini argued for the availability of essential resources, citing soil, water, air and the impact that an increasing population would have on well-being, health, social services and waste management: “Our development plan envisages a minimal population increase. This has been a strong political choice. Consuming more soil is not appropriate, as threatening resources will affect life standards.” Cianfanelli, while stating that the current administrators in other municipalities are step above their predecessors, pointed out to a number of municipalities in the region which, in the past decade, had generated several settlements, calling this practice “the proving ground of real estate speculation in the Castelli Romani”

5.2.3. *The processes of participation*

As most of the interviewees agreed on keeping landscape management and planning “local”, I discussed with them what participation entailed and how participation has been introduced and whether it could be implemented in the future.

Biagi believes that citizen participation can “do much for the future, one piece at a time. (...) We are all volunteers and invest our own resources; we do it for our children.” As a local, born “at the foot of Colle Pardo”, Biagi states that his only interest is that “the project happens (...) I think it will be an important development for Genzano and Ariccia.”

Melaranci, who moves between the administrative level and that of citizen movements, believes that top-down approaches don’t work, but the local administration “must create the conditions for citizens to be active according to the principle of subsidiarity (...) simplify the task, as often citizens can be quicker than you in providing solutions. (...) If, as an administrator, you believe that you’re at the centre of all, then you are making a mistake. Your fundamental role is to facilitate these processes.”

Magistri refers to Colle Pardo as a unique case in the region “which is not connected to political interests. It is a social phenomenon that has been embraced by citizens of different origins, cultures and knowledge bases.” The Association has become “the spokesperson for many citizens” but, he also argues that not necessarily it will be a model that can be taken elsewhere. However, he recognises that, had the “municipality not intervened (...) we would have purchased the site and our Association would have been tilting at windmills.”

The representatives from the authorities have different views on the matter.

Cianfanelli, who outlines the conflicts that have emerged as a result of his policies on landscape planning and management is sceptical in this regard: “You need to get your hands dirty. Social movements can bring an excellent cultural influence, but they lack decisive action. You need to educate your citizens with good practices. (...) There’s a path you must follow in order to achieve environmental awareness. My party has obtained power and we have achieved things.”

Gabbarini admits that beyond political representation, there is a need to create instruments and platforms for citizen participation. “We should consult them more often, establish something in this sense. We organise meetings, conferences, on local history, art, culture and more.”

Profico focuses especially on the instruments and awareness campaigns that Ariccia has set up in order to involve citizen. Among these he cites the interactive online tool that simplifies dialogue with the administration, as well as the new technology applied to the town’s recycling programme:

“Citizens need events like the one that is held today in Colle Pardo. (...) The citizen needs to be educated and we must take up the role of educators in order to create a healthier environment.”

5.2.1. Awareness and education: the case of the Botanical Garden in Colle Pardo

The Convention stresses the importance of awareness and education and this seems to be understood as a prerogative for participation. How can education be participatory as well, relying on local knowledge and awareness?

The Botanical Garden is the first of the projects which is currently being implemented in the park of Colle Pardo. The initiative is largely driven by the will of one of the members of the scientific committee, Mr. Biagi who is a herbalist. According to him, 320 species have been identified, including 120 with medical purposes and the final census will be published in October 2014.

In the organisation’s publication, Colle Pardo’s botanical garden is envisaged as having two major roles: an oasis for endangered endemic species, as well as a laboratory for herbal essences and therefore an opportunity for economic development and workplaces.

At the moment, of all the projects which are planned in the long-term, the Botanical Garden seems to be one on which the organisation is most intent. Mr. Biagi has described the botanical garden as “a place for research, a study area, where in the future there may be the possibility to organise more advanced researches in connection with university laboratories”.

He stated that the botanical garden had been an idea on his mind for a long time, in his 35-year long career in the field. He had approached the local administration for many years and as a local resident, as soon as the opportunity to preserve the site arose, he decided to bring his vision to the planning process, because the purpose is “to raise awareness about the environment, but also to produce something professional for the site and therefore encourage the authorities to invest in this project.”

I interviewed Mr. Biagi during a field day in which two local primary school classes were involved in outdoor activities and familiarising with a number of species. I observed the dosing of the session in which the students were asked to identify a number of species that Mr. Biagi presented them. The teacher, with whom I had a brief conversation, informed me that she had integrated this project in her programme, along with other outdoor activities connected to the landscape, such as workshops on Colle Pardo during the UNESCO week, and that future activities on the mythological importance of the landscape would also take place.

This is but one of the educational approaches that the Association brings forward. In November 2013, Colle Pardo partook in a UNESCO-themed week in which the Association organised several

open-air laboratories and classes for the local schools which, according to Gilio, was “a beautiful day, a day of study, observation and awareness.”

5.2.4. Conflicts in Vallericcia

The mayor describes the project in the valley as an “infrastructural intervention of a hydraulic nature. We are trying to transform it in a way that may contribute to the enrichment of the landscape as well as local tourism”, while the environmental counsellor adds that it is also an attempt to recover biodiversity in an area “which has been destroyed by unlawful building.” He continues, “That area can become a meeting point for our city.”

The mayor recognises that environmental restrictions are largely responsible for the state of the valley, he criticises the inhabitants “for having destroyed the fields” by using “a pesticide-dependent agriculture” and he blames Italy’s landscape planning policies and political history for having created a “largely egocentric community”.

He adds that the inhabitants of the valley “have not experienced these interventions as changes of a civilising nature (...) but as an attack on their acquired rights.”

For what concerns, information and participation, both the mayor and the counsellor state that there have been community meetings after the decision had been made, to inform the valley’s inhabitants of the project. I have not found evidence for these meetings.

Magistri, who is an inhabitant of Ariccia and knows the local history quite well, argues that the chaotic development of the settlement, where “there were no services, few roads, no pedestrian sidewalks and no sewage systems (...)it lacks a historical centre, it is not planned, it does not have an identity.”

He goes on to argue that politics has had a major impact on the inhabitants of Ariccia, “our society is divided. (...) Recovering Vallericcia is complicated enough; this political clash has worsened the situation.” As a result, the inhabitants of Vallericcia, “feel that the vision of one person is not connected to the actual reality and therefore they felt as if once more, someone had decided for them.” On the other hand, he agrees with the mayor, that the inhabitants have no intention of giving up their land for any infrastructural development: “I think this association does not offer solutions in the same way as Colle Pardo. (...) They’ve said ‘no, we don’t want this’ (...)”

Informal conversation with local inhabitants suggested a different picture. A local landowner who sells his produce at the farmer’s market downplays the threat from hydrogeological instability

and disagrees with the amount of money that has been invested in a time of financial crisis. He believes the priorities should have been others, such as basic services.

A local retired farmer, who owns the land in front of the site of the wetland, dismisses the intervention as being exaggerated. He explains that simply removing the upper cement and maintaining the channels would have been sufficient. He does not disagree with beautifying the landscape but says: "I agree with making the landscape more interesting and varied but the problem is: how do you sell the project? All that is impressive and monumental contributes to the elections. The mayor's priority is in building projects." As a way to prove his point, he takes me to investigate the secondary drainage channels that run along his property, showing that no one is maintaining them and that it is up to him to do so.

