



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

**The Right to the Soil— Food Production and Agricultural
Landscapes Under Capitalism**

Three Nordic Examples

Christian Næs Lervik

Table of Content

Summary.....	5
Prologue	6
1 Introduction	8
1.1 General Aims.....	9
1.2 Problem Formulation.....	10
1.3 Research Question	11
2 Cases	14
3 Philosophical Foundations.....	24
3.1 Ontology.....	24
3.2 Epistemology.....	25
3.3 Dialectics	25
3.4 Theoretical reflection	26
4 Research Disposition and Lay out.....	27
4.1 Schematic Contact Surfaces	27
5 Method	28
5.1 Form, Function, Process and Context.....	28
6 Themes	31
6.1 Rurality	31
6.2 Soil.....	33
6.3 Neoliberalism and Food Production.....	36
6.4 Agriculture	38
6.5 Food as Commodity.....	38
6.6 Post-Productivism.....	39
6.7 Sense of Place.....	40
6.8 Sense of Tradition	40
6.9 Values	41
7 Concepts of Landscape.....	43
7.1 The Prospect	43
7.2 Landschaft.....	45
7.3 Floating Borders	45
7.4 Towards an Agricultural lands.....	47
7.5 Agricultural Landscapes and Capitalism.....	48
7.6 Summing up before the Politics	49
8 Food Production in Europe and Political Discussion.....	52
8.1 The Historical background and Basic Political Lines.....	52
8.2 Situation and Political Ambitions in Norway and Sweden.....	53
8.3 Productivism, Counter Culture and Neoliberalism	55
8.4 Politics, Food Security and the Free Market	57
8.5 The landscape and Soil as Construct and Commodity.....	60
Axioms	63
Conclusions.....	70
Refrence List	74

Summary

Productive agricultural soil is an essential ingredient in the agricultural landscape, which further exists in a dialectical relationship between ruality and the broader society. Soil destruction and industrial farming are common place in Scandinavia today, and resultantly, this essay problematises our ambivalent relationship with soil as part of our material base on one hand, and the consumer driven society as a part of capitalisms inherent need for physical expansion, on the other. Specifically, this thesis seeks to answer the question: How do we reconcile the benefits we receive today, from destroying soil and agricultural landscapes for capitalist purposes, with its costs for tomorrow? The methodology employed uses *context, process, function and form* to read contested landscapes and reveal ideology and values directing societal priorities and individual choices. Capitalism is identified as dominant ideology and its *process* and *function* are investigated. Following, this essay criticises capitalisms' unquestionable position in future choices with an examination of its destructive effect on soil, community and identity. Thus, industrial food production and the commodification of food as a solution to an increasing population and environmental problems are rejected. And in answering the main question in this thesis, I posit that the role of capitalism as a development mechanism at the expense of productive soil and agricultural landscapes is questionable and as such cannot be reconciled.

Prologue

This research studies the importance of agriculture in society, and most importantly, its neglect. Agriculture's importance is not something that has to be proven *per se*; nonetheless, this thesis will serve as a contribution to the discourse on agricultural landscapes as arenas of resources and knowledge, confronting a widely accepted ideological economy. Furthermore, this work highlights socially constructed lines we follow and mirrors the peculiarities that make up the entire process.

First, the general situation and problem formulation that constitutes this thesis is presented and will be illustrated by one principal case and two supporting ones, thereafter, the theoretical approach and methods employed will be stated. Going forward, the central themes are presented, particularly; historical materialist theory is used to show the discrepancy between modern economic consumerism and its impact on the life cycles that support it. A majority of the arguments used for analysis in this paper is qualitative and focuses on tradition, community and landscapes. Moreover, the political economic processes are discussed and questions are raised as they relate to accepted truths and political and economic agendas.

Just as Mitchell (2003) stated, this line of thought in this thesis agrees with Henderson (2003, p. 196) on his proclamation of a need “for a concept of landscape that helps point the way to those interventions that can bring about a much greater social justice. And what landscapes study needs even more is a concept of landscape that will assist the development of the very idea of social justice”. This essay will employ this ethos and expand it in relation to soil and agriculture.

This thesis takes the form of an essay that rests on three thematic pillars: Agriculture, Landscape, and Capitalism, explored within a wide spectrum of the geographic field. The interrelatedness between these thematic pillars gives rise, from a focal point of soil and food production, to important processes: food production as a creative agent of landscape and identity, and capitalism's autonomous influence along with its implication in agriculture.

These processes are in large parts fuelled by production and consumption, and in this case a conflict arises between food as a social utility and as a commodity, along with the potential replacement of it by other consumer goods for profit. From this, classes of producers, consumers and capitalists emerge, although distinct in specific cases and for analytical purposes, they come together in a holistic approach, with unclear borders in reality.

This rationale may manifest when rural communities and food producers come to identify themselves as separate from the consumers and capitalist developers, in disputes concerning how the landscape is used. The struggle over meaning and the societal direction turns it into contested landscapes where identities and values clash. This creative and destructive process leaves a trail of integral sub-themes. Most vital here are: tradition, neoliberalism and ecology. The assumption that there are feedback mechanisms to all active agents further complicates the process as the world is relational and everything and everyone are potentially interacting.

The thematic rationale is explored within a relevant and contemporary conflict, that is to say, the conceding of productive soil to economic growth promoted by widespread consumption, such as, shopping malls as physical structures invading productive soil. This serves as a symbolic and valid representation of the logical breakdown between the economic material base and the abstracted levels of the superstructure. The study of Human Geography mandates one to never underestimate the particularity of place. I for one know feelings for a *place* are real and that tradition has deep roots. Proper emphasis on “place sensitivity” is a necessity. Technicalities can be observed from the outside, but notions and meaning are arguably superior when experienced. Scale is inevitably an important consideration to make in a geographical study, but for flexibility of scale, allowing the case and not the theory take directive of the scale, is in my opinion, true place sensitivity. My scale slides from global nomothetic approaches to individual and idiosyncratic understandings depending on the specific context and what is pragmatically necessary to establish my constructive elaboration. Emphasis is on Scandinavia with a particular prominence for the Norwegian situation.

1 Introduction

2015 is the UN's "Year of soil". This year is dedicated to bring back awareness on the relationship between humans and soil; the scarce and fragile surface layer of our planet, which we grow 95% of our food in. It sets out to shed light on an important and delicate substance we often take for granted, but which is imperative for our most primary needs. The physical soil gives life and makes possible all further dimensions of human existence, still it is so basic that it is often neglected: it is our "silent ally" (UN News Center 2015). In addition to providing for numerous environmental services, soil is also an integral part of landscapes.

Productive soil is both essential for human history and contemporary society, and plays a main part, even in the post-industrial and contemporary modern society. I argue that how we see the environment, and ourselves particularly the relationship between the concepts of *identity* and *landscape*, can trace its roots to the human/soil association and the practice of agricultural production. Some of the issues I stress in this thesis are precisely related to this fact: today, most people's life revolves around other structures and forces, and the importance of the production of healthy food in sufficient quantities is downplayed. This eventually leads to the notion that the most essential of all products should be where we spend the least of our income. Norwegians use 11.8% of their income on food (Statistics Norway 2013). "High food prices" and agricultural subsidies are the source of a tense social and political debate setting consumers and producers up against each other (Tjernshaugen & Molteberg 2014; Boeck Jakobsen 2014), with consequences reaching into the rural, the landscape and the legitimacy of capitalist expansion.

This thesis seeks to emphasise that food, food production, and soil should not be categorised and grouped with other commodities and treated as an object of speculation, outside direct democratic control. The debate that on the surface seems concerned with commonplace issues like price is for some a matter of job creation, livelihood, tradition, ecology and social utility and ultimately, survival. The landscape takes the form of social justice and I will look into what that means, in general and for a few selected landscapes, within the context of capitalism and agriculture.

The qualitative rationale in this thesis mandates that social justice is materialised in landscapes. What priorities we take for the future is affected by ideology (capitalism) and this are parts and parcel of the landscape. Rurality is real and exert a resistance to capitalist expansion, based on its inherent roots with traditions. Rurality therefore strongly opposes soil destruction within a material dialectics of history.

The material based argument for this thesis takes an objectively approach. This is so because the physical destruction of productive soil is an unsound practise, because it is irreversible and population is increasing. Industrial farming within a free market crosses rural tradition and animal welfare and puts food, a vital commodity, at risk.

Together the statements above, in a generational perspective, dissents a landscape of consumption at the expense of productive soil, as otherwise, it is a form of social injustice. The aforementioned premise leads to the purpose of this thesis as indicated in the General Aims and Problem Formulation below.

1.1 General Aims

We are the result of history and tradition, because these are the story of human existence by the cultivation of the land. Everything else including civilisation and modernity is a by-product. Arguably, there is a rural and capitalist dimension to nearly everything. Productive interaction between humans and nature to produce what we need to exist is what defines us. The historical development coupled with creativity has resulted in turning this interaction into sophisticated forms and a variety of social relations (Giddens 1971, p. 35).