He goes on to say that there has been no information, that at the time of the interview the works had been abandoned and that "Ariccia is not interested in the people who live here, it's a no-man's land."

Lastly, the owner of a local agribusiness shop, who admits to having been in the opposition and in past administrations, criticises the interventions that were made in the 1950s as being superficial, claiming that "there never were flooding problems before then". He criticises the local administration for not caring about Vallericcia but also admits that the local inhabitants who protest against infrastructural interventions are the same who pollute. He agrees that biological connectivity is a good thing, but believes that the project used the flooding as an excuse for impressive engineering projects that generate income for the Land reclamation and drainage authority and the prestige of the mayor.

5.3. Locals' views on the Colle Pardo project

Appendix 3 presents the structure and the results of the survey in Colle Pardo.

As described in the Methodology section, the data was collected with a quantitative perspective in mind but interviewees had the opportunity to reflect on their answers and on the questions and contribute their opinions on landscape management.

For each question, I have added some of the more relevant comments and personal reflections.

Origin

Most of the participants, as shown by the table, were citizens of either Ariccia or Genzano, the two municipalities on each side of the park. This small sample shows that there is not much awareness or use of the Park among inhabitants from different areas. This is an interesting element for two main reasons: 1) the project of the Park was supported by two other municipalities which

would be part of a greater landscape connectivity project, Lanuvio and Nemi but no citizens from these municipalities attended the event on the 1st of May. 2) The project, in its initial phases, is very much the brainchild of the citizens of Ariccia and Genzano, especially because it is one of the few, accessible green areas for the latter municipality, though it falls in the territory of the former.

Awareness of the project

One quarter of the interviewees were not aware of existence of the Association, nor were they aware of the project for the hill's conservation. Several of those who answered "Yes", admitted to only knowing the Association by name or by way of the local media.

Valuation

Most of the interviewees recognised that Colle Pardo has many values for them; the values chosen in the survey correspond to the main themes that the Association has chosen to develop along with the multifunctional park. The most chosen individual value was the ecological one, and this may be due to knowledge of the hill's rich flora and the Association's botanical project. The least recognised value was the historical-archaeological one; this is most likely due to the difficult accessibility of the archaeological sites on the lower flanks of the hill. Also, the president of the Association, in the interview, has confessed that the Association's fears that vandalism may damage the archaeological sites if conservation measures are not first put into place. Last but not least, several interviewees also associated an element of personal memories connected to childhood; for many, the hill, especially when it was an abandoned park, was a site for childhood play.

Landscape Degradation

Most of the interviewees agreed on the critical state of landscapes in the Castelli Romani region; several commented on the question by stating that it is dramatic, widespread and demoralising. Only some interviewees discussed the causes, with one highlighting the lack of connectivity between protected and valuable areas, while two others argued that the cause of landscape degradation is the lack of awareness and access to cultural and natural heritage in the region.

Colle Pardo as a model

The vast majority of interviewees were satisfied with what had been done so far; for many, attending the event was the first time they had visited the hill. In order to assess whether Colle Pardo could become a model for the region, I briefly summarised the Association's main projects to those who were not aware of them. Some interviewees, though agreeing that the vision for Colle

Pardo could represent a model for the rest of the region, stressed that the projects would have to be implemented for clear standards and goals, while respecting the community's own visions and the nature of the site. One interviewee commented on the need for connectivity as a prerogative for the project's success while another, who was more aware of the project specifics, stated that a true model of management was still lacking in the Association's plan.

Landscape management

The answers to this question and the reflections of the interviewees showed that there is not enough awareness of who is responsible for landscape management and planning. Very few interviewees backed up their answers with explanations of which administrative levels could be considered to be mainly involved in this sector.

The majority, perhaps influenced by the Colle Pardo initiative, believed that citizen movements and local NGOs should be responsible for protecting the landscape.

The other two major groups either envisioned local administrations as being in charge or a multi-level governance, often stated to be "in the interest of all" and "most effective".

The vision for Colle Pardo

This was quite possibly the most debated question in the survey as there were evident conflicting visions between some visitors and the Association. In connection with childhood memories, several interviewees preferred for the hill to be preserved the way they had known it all their lives, with minor maintenance to prevent fire hazards or overgrowth.

Among those who agreed with the Association's projects, some called for the preservation of untouched pockets, with the activities occurring in specific areas, others suggested that the projects should not change the hill's original identity, while a small group argued that the hill's projects should be part of a vision for economic and social development in the region.

Several interviewees expressed their concerns at a growth in number of visitors as they preferred the place to be "quiet" and to themselves.

Environmental awareness

This question served to outline whether environmental awareness and participation in activities was first of all common among the interviewees and whether it could influence perceptions of landscape. The majority of the interviewees who answered "Yes" spoke about their contribution to the environment, through daily activities such as purchasing organic food or recycling waste, but only a few were actively involved in environmental organisations or citizen movements. Many

admitted to not being too involved in environmental issues while enjoying the park as a green place for free time and weekends.

Citizen participation

Most of the interviewees recognised that citizens should be involved in landscape management and planning; according to one interviewee “it must be done for cultural reasons”. Two others recognised that participation is fundamental in managing the commons.

However, several admitted to not having the competencies, the time or the direct interest, preferring to let others, especially citizen movements, be directly involved in landscape issues. The few who answered “no” argued that the process may be conflict-ridden and political and that participation is unnecessary.

6. Discussion

6.1. Why protect the landscape?

Values contribute to the creation of landscapes as socially constructed realities which in turn are also responsible for the culture and views of individuals (Born 2012, 79) as well as strengthening the cultural identity of a group or community through symbols and memories (Tempesta 2013, 158).

In Colle Pardo mobilisation of a group of concerned citizens occurred when the threat of privatisation over a place, which was considered as being part of “the commons”, emerged; this triggered collective action (Selman 2004, 388). This could only happen through a collective understanding of the site as a foundation for local identity, as a sense of place connected to visual landmarks and memories (van Oosten 2013, 662).

In the interviews, the local actors mentioned this last term more than once, distinguishing between personal memories (several were raised in the region and their memories of place span their lifetimes, as they associate sites, such as Colle Pardo, with a number of experiences, such as childhood play) and collective heritage and identity, in connection with the many historical and cultural meanings of place. One motivation to protect Colle Pardo was, among others, its association with the tradition that from its heights, departing Roman legionaries could cast one last look in Rome’s direction and bid their city farewell. This may be as intangible as heritage can get but, in connection with the hill’s archaeological heritage, the local association believes that this is part of the region’s identity and therefore must be preserved.

On a similar note, restoring the wetland in Vallericcia, was advocated by the authorities of Ariccia as the restoration of a major site in the valley's cultural landscape; in a way, the authorities were seeking to restore the city's history, as they had done with the Chigi palace and its park.

I mentioned before that collective action was triggered by privatisation. However, this was the spark and not the driving force; protecting the hill was rather the response to a driving force which is perceived by the interviewees and respondents alike because it is inevitably visual. This driving force, as presented in the DPSIR, is urban sprawl; and its major impact is cultural landscape degradation. The rate of landscape degradation may be perceived differently (since urbanisation in the region is a phenomenon of the past decades, elderly people see the changes as being more radical than present generations), but it appears to be a common concern among citizen movements, local administrators and NGOs (Antrop 2005, 22; Palang et al. 2011, 346).

A number of other reasons emerged, and these seemed to differ between the two municipalities, where Ariccia's vision was especially aesthetic, exemplified by the system of interconnected parks. This is representative of a demand in peri-urban areas for landscapes which are not only productive; a social yearning for green spaces (Keulartz et al. 2004, 385). However, the authorities also sought to reconnect the cultural tourism of the 18th and 19th century Grand Tour with a new vision for sustainable tourism and economic opportunities, with the landscape as a resource for the municipality. In Genzano instead, the fragility of ecosystem services, water above all, and concern for citizen wellbeing were the primary driving forces in rethinking urban planning and halting expansion. It is likely that the initiative of Colle Pardo was supported by both municipalities because it brought together these driving forces.

Ultimately, since economic values, sometimes external to the region (Tengberg et al. 2012, 17), can be primary drivers of landscape degradation, local communities and authorities are under pressure to devise strategies for landscape planning that integrate such individual and shared values that are not always measurable in economic terms (Tempesta 2013, 155).

In Vallericcia instead, values seem to be in conflict; the municipality's vision is seen as an external imposition; though the inhabitants do not refute the benefits of a green area in the valley, their concerns are different. The landscape is, first and foremost, their productive and everyday setting. For some, such as the local farmers, the landscape is economically viable and essentially productive; this conflict is exemplified by the different understandings of the valley's image as a "garden". For the municipality it is an aesthetic garden (and he is critical of the farmer's use of pesticides), for the

farmers, a productive one. For others, such as those who have built their houses in the valley, services are a priority over aesthetics. As a result, there is not one Vallericcia, but many.

6.2. Who protects the landscape? The problem with participation

Cultural landscapes in a peri-urban context are often embedded with conflicts; although it is difficult to find a community which thinks of itself as being homogeneous, peri-urban communities are much more diverse in their composition, due to the prevailing social, economic and cultural differences (Jones 2007, 621).

The Castelli Romani region's communities are nowadays made up of different components; ranging from the elderly farmers who have owned the land for generations to commuters from outside who have chosen to settle outside of the city. Their views will be inevitably different; there will be differing claims on land tenure, land conservation, resources production and allocation, infrastructural interventions and services required (Born 2012, 79; van Oosten 2013, 663).

In this perspective, the decision-making process is more complicated, as the differing claims will be the façade of deeper power struggles and information disparities (Oles & Hammarlund 2011, 481), which contributes to the commonly held view that expert-centred and top-down approaches are more effective in terms of implementation (Pedroli et al. 2006, 427).

The participatory process must, in theory, carefully integrate all the views of stakeholders who have an interest in the landscape but how are stakeholders chosen? The question that is often asked is, "whose landscape is it, anyway?" as commitment, interest and investment, among stakeholders varies (Selman 2004, 368). The survey in Colle Pardo showed that responses varied, with some stating that they do not believe they have the time or knowledge to be involved in participatory landscape planning.

Vallericcia is a case in point: it appears that the inhabitants' views were not integrated in a debate about the valley's planning directions (or if they were, their contribution could no longer be effective, as the project had already been implemented; Jones 2007, 619). In turn, this engenders disaffection, no trust in the authorities (Selman 2004, 369-370), and any plan is seen as an imposition (Jones 2007, 624). Hence, transparency and legitimacy, in their view, are just smokescreens to exacerbate already existing conflicts (Jones 2011, 32).

However, the mayor's accusations are not entirely without foundation; since the establishment of the Castelli Romani regional park, there has been a conflict with individual interests, as in other parks (Tempesta 2013, 161). External decisions, restrictions and interventions on the landscape by local or external authorities, are seen as an infringement on property rights (Olwig 2007, 586;

Dramstad & Fjellstad 2011, 331) and landscape degradation is also the result of individuals pursuing their own interest as a reaction to excessive restrictions.

In Vallericcia, the local community united in the recent past against interventions of a larger scale that, in their view, would threaten their landscape and economic activities. However, these reactions emerged in order to halt a process, rather than devise strategies for the valley's management. Indeed, after the protest from three years ago against the planned road that would cut through the valley, the Committee's blog has only posted irregular notices about water maintenance and thefts. This reinforces the notion, among local administrators, that their concern is only in halting any kind of development.

It seems that a community spirit and participatory process to influence landscape management and planning has not yet emerged, as the stalemate with the municipality is of a political nature.

Perhaps the way forward would be for the municipality to set aside political conflicts and provide participatory platforms to involve the valley's stakeholders in a productive exchange and debate on the valley's development. This platform could integrate a variety of methods and tools which are currently used in other participatory landscape planning projects across Europe and facilitate the integration of stakeholders at the earliest and most effective stages of participation (Jones 2011, 33).

In contrast, in Colle Pardo, a different form of participation emerged. Concerned citizens, with the support of local authorities who were crucial in securing funding for the acquisition of the site, formed an association. The association became a strong mediator between the community and the administration to represent the aspirations of the collective (Jones 2007, 630).

To understand how representative the association truly is, will require time. This research has showed that, for example, the association will have to take into account different perceptions of what Colle Pardo should become in the future, as the survey suggests that a substantial number of visitors prefer the "wilderness" concept of the landscape rather than multifunctionality.

In order to visualise the participatory level of these projects, I'll refer to Fig. 5.

Based entirely on my role as an external observer, I would rank Colle Pardo in between cooperation and delegation, in that the Association is directly involved in developing plans and enjoys significant freedom in running the project over municipality-owned land. However, the meeting between the mayor and the Association I attended suggests that the municipality still intends pursuing an active role in the project and will ultimately make the official decisions, in its role as mediator between the community and external administrative levels and funding sources. Vallericcia, at the moment, floats in between information and consultation. According to the testimony of the landowners, there was

only one-way communication. The description, instead, provided by the municipality, suggests a form of tokenism, where the authorities set the agenda and collect input from the population.