I will explore some of the most important concepts of landscapes as products of the human/soil relationship coupled with practice and production, and altered by planning and social will. This idea is pursued by seeing the landscape as layers of history and tradition, but in a current process of adapting as well as being threatened in the context of capitalism. Does it make sense to talk about a historical development of a distinct *rural*, and what would *ruralities'* role be in the contemporary capitalist society? I argue the rural is real and connected to the

human/soil relationship, and that it will reveal itself when confronted with its opposite, in the form of capitalist urban expansion. This is where the shopping mall comes into the picture as the provocateur.

Even though housing exerts the biggest pressure on soil in Norway today, and this is where political objectives are proposed to targeted measures (Gunnufsen, Øvrum & Nordal 2010), the shopping mall is a manifestation and a representation of the general tendency emphasised in this thesis and sharpens the contrast in that manner by not serving a direct social need. Hence it represents the *desired* in a landscape history of *necessity*. This raises the ultimate problem: What is “proper” or “just” in the landscape? The rural becomes then a mere part in the overarching issue, where capitalism’s logic threatens with destruction of productive soil, with potentially wide and deep societal consequences. The practice and meaning of producing a stable source of quality food, is contested by economic rationality in a competition for soil to thrive on.

1.2 Problem Formulation

This thesis constructively criticises the rise of capitalism as an agent of change with spatial consequences. The inconsistency is essentially between the utilitarian position of soil as a resource for human needs and the commodification of landscapes for capitalist accumulation. In creating a landscape of social justice, these two positions work according to different logics. The story follows two lines of “negative” scenarios, both serving as consequences of capitalism as a hegemon for economic activity. The first rests in industrial farming, and the other on construction on productive soil. The overall concern is more of a criticism of the inherent ideology and its will to question priorities, than on delivering a concrete alternative to capitalism.

Whether turning landscapes into industrialised food-producing units or constructing on productive soil, capitalism is working at its finest, according to its own principles, the issue is two-fold. The first consequence is the ecological and health implications that results from overemphasising volume production, and the other, is a generational perspective on the concrete destruction of physical soil for life subsistence purposes, causing the economic growth to destroy its source. The rural

identity and praxis further complicates, but also highlights the contradiction by displaying real social contestation, introducing the subjective to the quantitative debate and shedding light on what landscapes mean in an agricultural and historical context and how it is dialectically constructed as choices.

I utilise a few examples for empirical purposes, but this work is not case specific, it is meant to shed light on mechanisms and processes, attitudes, tendencies and possible consequences of the contested landscape. The contested landscape is utilised to pull out central principals in an important discourse. The principals that surface during the exploration are not dealt with in a strictly normative or absolutist way, it is more important to reveal the relativity of accepted norms and values. Even so, there is an inherent subjective preference for protection of soil and respect for food producing communities as *preferred* values. Among relative truths there remains anticipated hierarchies that can be more appropriately argued for than others, based on context (Potter 1996). What legitimises the value order promoted here is a generational perspective on food security and ecology. There are extensions of softer values to this core as well and they play a constituting part and exert real power along with the structures in the otherwise objective discourse.

1.3 Research Question

The aims and problems presented above could be summarised in the following research question for the thesis:

How do we reconcile the benefits we receive today, from destroying soil and agricultural landscape for capitalist purposes with its costs for tomorrow?

This question will be examined using various means. In this regard: are the recent rural uprisings in Norway related to a dysfunctional economic system? Accordingly, do different sets of values arise from different systems and are the landscapes in my cases a manifestation of these standards? Moreover, what are the implications to society and can unbiased resolutions be reached and how would this manifest in a *just* landscape?

Agents and Justice

The rural resistance represents what was formerly there, just as much as they challenge capitalism's new contributions. Both fight for the future, but where the rural will conserve the old with a long-term vision for food production, capitalism wishes to create on top of what already exists, for capital accumulation. To get a more complete grip on any process, one should not just see what there is, but also notice what is absent and why. Behind the visual landscape there are often forces straining to make elements self-evident, but at the same time diluting others (Mitchell 2008a). In the cases that follow, we see that the struggle between the material base and abstracted economic activity is real and that historical materialism is part of the process and might shed light on why the landscape takes the form it does. The rationale for what is seen as *just*, can in this thesis be traced to the function of a landscape and to social justice in the form of serving necessity before the desire driven part of the economy. The claim on justice is a major force in change, as rural justice founded on necessity drives agriculture, while desire powers consumption.

Landscape, Culture and Changes

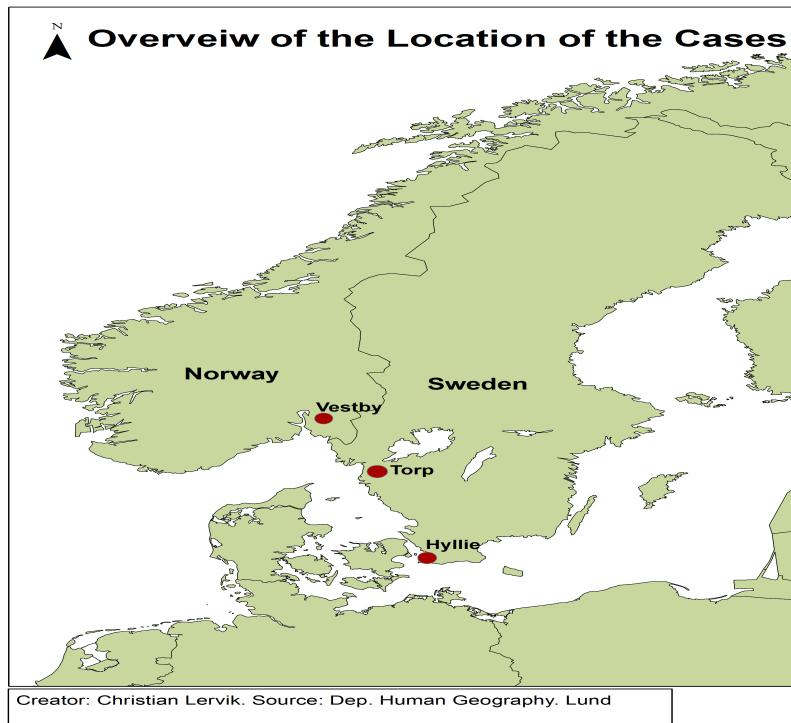
When we experience a landscape it is a performance of remembering (Ingold 1993). Landscape is a mental concept for organising nature and culture, it is also the scene of human struggle and success in history and it mediates socially produced values and ideas and can be comprehended as a system of such. Landscape is culture and culture is landscape. “Culture is understood as the sum of the perceptions, values and motives of a social group, formed through a process of socialisation and learning; human actions and artefacts are then regarded as manifestation of culture” (Jones 1991, p. 243). The landscape is consequently both culture and an artefact, and as they are inherent to each other, can reveal characteristics of the culture that made it. So, landscape as a concept and as geomorphology is also a cultural product and culture itself is a product of landscape, both of the resources the landscape provide and as a socially constructed category with real implications for human life. The point is, it is not a one-way relationship: when we alter the landscape it will affect us in a variety of ways. What we perceive as creative destruction might actually turn out to be nothing more than destruction in a holistic and long-term perspective.

The Future of Soil in a Nutshell

The Shopping mall is a rather recent and symbolic object in the landscape; this “dome” of capital investment and consumption is tearing out its space into what has been some of the most productive soil in Scandinavia. It is clashing with the values of farmers, whose identity, I argue, is constructed around a social responsibility as food producers.

In the following cases, fundamental needs meet monetary values and the landscape is where all this come together, it is where culture and capital is expressed, where values are contested and displayed, where identities are negotiated socially and in relation to the land. The cases, which can be seen in the map below, display similar trends and are indicative of a situation where consumption is compromising production of food and fibre as well as tradition and identities in the Scandinavian landscape today. The need for expansion inherent in the capitalist economy has austere negative effects, as soil is sacrificed for investment in built structures solely for the consumption of goods. This thesis is addressing the arrogance or loss of sight that legitimises destruction of physical resources, but it is also concerning agriculture’s role and landscape as a concept, and emphasises in particular, the human and land relationship in a rural perspective within a politicised economy in a European context.

2 Cases



Planned Destruction or Social Will

There is an important distinction between the landscape as a result of organic evolution on one side, and the landscape planning rooted in economic rationality, aesthetics and ecological considerations on the other (Jones 2006). The cases below (for map of the geographical locations, see figure. 1 in appendix), are in the crossroads of economic rationality (investment in shopping malls) and organic evolution (the food producing community), and it calls for a planned societal direction considering both, as food production should be a unifying concept that intersects all interests.



Picture. 1
Demonstrasjon, Vestby.
Source: Juven, O (2014)

Vestby. My main case is an occurring event and one that has raised a stir in the media, political debates, and among interests on all levels. The establishment of an IKEA warehouse in Vestby, Norway has rekindled what was once an inconspicuous debate into an intricate, objective, and symbolic contest of a specific landscape, and at the same time snowballed into a general societal and environmental controversy. Elements like soil protection, landscape values, and capitalism, are surfacing and the Vestby case is fertile ground when it comes to exploring convictions, norms and priorities. I draw up some of the values and reasons that cumulate into the contestation and that have led to demonstrations (Juven 2014; Kommunal Raport 2013). First, these events have a direct connotation to subjective, idealistic and utilitarian motivations with the common cause of safeguarding either livelihood or food supply as a national interest, but within a setting of the structures of capitalism and political ambitions. Second, the built structures and complementary intentions of business can be seen as mere extensions of capital and politic aspirations that express a social priority and dominant ideology that trigger demonstrations to unite against them. A division however becomes clear, those who oppose fight for what is there and those who advocate, for what is desired to come.

The struggle, which initially concentrated on a 13, 5-hectares field adjacent the town centre, has now scaled down to 7 hectares, due to pressure and negative attention concerning the project. The most recent location of the warehouse is in blue on fig. 1. The soil surface will in its totality be affected and taken out of production and be replaced with a warehouse and adjoining parking for 1000 cars (Regjeringen 2013a). The price on the market for property in the area is relatively high, as can be seen from previous sales on properties of the same scale and location, one estimation for the property in question is close to 6 mill € (Habberstad 2013). This fact, of course, highlights the business potential, but also intrudes into other value judgements.

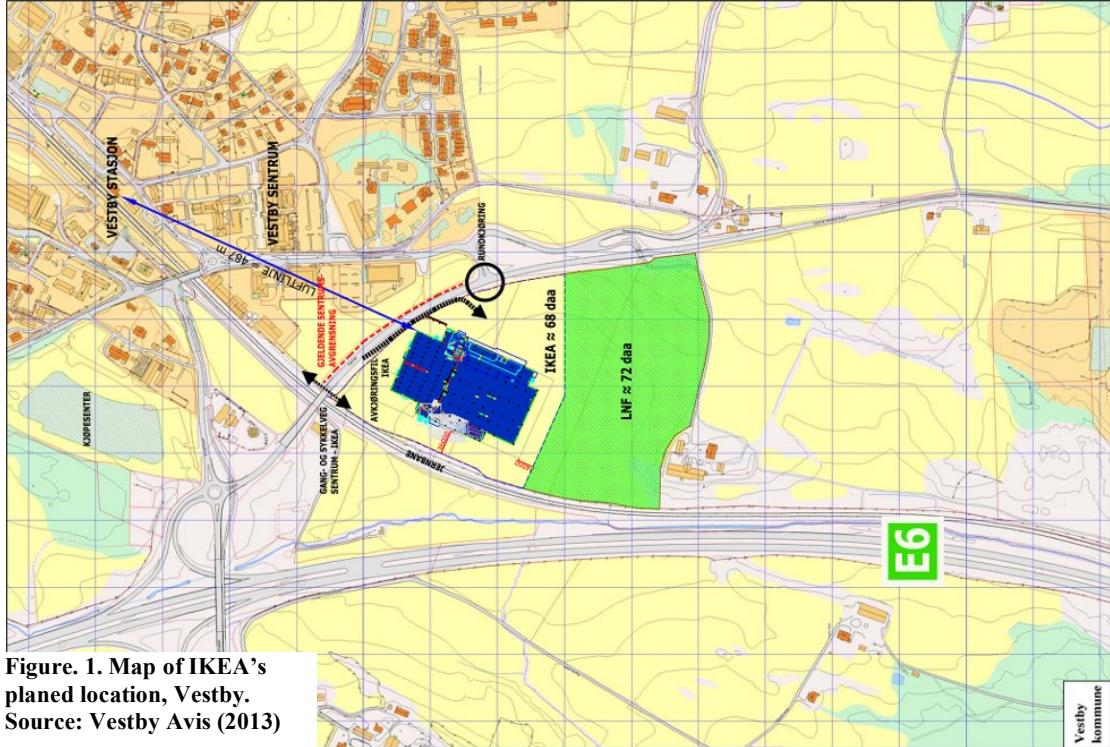


Figure 1. Map of IKEA's planned location, Vestby.
Source: Vestby Avis (2013)

Soil Protection according to the Norwegian Law of Soil Security § 9:

- Cultivated soil must not be used for purposes not aimed at agricultural production.
- Cultivated soil must not be utilised in such a way that it cannot serve the need of agricultural production in the future (Falleth 2014).

The municipality interprets this law according to the Plan and Building Act of the county and state department's concession, but with the state having the ultimate responsibility for securing the nation's primary management objectives (Gunnufsen, Øvrum & Nordal 2010). Below in figure. 2, we see the actual irreversible redesignation of productive and potentially productive soil permitted according to the Plan and Building Act between 1976 and 2012. There is a significant decrease following the political ambitions in the previous decade, strengthening productive soils position. Vestby joins the statistic with negative implications for an otherwise positive trend.

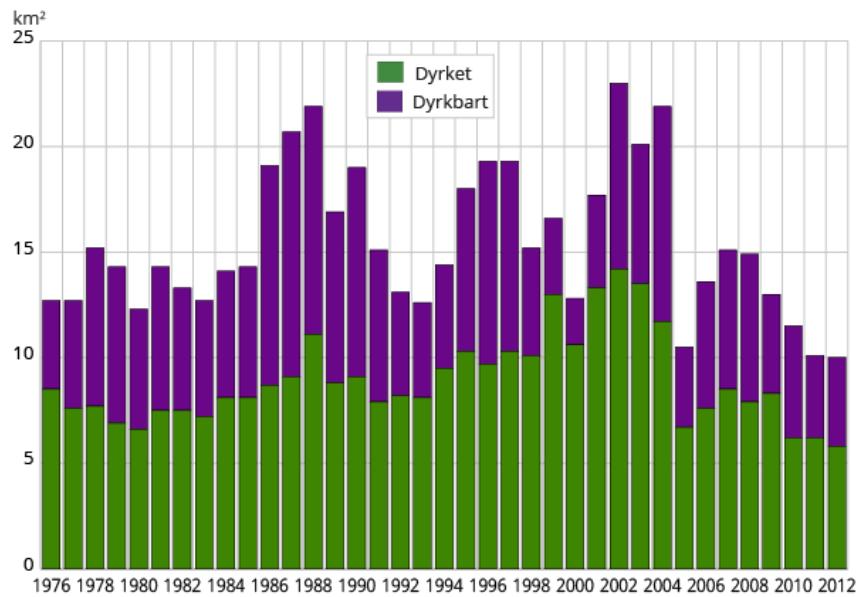


Figure. 2. Re-designation of productive & arable soil. Source: SSB (2013)

This is the background for the political process and it gave producers and conservationists a steady political platform as the project was deemed to run contrary to national interests. Nonetheless, the concerned department on state level gave their permission, setting the law aside accentuating prior election promises, democratic concerns and their interpretation of the law's exemption-rule that overall societal benefit outplays specific cases (Regjeringen 2013b) (Zoric, Solhaug & Sunquist 2013). This step in the process is extremely important for my analysis, as it underlines the troublesome value judgements resulting from speaking for the society as a whole and it indicates a neoliberal development agenda. This interpretation of what is best for the greater society is at the core of my broader problem formulation referring to the concept of justice.

The development plans for the area in general dates back to 2006, where the field is part of plans expanding the town centre. The following planning session in 2010 led to an option contract being drawn up with the three owners, currently leasing out the land. At this stage, when the land was to be developed mainly for housing purposes, IKEA is mentioned in the contract, but is still not a concrete part of the plans. The County governor of Oslo and Akershus and his agricultural division, Environmental Division, and the Norwegian Public Roads Administration raise complaints during

the public hearing, with protection of productive soil and cultural landscapes being some of the motivations. IKEA steps in as an actor in 2011. The former objection by the governmental institutions is overruled and the work on the development plan continues. In the second hearing the same above-mentioned institutions stand by their objection, with the County Governor emphasising that the project are crossing national interests based on climatic and soil protection. The sustained objection allots the issue to the Ministry of Climate and Environment (Habberstad 2013; Regjeringen 2013a).

In a 2013 press release from the government, it is stated that one of the most fertile grain fields in the county moved closer to be regulated for development purposes by official approval of the Municipal and Modernisation Minister, who emphasised agreement in the municipality on a political level and positive growth for the region in his decision (Regjeringen 2013a). This instantly ignited demonstrations and engagement across the country from rural communities (Vårt Land 2013), and opened the current media discourse on soil protection.

As of spring 2015, in between many private and political protests, the status on IKEA´s homepage is that the construction will go on and the positive economic effects for the region is still heavily underlined, but no opening date has been set. The proponents of the plans are still extremely focused on job creation and regional economy, with the addition of one positive environmental impact by relieving the existing warehouses in Oslo of traffic (IKEA 2015), in reality consolidating a political stand based on economic rationale. Both the non-governmental voices of protest and the formal institutional objections span from urban planning to bird protection, but the essence - often behind the other approaches - is soil protection (Nationen 2015; Regjeringen 2013a). The debate has thus proliferated into a full-fledged discourse where the aforementioned division of rationale and values can be discerned.