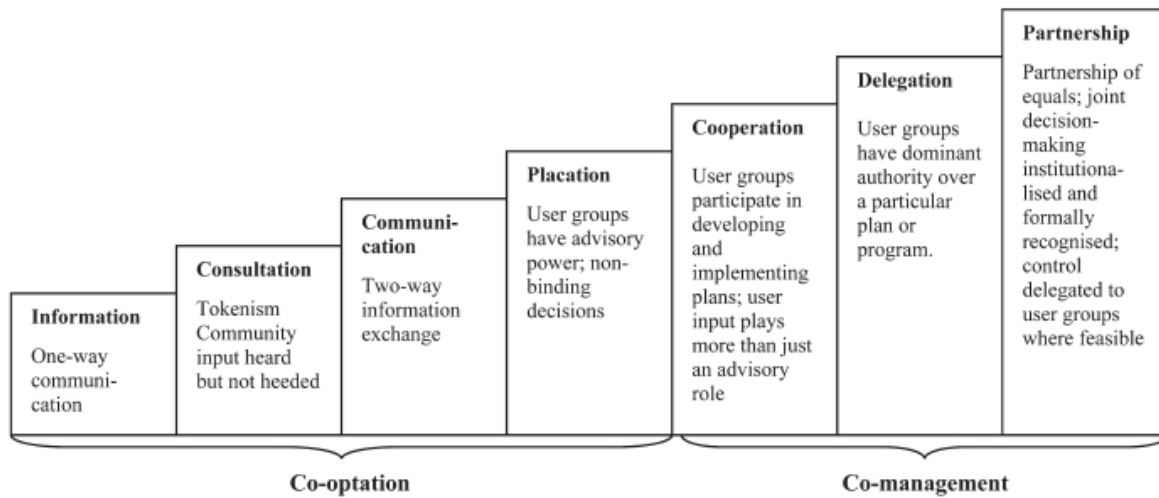


Fig. 5 Zachrisson Ladder of Co-Management, from Zachrisson 2008, 262.

Participation entails the existence of both open-minded institutions and active and knowledgeable citizens.

The danger with peri-urban landscapes is that urban sprawl may decrease collective awareness of the landscape’s history, as newcomers are not as familiar with the layers of memory therein (Palang et al. 2011, 346). Additionally, I also observed growing disinterest and apathy in landscape issues among the communities of the region; this could become a dangerous trend, in that individuals no longer participate actively in the decision-making process and no longer identify themselves in the landscape that surrounds them (Buchecker et al. 2003, 31; Tempesta 2013, 161).

6.3. Who creates knowledge and awareness?

The prerogatives to landscape participation, as described by several actors and the Convention, are awareness and knowledge. Without these elements, participation is problematic, as administrators and experts may be unaware of local knowledge (Jones 2007, 619; Palang et al. 201, 345) and local stakeholders may be unaware of landscape trends and technical aspects.

In the Castelli Romani, traditionally, the flow of knowledge has come from the political component and the experts to the communities, and the local administrators have defended the need to educate people and change their views about landscape management. Nowadays, however, there is an urge to integrate different types of knowledge in the decision process and facilitate its transmission in order to raise awareness (Pinto-Correia et al. 2006, 343).

The Colle Pardo initiative, with its scientific committee and its projects for education and awareness, shows that knowledge may also be a bottom-up approach, generating innovative ideas and visions which challenge institutional and cultural lock-ins (Born 2012, 79). The botanical garden project, for example, provides a dimension of local knowledge for the classes in Genzano that attend outdoor lessons, contributing to a renewed connection between the landscape and its inhabitants. In turn, for example through the participation of the children in planned public events, such as this year's conferences on the local flora, knowledge of the landscape can then be appropriated by local actors.

In Vallericcia, the local administration believes that the local communities need to be educated about hydrogeological instability. However, there was little evidence on either part of understanding each other's knowledge about this phenomenon: the local administration seems to have done little in the way of awareness campaigns and legitimisation for the project and at the same time it does not appear to have enquired, among the local communities, what their own perceived impacts of hydrogeological instability are. The informal conversations I had with local stakeholders indicate that they would have envisaged alternative solutions; sharing knowledge could have contributed to the definition of more than one perspective on how to deal with the problem (Jones 2013 32). The decision, in this case, was made by the local administration and the expertise of the regional water authority. Conversations with local stakeholders suggest that, in their opinion, alternative options could have been chosen.

6.4. A new landscape governance?

The Convention has its strengths and weaknesses and should not be seen as the solution; it is rather a tool which encourages an active debate at the many levels of administration as to what new landscape governance should look like (van Oosten 2013, 665).

With its innovative and challenging principles, it challenges commonly held views of landscape management and planning which, in countries like Italy, have clearly been unsuccessful in harmonising landscape protection and socio-economic needs.

However, though the principles may be inspired by international agreements, policies must be compatible with the needs, resources and aspirations of the local dimension (Pinto-Correia et al. 2005, 341). This may sometimes be a challenge, especially in harmonising landscape democracy with global environmental goals; the cases of local opposition to windmills are evidence for the inherent tensions between global and local policies (Oles & Hammarlund 2011).

In this research I have presented two cases within the same municipality, which have been dealt with in different ways; this has provided us with lessons as to how international dimensions of landscape democracy must take into account local institutional, social, economic and cultural conditions and that landscape policies will evolve differently in each country.

However, if we are to link the local with the global the inherent contradictions can be harmonised the inherent contradictions, the two case studies, representative of the region as a whole, can provide indications as to how landscape governance can bridge the divide.

This far, I have established that landscapes hold meaning, that participatory approaches are both innovative and challenging as their effectiveness must still be assessed and that knowledge and awareness in a multi-stakeholder perspective are major prerogatives to effective landscape policies.

First of all, future landscape governance ought to establish platforms (Born 2012, 76) for co-sharing of decisions and responsibilities as the legitimacy of local administrations is reinforced (Born 2012, 77).

The project of Colle Pardo could be thus interpreted as a laboratory in which concerned citizens, who have time and interest, can participate directly in resource co-management; it is evident that local citizens are capable of going beyond protests and can implement viable alternatives (Pedroli 2008, 353 and Appendix 4).

This, however, does not imply that this form of landscape governance can replace traditional institutions. At least in its initial stages, the Association requires the full support and advice of the municipalities and they can, in this way, facilitate the realisation of the aspirations of citizens. At the same time, the municipality does not bear the logistical and economic burden of managing the site directly.

In Vallericcia, instead, the ongoing political conflict reduces the possibilities of envisaging a similar solution, as governance in this case is still very much reliant on the dominance of the administrative level over citizens who are either uninterested or sceptical of their role. Common interests appear to converge when the status quo is threatened by external development; the existence of multiple uses of the land (industrial, agricultural and residential) in the small circumscribed region suggests instead that there may be affiliations to networks of actors which I have not been able to identify in this research. However, hints of intra-community conflicts and the rapid development of the area for multifunctional use in a relatively short period of time, indicates that the complexity of the valley's networks (Born 2012, 79) may have been underestimated by the mayor, and that, rather than increasing conflict by introducing external projects, the municipality should stimulate an enabling environment in which the divergent interests and land uses are brought together to form a coherent and shared vision of landscape planning for Vallericcia. With

this approach, the municipality could capitalise on the experiences of Colle Pardo and adhere to the principles of the Convention.

Secondly, governance should be “spatialised” in relation to the landscape; here multiple networks with shared interests, operating at different scales meet (van Oosten 2013, 666).

The project of Colle Pardo, because of its geographic proximity, brought two municipalities closer and inspired a number of agreements on sustainability and resource management; in a region, where in general municipalities, despite their shared cultural history, pursued parochialist policies, this could be a new development for a wider vision.

The Castelli Romani region, should be then recognised, with its conditions of place and its local dynamics, as the potential context in which local and global decisions meet (Pinto-Correia 2006, 427), with the citizens, in the interest of sustaining their region’s own socio-ecological system, forming networks that go beyond the fragmentation of multiple scales and power imbalances (Born 2012, 77) and strengthening the links between political decisions and the landscape (van Oosten 2013, 672).

Thirdly, governance should rediscover the landscape as a “common good” (Settis 2012), especially in terms of the self-sufficiency and regional identity of cultural landscapes (Magnaghi 2012), a resource which contributes to the social, economic and cultural development of its inhabitants, while retaining its functionality and its capability to deliver environmental and cultural services. In the coming years, we will see whether the Colle Pardo project will develop as has been envisaged by the Association, but in its current phase, it is a laboratory for a view that the landscape can be a resource for local communities beyond its use as a container for construction and urban sprawl.

In Vallericcia, where the landscape appears to be linked to economic uses, discussions of “common goods” arise when external projects knock at the valley’s doors. However, the valley lacks a vision which integrates the different services that the landscape provides to its inhabitants and, coupled with the tenuousness of its shared identity, decisions about landscape management and planning are much more difficult to implement (Pinto-Correia 2006, 344).

To conclude, any future policies must be aware of the interplay between several elements: the socio-economic setting, the different actors and their networks, the landscape’s physical characteristics and the interaction with the higher administrative and institutional levels.

7. Conclusion

This research has shown that the landscape is a contested field and, when transferred to the local dimension, reveals much more complex processes than the perspective suggested by the Convention. This is especially the case of cultural landscapes which, in order to be distinctive and meaningful, must retain their character while navigating through the currents of social change and external pressures.

In the Castelli Romani, as citizens and administrators are deliberating on how to halt landscape degradation and urban sprawl and plan a sustainable future for the region, idiosyncrasies emerge.

In agreement with the Convention, I would argue that landscapes do hold meanings and are fundamental to the local communities; perceptions vary however and these in turn influence the decision-making process.

The driving forces behind these two case studies are very similar, as both the citizen movement and the municipality agree on the need to address the local impacts of landscape degradation; if the understandings differ, with the citizen movement contesting the ideology of privatisation and the municipality addressing hydrogeological instability, they both share a common value that the landscape is a fundamental resource for the future of the communities.

All of this suggests that communities and local institutions that care to preserve their landscapes must find within themselves the resources, the social capital and the governance mechanisms that can sustain social-ecological systems in the face of external threats and forces, such as globalisation and the effects of international markets on local economies and build a new local economy in which the landscape is no longer the backdrop of human development but an economic, social and cultural resource to be employed in a sustainable fashion.

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Appendix 1: The European Landscape Convention

Retrieved from: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm>

Preamble

The member States of the Council of Europe signatory hereto,

Considering that the aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage, and that this aim is pursued in particular through agreements in the economic and social fields;

Concerned to achieve sustainable development based on a balanced and harmonious relationship between social needs, economic activity and the environment;

Noting that the landscape has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity and whose protection, management and planning can contribute to job creation;

Aware that the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and that it is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity;

Acknowledging that the landscape is an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere: in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognised as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas;

Noting that developments in agriculture, forestry, industrial and mineral production techniques and in regional planning, town planning, transport, infrastructure, tourism and recreation and, at a more general level, changes in the world economy are in many cases accelerating the transformation of landscapes;

Wishing to respond to the public's wish to enjoy high quality landscapes and to play an active part in the development of landscapes;

Believing that the landscape is a key element of individual and social well-being and that its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone;

Having regard to the legal texts existing at international level in the field of protection and management of the natural and cultural heritage, regional and spatial planning, local self-government and transfrontier co-operation, in particular the Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats (Bern, 19 September 1979), the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada, 3 October 1985), the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (revised) (Valletta, 16 January 1992),

the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (Madrid, 21 May 1980) and its additional protocols, the European Charter of Local Self-government (Strasbourg, 15 October 1985), the Convention on Biological Diversity (Rio, 5 June 1992), the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, 16 November 1972), and the Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice on Environmental Matters (Aarhus, 25 June 1998);

Acknowledging that the quality and diversity of European landscapes constitute a common resource, and that it is important to co-operate towards its protection, management and planning;

Wishing to provide a new instrument devoted exclusively to the protection, management and planning of all landscapes in Europe,

Have agreed as follows:

Chapter I – General provisions

Article 1 – Definitions

For the purposes of the Convention:

a "Landscape" means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors;

b "Landscape policy" means an expression by the competent public authorities of general principles, strategies and guidelines that permit the taking of specific measures aimed at the protection, management and planning of landscapes;

c "Landscape quality objective" means, for a specific landscape, the formulation by the competent public authorities of the aspirations of the public with regard to the landscape features of their surroundings;

d "Landscape protection" means actions to conserve and maintain the significant or characteristic features of a landscape, justified by its heritage value derived from its natural configuration and/or from human activity;

e "Landscape management" means action, from a perspective of sustainable development, to ensure the regular upkeep of a landscape, so as to guide and harmonise changes which are brought about by social, economic and environmental processes;

f "Landscape planning" means strong forward-looking action to enhance, restore or create landscapes.

Article 2 – Scope

Subject to the provisions contained in Article 15, this Convention applies to the entire territory of the Parties and covers natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas. It includes land, inland water and

marine areas. It concerns landscapes that might be considered outstanding as well as everyday or degraded landscapes.

Article 3 – Aims

The aims of this Convention are to promote landscape protection, management and planning, and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues.

Chapter II – National measures

Article 4 – Division of responsibilities

Each Party shall implement this Convention, in particular Articles 5 and 6, according to its own division of powers, in conformity with its constitutional principles and administrative arrangements, and respecting the principle of subsidiarity, taking into account the European Charter of Local Self-government. Without derogating from the provisions of this Convention, each Party shall harmonise the implementation of this Convention with its own policies.

Article 5 – General measures

Each Party undertakes:

- a to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity;
- b to establish and implement landscape policies aimed at landscape protection, management and planning through the adoption of the specific measures set out in Article 6;
- c to establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies mentioned in paragraph b above;
- d to integrate landscape into its regional and town planning policies and in its cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies, as well as in any other policies with possible direct or indirect impact on landscape.

Article 6 – Specific measures

A Awareness-raising

Each Party undertakes to increase awareness among the civil society, private organisations, and public authorities of the value of landscapes, their role and changes to them.

B Training and education

Each Party undertakes to promote:

- a training for specialists in landscape appraisal and operations;
- b multidisciplinary training programmes in landscape policy, protection, management and planning, for professionals in the private and public sectors and for associations concerned;

c school and university courses which, in the relevant subject areas, address the values attaching to landscapes and the issues raised by their protection, management and planning.