Habberstad (2013) defines in her work, five value categories among the local producers based on interviews in the local area: economical, recreational, historical, identity, and long-term ecological values. These are further developed and tied up to

theory in the value section. Worth noting is that they coincide with values and the grouping of values I employ, hence it gives an empirical base to my claim on importance on softer values in an objective debate. Private economy is one reason, but the local farmers seem to keep up their practice more contrary to development than because of economic return. There is clearly an element of tradition and rootedness, and family traditions and heritage is explicitly mentioned along with other reasons related to identity and customs as a motivation for keeping the farm and producing food (Habberstad 2013). I will pursue this when defining the agricultural landscape in the elaborations at the end.

IKEA also has its proponents among the local population, in addition to the municipal council. Local pressures groups from both sides utilise social media to get their wishes acknowledged (Facebook 2015a; Facebook 2015b) and a clear overweight are in favour of the plans, largely based on development possibilities within the local economy and a strong personal desire to shop furniture and meatballs. There is a clear division in this case when one look at the arguments on social media and electronic petition campaigns (underskrift.no 2015). There is a strong local and democratic focus on the pro-IKEA, while on the opposing side there is a utilitarian ecologic, social, aesthetic and cultural conservatism.

One other important characteristic for the opponents, which strengthens their utilitarian profile, is the national pressure groups on social media, consisting of a broad member base with a wide and long-term value profile and with membership numbers far exceeding that of the local pro IKEA groups (Facebook 2015c). Not just a division, but incommensurability in values, seems apparent in the ongoing social and conventional media debate and diverging worldviews is decreed as a reason why one side fails to see the “truth”. The advocates of soil protection show some reconciliation by claiming to not work against the economic development, but are instead questioning its particular location (Tannum 2015). In the tense local debates and during public hearings a main divide between local economic development and national utilitarian interest becomes evident; additionally there are pockets of local resistance focusing on noise and aesthetic problems (Kjøniksen 2015).

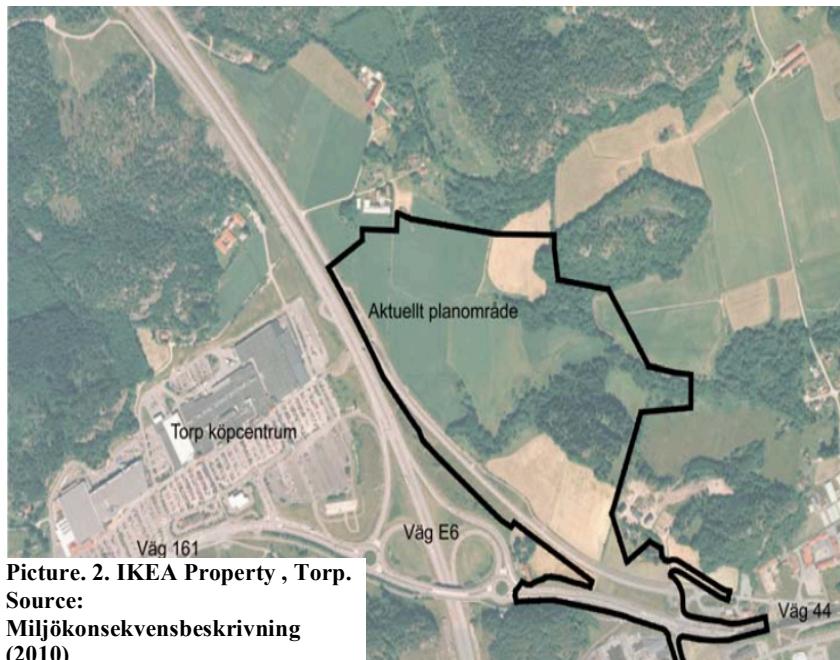
It should be noted that IKEA was required to demonstrate appropriate methods and implementation for physically moving the soil to be developed, as a prerequisite before starting construction. The location is as mentioned extremely delicate and the case has become a sensitive one. This forced IKEA to contact Bioforsk to develop a practical method (Haraldsen 2015; Wangen 2015a). There have been somewhat successful experiments moving productive soil in relation to projects in the past, but never in this scale. It is a technically difficult and expensive process with unpredictable results (Haraldsen 2012).

Environmental concerns are also raised along with the signals this sends as to our social priorities (Yri 2015; Wangen 2015b). There is also the issue of uncertainty of its success: according to estimations it is necessary to double the area and supplement with local soil at the new site to achieve todays output (Haraldsen 2015). In addition to the massive intervention by machinery and energy to execute the relocation in the first place, this will lead to an increase in activity by intensifying the cultivation twofold to achieve what we already produce today. A technical fix, but hardly a considerate one.

The municipality already has 2000 Hectares prepared and regulated for commercial development in close proximity to the vicinity. The 70 acres in Vestby constitutes a part of the one per cent top quality soil available in Norway. This field alone produces one fourth of grains necessary to feed the entire municipality (Grimstad 2013). A rough and theoretical calculation of course, but it underlines a point and raises the question: Why? It takes thousands of years for this ecosystem to form; yet it is gone within hours when the construction begins. The answer will familiarise us with the crude power of ideology and the finer mechanisms of politics and neoliberalism, but also historical materialism, the alienated subject in a modern capitalist context and the sense of place and tradition.

This development project is hence the inspiration and background for most of the rural and political contestations referred to in this thesis, but also for soil as an issue of national interest. The two Swedish cases below emphasise this interest and pull the discourse into a European political economic context.

IKEA, Torp, Sweden. Part of a large area that has sprung up in several stages and that now forms a sizable commercial zone right outside of Uddevalla, a city struggling with a post-fordist transformation, with IKEA, currently the largest



Picture. 2. IKEA Property , Torp.

Source:
Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning
(2010)

private employer in the municipality (Ekonomifakta 2015). The area in question is the latest 7 hectares seen in picture 2 below, regulated for commercial purposes in 2010 by Uddevalla Municipality, and especially the 2,42 hectares for IKEA's warehouse. As seen from the plan drawings below before the construction started, the warehouse is situated on rich soil and natural habitat. The recognition of the productive soil as a resource is surprisingly poorly dealt with in the zoning plan (Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning 2010) and a lack of general critique on this and similar projects in Sweden is apparent (Sørlie 2014). This underlines the weak position agriculture is in when industry moves out and alternative investment enters. I argue that when productive fields like the one in the plan drawing, is silently swept under a warehouse and lost forever, the predominant ideology becomes apparent. The building is now finished and in use.

This case serves as the reference for some of the political and economic issues discussed and as an example of neglected long-term societal needs by economical forces backed by broader political ambitions. Part of the context is the overall value

of agricultural goods and services depreciating by 2% annually in Sweden in recent years (LFR 2012). This is in a context general deregulation in agriculture in accord with the EU's General Agricultural Policy, with one effect being regional divergence, as the system inherently favors productive regions (Nalin 2000). This of course points back to agriculture's weak position when investments in other sectors perceive the opportunity in depreciated land and the pleasant political environment created by economic crises, and has deep effects on rural communities, the landscape, our image of the countryside and what is *just*.

Hyllie, Malmö. Emporia shopping mall is located in Hyllie outside of Malmö, it was established in 2012 and now contains 190 stores. A bird view of the area can be seen in picture 3 below. It claims to be Scandinavia's leading shopping mall and is Sweden's first environmentally certified according to BREEM (claimed to be the leading assessment method and rating system for building in the world) thanks to



Picture. 3. Emporia,
Hyllie. Source:
Skyscrapercity (2014)

their holistic approach with special attention to the environment and sustainability (BREEAM.Org 2015). The paradox is that this complex is situated on some of the most productive soil in all of Scandinavia, where this one centre alone takes up 3 hectares in addition to parking for 2700 cars. Emporia is owned by Steen & Strøm under the

French shopping centre group Klépierre, whose parent company are Simon Property Group (the worlds largest real estate owner) and BNP Paribas (steenstrom n.d.; klepierre n.d.).

The city has had plans for development in the area since the 1960's and to this date 9000 housing units, an arena and infrastructure is at the site in addition to Emporia

shopping mall, the project as a whole is a pioneer in climate smart development. The area in its totality is on absolute top quality soil for food production and is now without reservations practically turned into a highly urbanised area (Malmö Stad 2013).

This case is the example of capitalism as a global force with international owner structures and interests, which completely overrules soil destructive development, not just in small local areas, but also in the sphere of influence of larger cities. In a Post Fordist Malmö, the service economy backed by powerful investors has a huge leverage on local decision-making and there is an element of class in the process of change (Holgersen 2014). The environmental certification might reflect this, as it is founded on an elitist technological class's ecological standard, or according to a capitalist class's economical ambition and therefore reflect their ideology. When what was formerly part of the most productive agricultural landscape in Scandinavia now is turned into a landscape of glass, steel and cars, and then finally becomes environmentally certified, a paradoxical point is made that reveal the dominant ideology's schemes of self-justification.