C Identification and assessment

1 With the active participation of the interested parties, as stipulated in Article 5.c, and with a view to improving knowledge of its landscapes, each Party undertakes:

- a i to identify its own landscapes throughout its territory;
- ii to analyse their characteristics and the forces and pressures transforming them;
- iii to take note of changes;
- b to assess the landscapes thus identified, taking into account the particular values assigned to them by the interested parties and the population concerned.

2 These identification and assessment procedures shall be guided by the exchanges of experience and methodology, organised between the Parties at European level pursuant to Article 8.

D Landscape quality objectives

Each Party undertakes to define landscape quality objectives for the landscapes identified and assessed, after public consultation in accordance with Article 5.c.

E Implementation

To put landscape policies into effect, each Party undertakes to introduce instruments aimed at protecting, managing and/or planning the landscape.

Chapter III – European Co-Operation

Article 7 – International policies and programmes

Parties undertake to co-operate in the consideration of the landscape dimension of international policies and programmes, and to recommend, where relevant, the inclusion in them of landscape considerations.

Article 8 – Mutual assistance and exchange of information

The Parties undertake to co-operate in order to enhance the effectiveness of measures taken under other articles of this Convention, and in particular:

- a to render each other technical and scientific assistance in landscape matters through the pooling and exchange of experience, and the results of research projects;
- b to promote the exchange of landscape specialists in particular for training and information purposes;
- c to exchange information on all matters covered by the provisions of the Convention.

Article 9 – Transfrontier landscapes

The Parties shall encourage transfrontier co-operation on local and regional level and, wherever necessary, prepare and implement joint landscape programmes.

Article 10 – Monitoring of the implementation of the Convention

1 Existing competent Committees of Experts set up under Article 17 of the Statute of the Council of Europe shall be designated by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to be responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention.

2 Following each meeting of the Committees of Experts, the Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall transmit a report on the work carried out and on the operation of the Convention to the Committee of Ministers.

3 The Committees of Experts shall propose to the Committee of Ministers the criteria for conferring and the rules governing the Landscape award of the Council of Europe.

Article 11 – Landscape award of the Council of Europe

1 The Landscape award of the Council of Europe is a distinction which may be conferred on local and regional authorities and their groupings that have instituted, as part of the landscape policy of a Party to this Convention, a policy or measures to protect, manage and/or plan their landscape, which have proved lastingly effective and can thus serve as an example to other territorial authorities in Europe. The distinction may be also conferred on non-governmental organisations having made particularly remarkable contributions to landscape protection, management or planning.

2 Applications for the Landscape award of the Council of Europe shall be submitted to the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 by the Parties. Transfrontier local and regional authorities and groupings of local and regional authorities concerned, may apply provided that they jointly manage the landscape in question.

3 On proposals from the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 the Committee of Ministers shall define and publish the criteria for conferring the Landscape award of the Council of Europe, adopt the relevant rules and confer the Award.

4 The granting of the Landscape award of the Council of Europe is to encourage those receiving the award to ensure the sustainable protection, management and/or planning of the landscape areas concerned.

Chapter IV – Final clauses

Article 12 – Relationship with other instruments

The provisions of this Convention shall not prejudice stricter provisions concerning landscape protection, management and planning contained in other existing or future binding national or international instruments.

Article 13 – Signature, ratification and entry into force

1 This Convention shall be open for signature by the member States of the Council of Europe. It shall be subject to ratification, acceptance or approval. Instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

2 The Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which ten member States of the Council of Europe have expressed their consent to be bound by the Convention in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

3 In respect of any signatory State which subsequently expresses its consent to be bound by it, the Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of the deposit of the instrument of ratification, acceptance or approval.

Article 14 – Accession

1 After the entry into force of this Convention, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe may invite the European Community and any European State which is not a member of the Council of Europe, to accede to the Convention by a majority decision as provided in Article 20.d of the Council of Europe Statute, and by the unanimous vote of the States parties entitled to hold seats in the Committee of Ministers.

2 In respect of any acceding State, or the European Community in the event of its accession, this Convention shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of deposit of the instrument of accession with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

Article 15 – Territorial application

1 Any State or the European Community may, at the time of signature or when depositing its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, specify the territory or territories to which the Convention shall apply.

2 Any Party may, at any later date, by declaration addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, extend the application of this Convention to any other territory specified in the declaration. The Convention shall take effect in respect of such territory on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the declaration by the Secretary General.

3 Any declaration made under the two paragraphs above may, in respect of any territory mentioned in such declaration, be withdrawn by notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. Such withdrawal shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

Article 16 – Denunciation

1 Any Party may, at any time, denounce this Convention by means of a notification addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

2 Such denunciation shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

Article 17 – Amendments

1 Any Party or the Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 may propose amendments to this Convention.

2 Any proposal for amendment shall be notified to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe who shall communicate it to the member States of the Council of Europe, to the other Parties, and to any European non-member State which has been invited to accede to this Convention in accordance with the provisions of Article 14.

3 The Committees of Experts mentioned in Article 10 shall examine any amendment proposed and submit the text adopted by a majority of three-quarters of the Parties' representatives to the Committee of Ministers for adoption. Following its adoption by the Committee of Ministers by the majority provided for in Article 20.d of the Statute of the Council of Europe and by the unanimous vote of the States parties entitled to hold seats in the Committee of Ministers, the text shall be forwarded to the Parties for acceptance.

4 Any amendment shall enter into force in respect of the Parties which have accepted it on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which three Council of Europe member States have informed the Secretary General of their acceptance. In respect of any Party which subsequently accepts it, such amendment shall enter into force on the first day of the month following the expiry of a period of three months after the date on which the said Party has informed the Secretary General of its acceptance.

Article 18 – Notifications

The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall notify the member States of the Council of Europe, any State or the European Community having acceded to this Convention, of:

a any signature;

b the deposit of any instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession;

c any date of entry into force of this Convention in accordance with Articles 13, 14 and 15;

d any declaration made under Article 15;

e any denunciation made under Article 16;

f any proposal for amendment, any amendment adopted pursuant to Article 17 and the date on which it comes into force;

g any other act, notification, information or communication relating to this Convention.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have signed this Convention.

Done at Florence, this 20th day of October 2000, in English and in French, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall be deposited in the archives of the Council of Europe. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe shall transmit certified copies to each member State of the Council of Europe and to any State or to the European Community invited to accede to this Convention.

Appendix 2: Projects from Colle Pardo

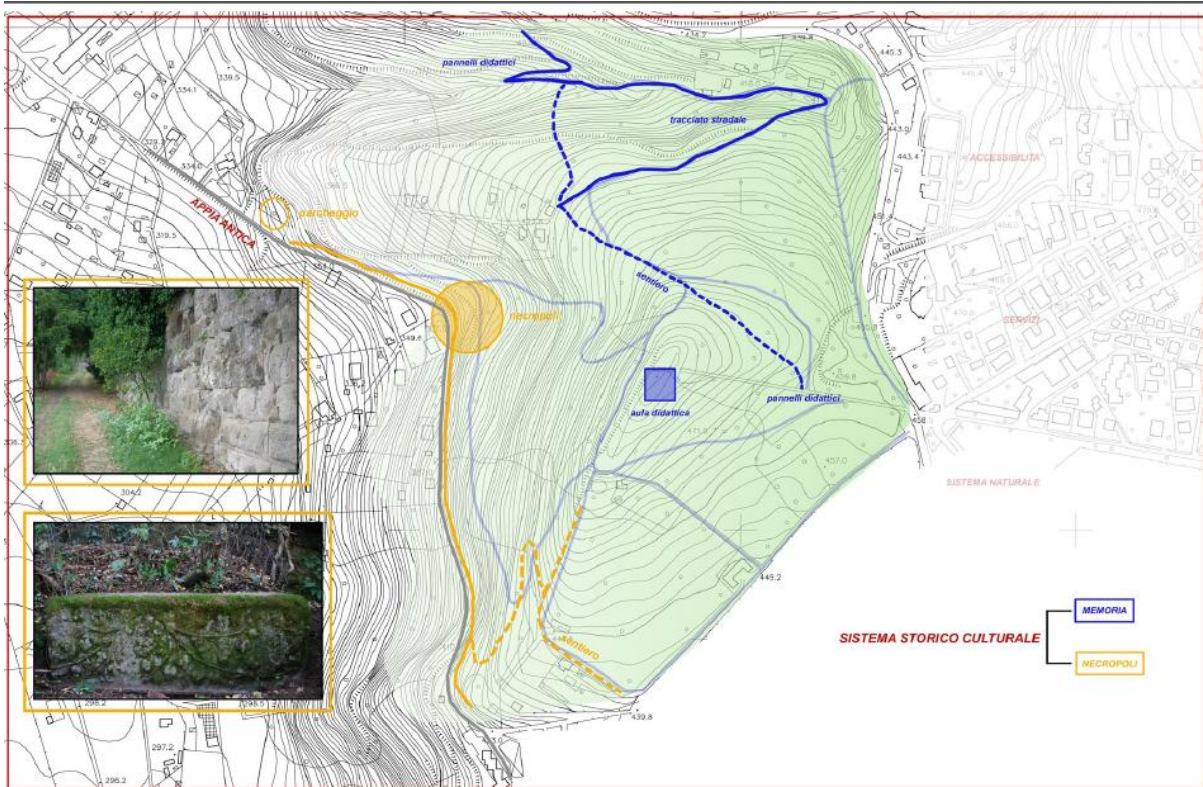


Fig. 1. Historical-cultural plan (blue = memories, yellow = necropolis)



Fig. 2. Nature plan (brown = chestnut forest, blue = Garden of simples, green = botanical garden, yellow = pine grove, pink = geological trail)

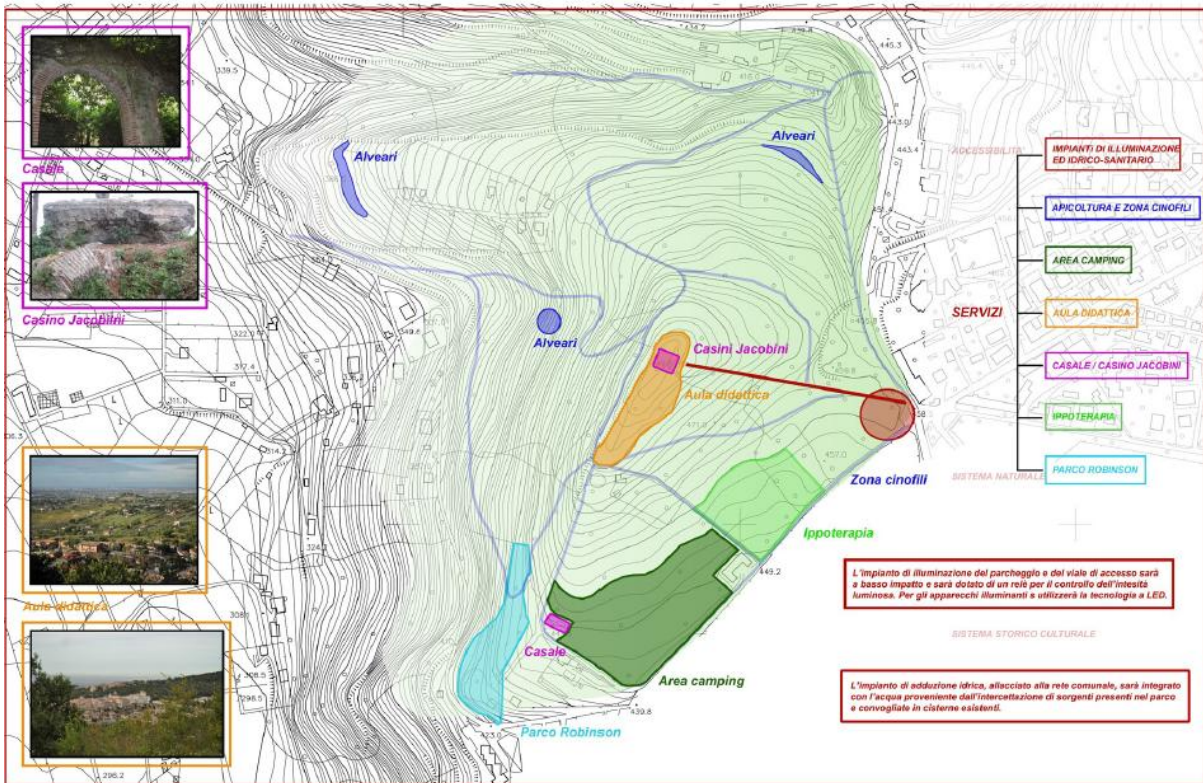


Fig. 3. Services (red = lighting and water supply, blue = hives and off-leash area, dark green = camping, yellow = open air classroom, pink = Jacobini lodge, light green = hippotherapy, light blue = Robinson park)