3 Philosophical Foundations

The stable access to safe and healthy food in sufficient quantities for the current and coming generations is the main issue underlying all other approaches in this thesis. The thesis serves as a critique of capitalist physical expansion and investment, with consumerism as the key element and driver. The consumer cult and the obsession with economic growth are contested -in these cases- by food producing communities and rural values representing the negation of the hegemonic capitalist system. The discussion here is on tendencies. The use of categorisation and ideals are meant to serve as a simplified representation of an immense complicated reality. Landscape is the arena as well as a constituting element, created as a category by us, exerting real power over us. Social, historical, economical and political concepts are seen as real entities as they exert real power, the power to change, by being processes, always in a state of becoming and always unstable. The social constructs dealt with in this thesis are recognised as real, and the structures considered part of reality, still, these entities are mere abstracted products of a more basic material reality, and the material world can distort a sphere of social construct, by e.g. disrupting the biophysical processes. The range between object and subject is where reality appears to us and it is where the dialectical change runs. “Human consciousness is conditioned in dialectical interplay between subject and object, in which man actively shapes the world he lives in at the same time as it shapes him” (Giddens 1971, p. 21).

3.1 Ontology

We are part of a physical world, but also a constructed and shared world that gives it meaning, for the nature outside our minds are meaningless, there is no *inherent* meaning to anything (Greider & Garkovich 1994). In this tabula rasa reality, meaning must come from us and we challenge the meaningless nature by constructing layers until we have a world with complex systems of meaning. Production and history are key factors in tethering these layers. From an evolutionary perspective then, all beliefs and symbols have or have had a function fulfilling some necessary task. Objects have a real effect as being part of human’s transformation of nature and hence have real social implications. The world of

objects is “raw reality”, a crude foundation fuelling our constructed reality. Food is an object and utility, but also a symbol.

This thesis rests on the primitiveness of existence versus the obscure intricacy of capitalist society. It sheds light on the discrepancy between our existence at its most fundamental and dominant economic system. What I arrive at then is a base (food production and soil), and a higher order (secondary and tertiary economic activity) derived, but not free from the base, working in relational process.

3.2 Epistemology

On most levels this thesis rests on critical realism (for an in-depth explanation, see; Yeung (1997: 53). According to this school of thought we are limited by our senses when it comes to knowing anything about what is “really” outside what we experience. The activity in the economic base is not completely reflected in the superstructure, it lays the foundation for its capabilities, but the base is also affected by the superstructure activity. Statements, descriptions and the like alter reality, at the same time the material world cannot unconditionally be altered arbitrarily, as different elements respond differently to various actions (Jönsson 2013). A modern producer of food, in addition to working directly with the land, is imbedded in a capitalistic system of political economy where power, and thus the formulation of rules, lies in another class. Values are not arbitrary, but relative to the system of production. Contradictions do occur, often followed by corrections and further legitimisation of the hegemonic system. Conflict of interests can also be adjusted for, but discrepancies such as justification of destruction in the material base by the higher order activity will work back on the superstructure with destructive effect.

3.3 Dialectics

Society is shared and knowledge is constructed but not single-handedly created: the world can be both material and subjective (Andrews 2012). The absolute explanation of any phenomena cannot possibly be attained, because the complex set of interaction behind any events are immensely complicated. Still, there remains one constant: change, and it is claimed as the most important factor in dialectics. A result of change beyond predictability is instability, and even so, systems and events

appear stable. Dialectics is about inquiry into the nature of how processes are constituted and sustained (Jönsson 2013). This is directly transferable to contested landscapes where neoliberalism is naturalised and is perceived as the preordained development, while it is merely a political tool to sustain power and accumulate capital. The relationship between object and subject, or our processing of nature becomes a second nature with its own laws. Breaking open a dialectical process sheds light on what appears as inherently related regularities and reveals them as choices. The binary thesis- antithesis relation is an extreme simplification, but a well functioning one for explaining action and reaction in society. What sort of actions that evokes reactions is indicative of values and what is “right”/“wrong” to do in a landscape. Agricultural production has been a steady source of both meaning and function for rural communities, constructing their knowledge and truths and creating their landscapes and loading it with meaning. The consumer society and the changes that comes with it, is the rural antithesis and is negated.

3.4 Theoretical reflection

The theory above evokes a dualism of the representational and the material. Though often referred to as a dichotomy, these aspects can be merged in the *landscape*. The mind, the body and the land make up the landscape, not the physical properties of the land alone (Greider & Garkovich 1994). Our mind works with “the systematic organisation of the content of the landscape and the connections between visible phenomena of which it comprises” (Palka 1995). The duality carries some theoretical inconsistency still, but a *structure* and an *experience* approach, must be combined to even come close to reflect the complexity of reality. The tools available lay the premises for how detailed a map can be drawn to represent the terrain and this means on a meta-level, that theory restricts and steer conclusions (Potter 1996).

This forms the central theme of the theoretical approach in this critique: the subjectively motivated decisions of agents in a system of political and socio-economic structures, not either or, but in combination - the farmer that wants to cultivate in spite of, and not because of, a rewarding system (Mohr 2015). The choice of keeping high quality productive soil in production is the actor’s negation of the economical structures inherent resolve to expand.

4 Research Disposition and Lay out

I will examine the capitalist rationale that opposes the agricultural and rural value systems, to ascertain if the two ideologies can be separated. Furthermore, the outcomes of the individual and the conjoined landscapes from both principles will be identified, and thereafter, the role of social justice in the landscapes produced will be examined.

4.1 Schematic Contact Surfaces

The figure below (Fig. 3) depicts processes and conflicts that arise in the areas where the spheres of the main themes in this thesis intersect. Soil and food production are at the core and it will be so for my expansions toward a socially just landscape. The elaboration that follows after the introductions of the themes has bearing on these conflict zones. What is *just* in the landscape intersects all of the spheres as conflicts of interest; I argue that justice ought to stem from the diagrams focal point, soil protection and food production with the interest of the common good. In this section, the implicating themes will be discussed in relation to each other and a conclusion reached. This thesis is built on a “conflict model” where ideals are contradictory and values play a major part, and interconnected with all of the aspects therein.

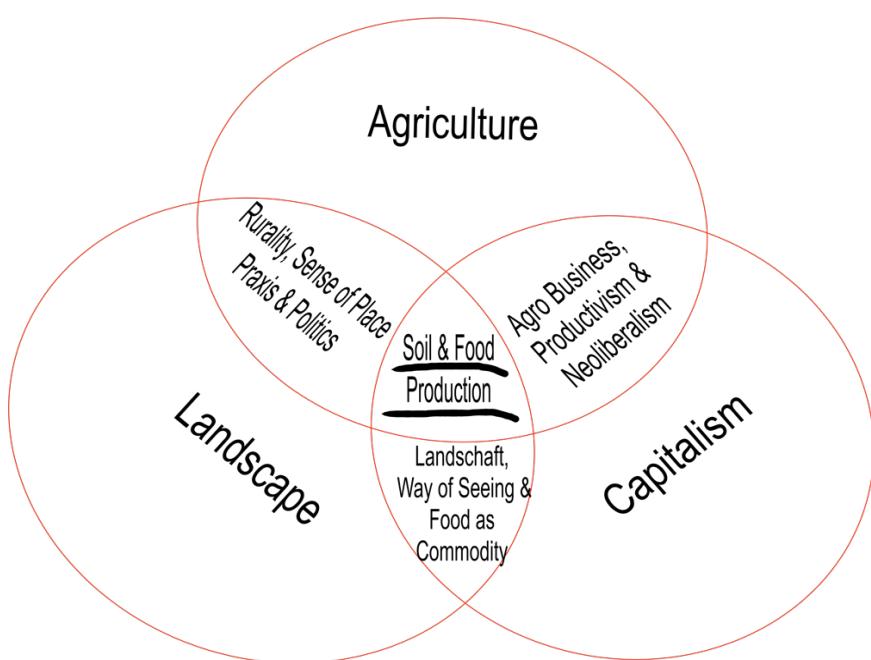


Figure. 3. Spheres and Conflict Zones.

5 Method

The methods used in this work are mostly qualitative, and where necessary, quantitative data and statistics are employed. I utilise and interpret media as an important source of information on the societal opinion and discourse throughout this essay. I use a political, economic, material, and ecological approach combined with emphasis on subjective values as the active factor that shapes society. Furthermore, I tap into the account of rationalism and deductive reasoning to inquire and mirror the factions of people's lives (Andrews 2012). This will render a disputed agricultural landscape into a rich field of ideas and significances, as to what that landscape should be.

Though landscape geography has moved into a constructivist trend, it is clear that the "Sauerian" understanding of the landscape as a cultural phenomenon is legitimate in contemporary landscape research (Rowntree 1996). Herein, humans serve as active agents; and at the time of its introduction to the field, the Sauerian perspective refuted the dominant natural determinist view. In other words, built structures, that take form in observable shapes and morphology is still valid in the temporary discourse, and it is a major component in the approach used in this thesis.

5.1 Form, Function, Process and Context

	Definitions
Context	Herein, the <i>context</i> is the situation that drives both the means and the ends. It is history -material and social, it is capitalism and rurality
Process	The <i>process</i> is the developments that make the <i>function</i> possible and achievable and this may manifest in but not limited to political ambitions and objectives, laws (that may facilitate trade for example), custom barriers, and rules and regulations on production. It is also social conduct and unwritten rules. It is concerned with <i>how</i> we organise and accomplish.
Function	The purpose of <i>function</i> is to meet the objectives of the <i>context</i> .

	Accumulate capital by consumption under in capitalist context, and produce food and amenities in a rural context.
Form	<i>Form</i> is what is seen in every day life and is depicted in form of geomorphology. In other words, it is the visual process and outcome of progressions in the flow chart such as function, process, context, and the ideology that drives it.
Rurality	<i>Rurality</i> is to be rural, and herein, a chosen lifestyle and identity. A way of being that may imply a closer connection to the material base and a value system contradictory in many ways to capitalism.
Neoliberalism	The brainchild of capitalism and its political tool.

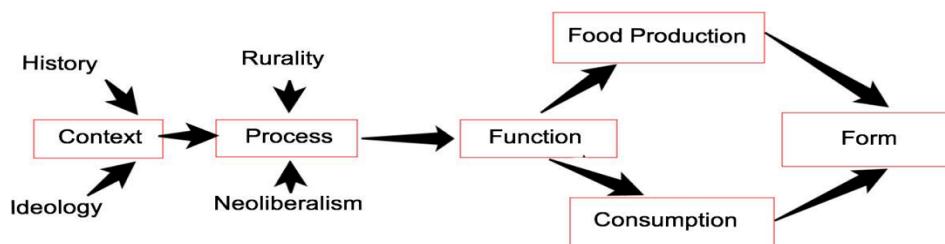


Figure. 4. Flow chart of the “way” from context to material form.

The flow chart in figure 4 (above) depicts the practices and progressions of productive soil. It can be read as, history and ideology give rise to context, and the processes therein may manifest in form of rurality or neoliberalism. This leads to the manifestation of its purpose, hence, function, be it in form of food production or consumption, and inadvertently leads to form.

According to Widgren (2004), context, process, function, and form are interrelated and make a fine dialectical starting point and framework to explore the agricultural landscapes according to the critique of capitalist driven changes in the food producing landscape discussed in this thesis.

In general terms, the four concepts can be applied to my cases: The fields, natural features and the built structure are all *forms*, and the production of food on the field and the exchange of goods in the shopping mall are the *functions* of the two featured forms. Furthermore, the historical progress, social relation, identity and food production, and consumerism, are a part of *processes*, within the *contexts* of history, tradition, exchange/use-value, justice, accumulation and capitalism.

In addition to Widgren's four concepts, Mitchell (2008a) offers in his *New Axioms for Reading the Landscape*—constructed on Pierce Lewis's *Axioms for Reading the Landscape* (1979)—a method digging deeper into why the landscape looks the way it does. The landscape reflects the culture that formed it, but it needs theory and historical analysis to answer *why*. This is a sharpening of the role of *context* to understand why capitalism permits the creation and sustenance of shopping malls. Form, function and process are integral in the Axioms as well, as together they problematise the materialisation of shopping malls in any landscape as more than a natural stage in our culture.

6 Themes

6.1 Rurality

A common framework for the coming themes can be derived from the discourse of rurality and its implications on capitalism. Rurality shares particularly many of the attributes and ways of interpretation with the concepts *land* and *landscape*. Rurality, means *being* rural and it is an integral part and an agent -as myth or real- in producing and re-producing especially *landscape and identity* in a relational process. Dialectically, rurality and all it contains, is a working force sustaining and reproducing landscapes, as imagined, lived, and as geomorphology. This again is part of the bigger societal development and merges as functional elements into the contradiction between capitalism and agriculture. Rurality incorporates most of the meaning that is expressed in the negation of capitalism. It is important to define and defend as a category and concept, as this thesis has bearing on it.

Discerning a Concepts of the Rural

In the contemporary discourse Halfacree (2009), identifies four perspectives on the rural. One of them being the eradication of the term rural in academia, as it does no longer reflect a modern world totally infused and altered by capitalism. It ends as a spatial category since the boundaries with its dichotomy, the urban, are simply becoming too obscure. Everyone and everything is too entangled in capitalism to separate it by the “old” distinction of rural and urban. There is undeniably some truth in capitalisms implications in nearly every dimension of society, a perception shared in my thesis. Most farmers today are operating within a capitalist system and many Scandinavian farmers live arguably in urban environments, having their second job there or spending leisure time in the city.

Nonetheless, it can be separated on the producing aspect and this is exactly what surfaces when the meaning and function of soil is contested by a rural identity tied to the tradition of food production. The case of the Emporia Shopping Mall materialising on productive soil without reactions, is a product of alienation from the historical material base. In the case of Vestby, contemporary rural identities tends to negate as a result of either seeing through the obscure system or as a defence of

livelihood in, a context of the historical material meaning of rurality and landscape, based on praxis and tradition.

The second perspective is based on *rurality's popular resilience*. It survives as a category in people's imagination, as an important dimension to people's narratives and building block—if not foundation—in identities. Rurality lives a life in popular culture, media and as a meaningful term in everyday conversation. This has real effects, whether academia manages to make sense of it or not.

In the third perspective, *rurality beyond the rural* implies a strengthening of the image by myth and usage. Representations of the rural are forced on to the environment, enhancing the contrast of a rural image. This leads to a “post-rurality” detaching it from its material base and space. The emphasis on myth, image, and its effect on our concepts are closely connected to my points on landscape where rural identity and food as a commodity are shaping each other. Running contrary to post-rurality though, I see them as fixed in space.

Rurality beyond rural representation is the fourth perspective and deals with our emotional attachment to spatial categories as rural, related *sense of place* and the experience of landscapes discussed later.

The integration and adaption of these perspectives on rural space by Halfacree (2009) into Lefebvre's triangle of space makes a useful universal tool for spatial categories. The corners of the triangle is divided between:

- *Rural localities* - practices such as food production and direct work with the soil.
- *Representations of the rural* - the rural as depicted and used in images.
- *Everyday life of the rural* - the subjective experience of rural life.

Rural space, like so many other spatial concepts is found in the middle, surrounded by these three approaches.

The significance of the rural/ urban divide becomes empirically clear when the rural resistance brings elements of their landscape to the urban landscape. The visual

contrast and the feeling that something is not quite as it should be when hundreds of tractors pour into the city (Mail Online 2015; Enoksen 2014), shows that it makes sense to speak of an rural identity and a rural landscape. I believe the whole point in these demonstration is to be “out of place” and to show that there is an identity constructed on being the producer of food, but also partly on *not* being urban and that there is lived agricultural landscapes grounded on productive soil and the fruits of labouring it.

6.2 Soil

Quantitative Soil

The need for keeping the human-soil relationship sound has implications for us and for the future generation’s possibilities to grow their own food in their own soil. In Norway, less than 3% of the land surface is arable land, pastureland included. 1/3 of that total has a soil quality adequate for food-crop production (Landbruksdirektoratet 2014), which is tied to the rigid factor of climatic condition (Fig. 5). Geographically then, the distribution of productive soil is far from favourable in Norway, placing the country in an uncertain position concerning population growth and self-sufficiency. The graph below shows area of productive soil within climatic zones in Norway and the distribution between cultivated and potentially arable soil, in Dekar (1 Dekar= 10 hectares). Zone 1 being the one favourable for agriculture intended directly at human food production. The red stack indicates cultivated soil, and the blue arable soil.

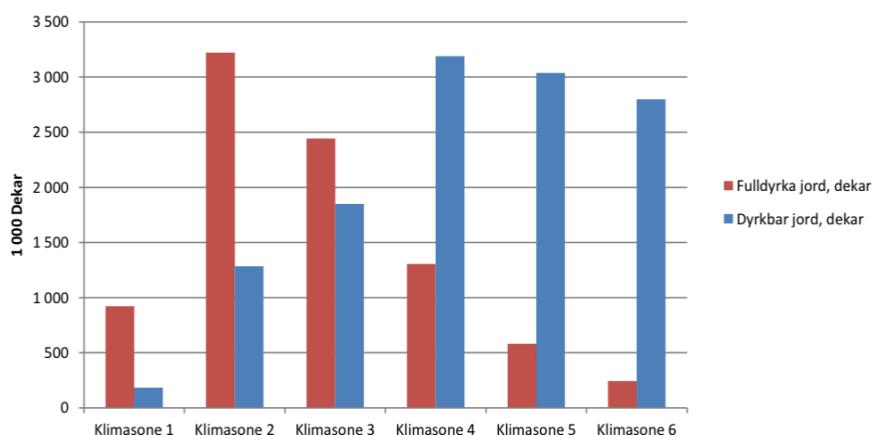


Figure. 5. Norway’s Climatic Zones within where cultivated and arable soil is located. Source: Rygh et al (2015)

Though new land has been cleared and some of the loss is due to reforestation and softer changes in land use, most of the productive soil has been lost to capitalistic expansion (i.e. irreversible urban development). It takes hundreds of years for soil with the right composition and of such high quality to accumulate. Soil is at best, a contingent renewable resource (reassigned soil is practically lost), and in this regard, the UN operates as a general rule with 1cm of quality agriculture soil accumulating per 1000years. Resultantly, the outlook on population growth, food production and soil degradation are rather gloomy both worldwide (UN News Centre 2015) and in Scandinavia (Grimstad 2013; Edman, Larsson & Lindberg 2013; Sveriges Riksdag 2010).