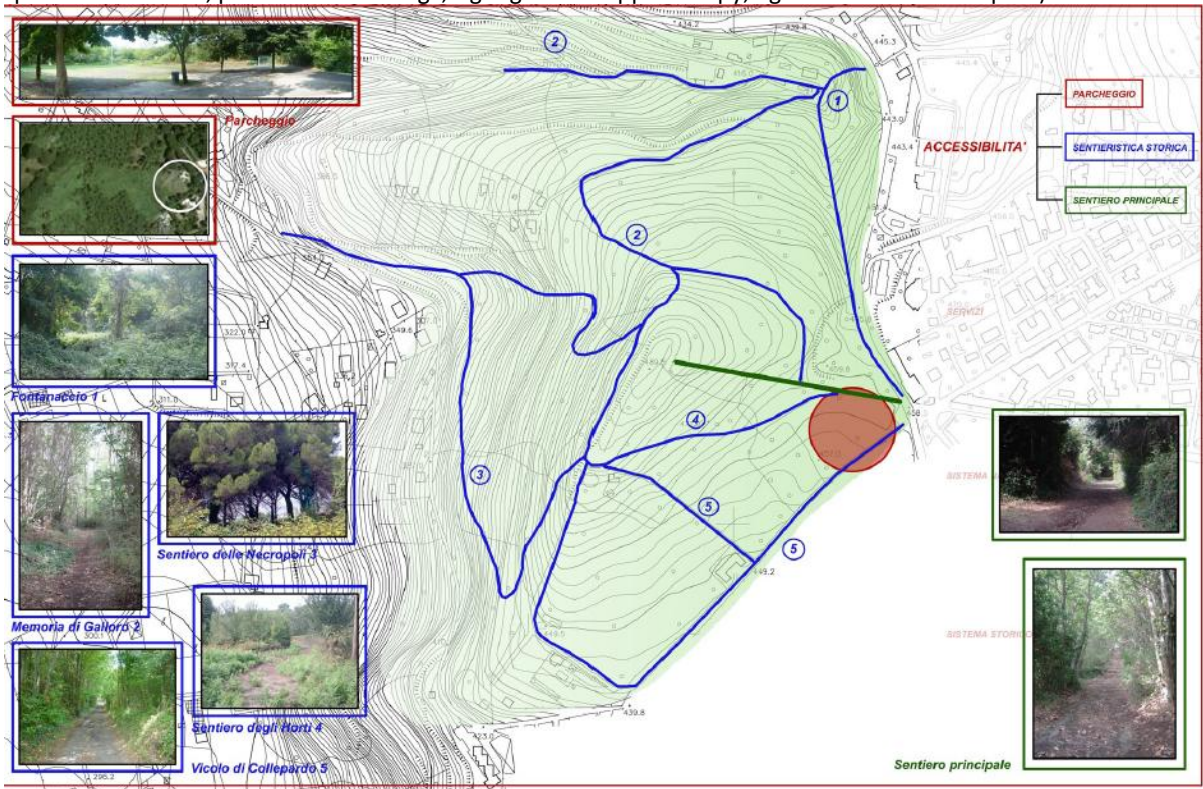


Fig. 4. Access and trails (red = parking, blue = historical trails, green = main trail)

Appendix 3: The Survey in Colle Pardo

Gender	19 men, 21 women
Origin	35 interviewees came from either Ariccia or Genzano, 4 others from other municipalities in the Castelli Romani, 1 came from outside of the region
Did you already know about the Colle Pardo project?	30 interviewees had either heard of the project or were aware of it; the other 10 had no prior knowledge of the Association and its projects in Colle Pardo
What is the most important value of Colle Pardo to you (five choices)?	4 chose the landscape/aesthetic value 10 chose the ecological value 1 chose the historical/archaeological value 3 chose the health/entertainment value 22 chose all values
Do you believe that the Castelli Romani region is undergoing landscape degradation?	30 answered "Yes" 10 answered "No"
Do you believe that landscape is important for the regional socio-economic development?	38 answered "Yes" 2 answered "No"
Do you believe that Colle Pardo may become a model of cultural landscape conservation in the region?	38 answered "Yes" 1 answered "No" 1 answered "I don't know"
Landscape management is mainly the responsibility of:	10 chose Local administration 3 chose Local and Regional administrations 4 chose Local administration and Citizen Movements/NGOs 1 chose Regional administration 1 chose Regional and National administrations 1 chose National administration 12 chose Citizen Movements and local NGOs 10 chose all of the above with shared responsibilities
Would you rather see Colle Pardo:	a) Become a multi-use park as imagined by the Association – 20 b) Stay the way it is (i.e. a largely unmanaged park) 12 c) Other – 8
Are you involved in landscape and environment conservation, even through daily habits?	23 answered "Yes" 17 answered "No" 0 answered "Occasionally"
Do you believe in citizen participation in landscape issues?	a) 25 answered "Yes" and would like to be involved b) 13 answered "Yes" but either have no time, no interest or not enough awareness to be involved c) 2 answered "No"

Appendix 4: Colle Pardo and Pedroli (2008)’s actions and recommendations

“Many of these organisations have hardly heard of the European Landscape Convention. But often their actions are already beautiful examples of citizens’ involvement in landscape as meant by the Convention.” (Pedroli 2008, 350)

Pedroli lists a number of actions which NGOs perform and that can be linked to the principles of the Convention, as well as recommendations. I have decided to apply these actions and recommendations to Colle Pardo’s project.

	General	Location specific
<i>Defensive</i>	setting the agenda	opposing threats
<i>Offensive</i>	developing solutions	assessing values
<i>Implementation oriented</i>	developing solutions	just do it
<i>Public oriented</i>	informing the public	informing the public

Table 2 - Various categories of NGO actions

Fig. 1. NGO actions according to Pedroli 2008, 358.

1. Actions

Setting the agenda: from the start the citizen movement recognised the risk of losing Colle Pardo’s cultural landscape and strove to prevent it from being privatised

Opposing threats: the threat was recognised in the form of privatisation and housing development. This was interpreted as being a symbolical victory over a threat that affects the entire region.

Assessing values: the citizens recognised the many values of the landscape. These included, its historical, cultural, natural and aesthetic values. They also linked these values to the region’s disappearing traditional landscape.

Developing solutions: after completing the purchase of the hill, the citizen movement began to design a management and development plan for the hill.

Just do it: the hands-on aspect began with the tending of the trails, the maintenance of the valuable flora and the mapping of the hill’s biodiversity.

Informing the public: the organisation designed a website, flyers and held events to raise awareness among the citizens.

2. Recommendations

a) Effectively use win-win situations, also between governmental and non-governmental organisations: A win-win situation between the municipality and the NGO was found from the start, with the municipality supporting and funding part of the acquisition and continuing its support and communication with the organisation throughout the process.

b) Exchange experiences and cooperate on a European level: Awareness of cooperation across borders on a European level was found to be lacking, perhaps due to the urgency and early state of the project

c) Make use of scientific knowledge in assessing values and management needs: The establishment of a scientific team (“coordinamento scientifico”) with local experts in several relevant fields provides relevant and valuable knowledge to policy makers and the general public

d) Prevent conflicts between landscape care and nature conservation The project is attempting to combine landscape care with nature conservation, especially as it is located within the Parco Regionale dei Castelli Romani. The organisation recognises the environmental history of the place and the role that both play in creating the area’s uniqueness. Different views of the site’s future directions will be a challenge in the near future.

e) Stress the importance of public access to landscape: Through events and activities for local children, the organisation encourages landscape legibility and public access.

f) Pay attention to risks and opportunities of ‘marketing’ the landscape: The organisation has not started marketing the landscape, as the project is in its early phases, and they currently are only partly aware of the risks of tourism and commercialisation on the landscape.

g) Make promising use of the promising potentials of urban-rural relationships: The organisation is implicitly making use of the urban-rural relationship, especially in terms of how the neighbouring municipalities relate to the site. The relationship with the far larger urban district of Rome is currently undervalued. Connecting people with landscape is definitely a priority for the site.