Qualitative Soil

Soil is an essential part of the “bigger picture” we call landscape and a crucial material element in history, values, identity, economy, politics and society in general. Agricultural outputs that satisfy human needs are the primary goal of soils many dimensions and are thus firmly connected to landscape as its principal quantitative factor by being part of the material base. In a fierce collision of value systems and rationales, where capitalist interests manifested as shopping malls challenge food production as in the example of IKEA, Vestby (Dybdal 2013), soil is eventually the essence and becomes multidimensional in triggering all other concepts. Of course Scandinavian agriculture is very much imbedded in the capitalist market as well, as it indeed has its full bearing on capitalisms logic of division of labour, private property, relation of production, and trade, to name a few, many farmers have mainly an economic motivation, or simply some other reason for doing what they do. Nevertheless, I argue that other values come into play than those driving capitalism, when human traditions and labour coupled with the soil is contested by purely economically motivated development, investment and consumerism. Neoclassical economics seems to collapse in front of economically irrational behaviour and subjectivity.

Soil as Politics

Places like Hyllie in Skåne and the IKEA constructions in Vestby, and Uddevalla, spring up as symbols of capitalism and consumerism's power over nearly everything else and ought to provoke, but the local resistance is often quelled (Edman, Larsson & Lindberg 2013; Sørli 2014). The issue is brought forth then and again in the Swedish media, and even though the gravity of the matter is explicit and of national, if not global scale, it fades quickly and seems to go silent until a direct threat resurfaces (Björk & Nosti 2011). A media search in Norwegian channels on the issue generates vastly many more hits and in a broad context (Sandbu 2014; Holsen 2008), still attention is sporadic, and perhaps capitalism endures on the dementia in the collective memory that seems to smooth out the consequences of this type of development.

On the political arena, the EU has acknowledged the problem, but the “sealing” of soil by infrastructure and urban sprawl is just one among many of the targeted efforts in the *Soil Thematic Strategy*; a Communication, Framework Directive; and Impact Assessment from the Commission to the EU Institutions; and all proposals are still on the desk (European Commission 2015a). With the exception of a few member states, the EU is on a “wait and see” policy. Sweden, which is on the same line, is gradually accepting productive soil as a national interest and the decreasing degree of self-sufficiency, as a problem (Sveriges Riksdag 2014; European Commission 2015b). While Norway and Denmark actually have a national policy guideline to protect soil (Lansstyrelsen 2012) and Norway in particular has specifically strengthened soil protection in the *Plan and Building Act*, which dictates local politicians that eventually make the decision at county level, if national interest is not compromised as demonstrated in the case of Vestby. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food are also currently working on a new strategy to implement a wide social awareness and strengthen soil protection in Norway (Gunnufsen, Øvrum & Nordal 2015), the overall political currents is right-wing, and resultantly, are pushing for a neoliberal turn (Regjeringen 2015) and thus in a constant battle with producers concerning the future of agriculture in Norway.

6.3 Neoliberalism and Food Production

The doctrines of neoliberalism have worked its way to be the natural condition and solution in the political and economic world. It promotes maximum freedom in areas like private property, individual autonomy, trade, and markets. The state inhibits maximum freedom, impedes trade, and should be worked down to a minimum size. Neoliberalism as a theory has been widely adopted and has naturalised itself as a global set of rules via the WTO and IMF for example, and most importantly, it has naturalised itself across society as common sense (Harvey 2006). This form of political economic capitalism validates this thesis, as the antagonist and some of the most sensitive issues I wish to bring up stems from the adoption and naturalisation of neoliberal solutions and rhetoric, as ruling in popular and expert discourses.

Neoliberalism must be said to have been extremely successful with becoming the norm, when the minister of agriculture overrules protests and acts of speaking up against it, even if it is the root cause of actions that destroys the soil we live off. Thus, economic growth is preferred over food production (Zoric, Solhaug & Sundquist 2013). The neoliberal agenda has been operating since the 1970s, consolidating its position by force and making all other alternatives a non-issue (Harvey 2006). It has a violent historic past, but must be said to have entered Scandinavia peacefully, though contested. Productivity and cost efficiency based on open competition is currently the preferred strategy at state level in Norway (Regjeringen 2015; Sundvolen-Plattformen 2013); this reflects a populist notion preoccupied with food pricing and a capitalist agenda of accumulation.

The recent proposed removal of “konsesjonsloven” can be seen as a step towards freeing agricultural property for speculation by removing the obligation to live and run farms when bought, in addition to breaking the hereditary privilege. Heavily contested, it is believed to promote capital investment, but sacrifice control of production, social utility and rural quality of life (Rygh et al 2015). The idea of strengthening the right of private property amasses numerous advocates and is one of the core principles of capitalism, but it also evokes many proponents with different values and alternative remedies for an agriculture in deep identity-crisis and with legitimacy issues voiced by the popular media (Nationen 2015b; Nationen 2014).

The Neoliberal EU

Neoliberalism is the underpinning of the EU (Rotschild 2009), with massive implication for the agricultural sector. The public-private partnerships of international actors with the European Commission's Directorate General for Competition, and other leading multinational business networks, enforced the competition ideal following neoliberalisation in the EU back in 1980s, and consequently, put it to work for the new neoliberal regime, accumulating capital (Sodano & Verneau 2014). In general, food production under a neoliberal hegemony becomes at best industrialised, at worst eradicated. Mitchell (2008a) points out that if we are to reveal what is not self-evident to become even close to evident, we must look at production and set it in a greater theory of capital circulation. He further states, "What is possible and what is not -literally what can be produced in the landscape- is a function of what is produced elsewhere to be sold for profit. And, typically what cannot be produced for profit fades out of existence".

The culture that made places like Torp, Udevalla, Hyllie and Vestby can hardly be read directly from these kinds of landscapes, but its explanation has its footing on moves within and among the ruling classes, as in the case of neoliberalisation of the EU or the latest Norwegian Agricultural Settlement (Regjeringen 2015), which is consolidating neoliberalism as the adversary of soil protection and rural areas. The Norwegian annual Agricultural Agreement is also a steady source of dispute and fuels the popular debate, bringing forth values concerning food production and the landscape to a national perspective (Boek 2014) and is an example of what can be stirred up in the contact zones between agriculture and capitalism.

Geography of Neoliberalism

Capitalism preserves itself when the ills of over accumulation sets in by geographical expansion while the destruction of value in the home market rages, only to reappear and close rent gaps, invest and accumulate once again (Harvey 1975). These "spatio-temporal fixes" solves the problem of falling rate of profit and over accumulation by making assets mobile, hence freeing itself from places of low potential and accessing places of high return on investment. Leaving the old places

in decay and often entering the new markets with a disrupting effect, while taking advantage of low property prices, and cheap labour (Harvey 2004). Capital, according to Harvey (2006), carves out one physical landscape, for so later to exhort its own temporal displacement and radically change it again. This can, very rudimentary, be applied to describe the drastic changes of the landscape on urban areas near agricultural land in the cases presented in this thesis. Although not in great detail, but as one of the major forces of change, juxtaposing the ecologically morally grounded and the realm of subjective and social ideals. Neoliberalism is the tool of breaking open markets and space to what is perceived as destructive transformations according to the ecological and the social reasoning throughout this thesis and Neoliberalism follows hence as the ceaseless antagonist.

6.4 Agriculture

An active and vital agriculture is an important component making up Norway's characteristic landscapes. Agriculture allows for the production of plants and livestock, in addition to this primary purpose, there are also apparent elements of myth, identity and other soft qualities, with very real and substantial effects. Due to post-war periods of subsidies and overproduction, agriculture for some time experienced a need to legitimise itself (Jones 1991). Technical revolutions and rapid scientific progress driven by political agendas and economical incentives has lead to the industrialised agricultural landscape we see across Europe and Norway today. The Norwegian agriculture production and its produced countryside have been sheltered by means of a firm protectionist policy, it is thus still characterised by a relatively small scale production, even though it has taken advantage of the technological advances in the post war period and experienced a massive up-scaling in the 90's (Almås & Bratberg & Syverud 2014).

6.5 Food as Commodity

Food is no ordinary commodity, it is vital for human existence, and its quality is essential for sufficient life functions, hence quality of life for individuals and whole societies. The access to food is a human right according to the UN charter of 1948 and FAO states the issue of food security is a national responsibility (Falleth 2014).

Norway's dependency on import is at 50% and with 350,000 acres taken out of production the last 40 years (Landbruksdirektoratet 2014), the professional and popular rhetoric is affected and set in relation to the broader discourse on agriculture (Dagbladet 2013).

There is a disconnect in the broad discourse of production, concerned with agricultures shift from being solely fixated on food production, to merging the rural myth and representations of landscapes with the produce itself, closely linked to *post-productivism* discussed below. One should note that in addition to restructuring their own economic base, the producers are consumers of agricultural produce themselves, so there is not a consumer/producer dichotomy with a one-way influence. Together they create a broad appreciation for the landscape and agriculture as carriers of valuable myths and ideas, which might in its turn, affect what a just landscape looks like. The opportunity to capitalise on the “authentic” and romantic rural idyll is one real effect our imagination has on the landscape. A development branded as *post Neoliberalism* in the agricultural market, where focus is on ecological and communal values (Marsden & Franklin 2013), somewhat close to what has been named *post productivism*.

6.6 Post-Productivism

The agricultural landscapes found in Scandinavia have in addition to its internal changes discussed above, been transformed by external forces. The result from decades of *Productivism* and Capitalism has changed what we see, and how we see it when we perceive Scandinavian agricultural landscapes, from within and from outside. The conflicting ideas of cheap industrialised food and simultaneous romanticising of the rural past, further complicated by environmentalism, has created ambivalence in the landscape. The desire to conserve qualities and yet generate quantities is difficult to balance, however it shows that different values are circulating and neoliberal production are challenged (Marsden & Franklin 2013). The whole scheme of industrial food production has been contested since *post-productivism* became a political initiative and “attentive consumers” are redefining food as a commodity. Food consumption consequently becomes a social marker and

the commodity, a medium of the particularity of place, its myths and connotations in an increasingly globalised market. The geographical uniqueness becomes a value added -exotic or patriotic- when consumers and producers construct their identity on commodities (Almås & Bratberg & Syverud 2014), this also has a great affect on the landscape (Gaasland 2014). This builds on the conclusion as above; an agricultural landscape in the picture of post productivism and the new food movements might be closer to a just landscape than the one of previous industrial farming. It simply reflects a wider value foundation than solely volume and profit.

6.7 Sense of Place

Place as a *location* is a descriptive approach whereas *sense of place*, is an intensely subjective interpretation. There is a voluntarism inherent in emphasising agents over structures, and what is there in objective terms is not what makes up the place in its totality, instead place is understood as a sensed and experienced phenomena, as inseparable from the humans in it and vice versa (Berg et al 2004).

Sense of place is the one out of three dominating concepts of place in recent human geography that suitably aligns with my investigation, as it emphasises subjectivity and the human dimension. It runs parallel to the material argument of quantity and quality production of food for the greater good of society, and adds aspects of emotions and subjectivity to my analysis. “Location” on the other hand, refers to place as a physical background and is also important in my approach, along with “locale”; which depicts place as social context (Berg et al 2004). Together they form a foundation of space.

6.8 Sense of Tradition

What I call “sense of tradition” should be added to the conceptual catalogue, as a more chronologically aware concept and as an extension to the chorography centered sense of place. Living in a landscape makes us a part of it and its history and the landscape a part of us (Ingold 1993). This idea of a landscape rooted in generations of practice is making Ingold’s (1993) concept of *taskscape* highly relevant. A taskscape is where *practice* takes over for the meaning of *land* in landscape, and

time is not just a chronological quantity, but measured as *social time*, founded on human experience. Social time, distinct from an hour on the clock, is idiosyncratic by being tied to specific people and places. Thus, tying the contemporary producer, the soil and the landscape ever tighter together with tradition and history into a sense of tradition with a spatial preference. Cosgrove (1998) talks of landscape as a container and medium for collective memory. He points out the importance of agrarian history as imperative because of the land/life relation and the implications of this for the visual and experienced landscape, which has obvious consequences for soil and food production.

6.9 Values

Jones (1993 p. 21-27) defines a set of landscape values with sub-themes overlapping and contextualising the problem formulation in this thesis, as well as the values brought up in the interviews from Vestby. The first division is on economic, amenities and security values from which “landscape values as a problem of resource allocation” arises to be further dealt with in a “conflict” or a “harmony model”. Essential for my discussion are the *subsistence value* which together with *long term ecologic value* underpin the central point of soil protection, challenged by *market value* and further complicated by *orientation and identity values*. The conflict model has bearing on direct action, exhibits irreconcilability amongst values and questions the prevailing direction of development by initiating various strategies (Jones 1993). In my case, this quite neatly falls in with the protests representing previously mentioned values against market values, on the assumption that political ambitions are incorporated in market values. This construct a solid platform that theoretically confirms values advocated in this thesis.

By and large, I find Jones's (2003, p. 24-25) argument against authoritarian claims, fitting for landscapes as well: “to claim that a concept that has been precisely defined and has a single correct definition is to conceal a value judgment”. Further he argues, “Chaotic conceptions survive because they capture the complexity of the real world” (Jones 2003, p. 4). Instead of seeing allegedly precise definitions as counterproductive, one can tap into values concealed in precisely these firm

convictions. Claiming that the proper use of productive soil is to lay it bare to economical development implies an economic value system ruling the discourse that it has lost sight of other societal and ecological values. “Job creation” and “economic growth” appear as unquestionable virtuosos and are unbeatable rhetoric in a society where the majority is quite far removed from the practice that still feed the planet and instead deeply enmeshed in a capitalistic reality of wage-labour, loans and credit.

7 Concepts of Landscape

Landscape as the spatial arrangements of physical objects is perhaps the most rudimentary understanding of landscape. A morphogenetic and evolutionary approach has been the foundation of landscape geography since the beginning of the last century, this quantitative understanding can be distinguished from the modern and post-modern approaches that gradually drifted away from an emphasis on physical form, thus, the distribution of things and their geometry, to incorporated social theory by accepting that landscape was *a way of seeing* and far from just rigid form out-of-process (Widgren 2004). Landscape becomes “the symbolic environment created by a human act of conferring meaning on nature and the environment. This landscape reflects the self definitions of the people within a particular cultural context” (Greider & Garkovich 1994, p. 1).

One could say that to understand the form of landscapes, the history of the landscape idea is just as important as the physical traits (Mitchell 2008a). To register a change one must have an idea of some sort of original, and from the discussion below it becomes evident that there is a shared history, and most of the chaotic array of branches come together in some common root system. I will expand on the two generic approaches that has been most influential for the European understanding we have today, which is the influence of the Germanic and Latin cultural legacy (Cosgrove 1998)

7.1 The Prospect

The landscape is something observed and intensely visual according to this approach; the perceived landscape became the “nature” ingredient in European art, depicting scenes of humans and nature together, or in representations of nature as an isolated scene. The idea of a landscape realistically represented in art by use of the perspective, became a powerful tool to naturalise the landowner and his land, by alienating him from it and objectify space, as something outside us to be possessed (Cosgrove 1998). Most relevant for this thesis, is that the landscape became ideological, serving as a “stage of reality” where the “right” performance in the “correct” background was played out.

The aforementioned *way of seeing* is then, seeing from a position that inevitably implies reading intention and meaning into the scene. This “view” inexorably developed in combination with capitalism and European values at the time, to become landscape paintings of property. Property became a concept necessary according to Cosgrove (1998), for land to realise its potential as capital in the market. As picturesque scenery within a frame, landscapes has played a part in creating and naturalising social, political, economical and environmental unities (Cosgrove 2006).

Origin of Rural Idyll and myth in Commodification of Food

In the era of nation building across Europe and the new world, the landscape changed from the private tidied rural scene into the “heart” of the nation. Often wild, untamed and with a romantic tone it reflected the people inhabiting it, or vice versa, it played a part in communicating the new ordering of space (i.e. the nation state). Landscapes became strong conveyors of ideas by serving as depicted vistas soaked in iconic natural features loaded with myth and meaning (Cosgrove 2006). We still worship that romantic ideal of a people’s righteous place in nature and their qualities as being mutual, we turn to, or even encourage stereotypes based on geographic determinism every day, in the media and in casual conversation. As much as we would like to know better, the discourse of who we are is infused with where we are from and “other” people’s popular image of that place.

Landscape is for most people today, heavily influenced by this tradition of depicting a rural pleasing scenery or a dramatic wild vista, and it is therefore relevant in my investigation as it is a constituting part in peoples everyday construction of themselves, others and nature. It evokes the concept of *rurality*. This scenic approach has even been claimed to be a “moral barometer of successful communities” (Cosgrove 2006), so how we depict our landscapes is indicative of whom we want to be. This of course, goes straight to the essence of shopping malls and contested agricultural landscapes.

7.2 Landschaft

Etymologically, landscape is also confined partly by the physical land that lay before us, but where it begins and ends is based entirely on traditions within social units and their use of the land. This “customary” division of space developed into landscapes as institutions (Widgren 2004).

Landschaft means a common area where a set of laws was part of the legal system particular for people in their relation to a specific tract of land (Jones 2006). Its heritage is the modern landscape as administrative or ceremonial units, the obscure brother of the strict political region. Originating in the Germanic language as *landschaft*, it has strong connotations to agricultural practice and livelihood. The notion of pictorial landscape discussed above, can be said to come out of this older - but still vigorous- understanding, by capturing these dwelling places for all forms of life, into scenery in the form of a picture (Cosgrove 2008).

The landschaft is the idea of social entities founded on similarity and common interests that forms a unity across space. It is constructed on the notion that particular *juridical relations* comes with use of the common understanding of *justice* that originates from social formations that relates to living and working on and owning the land (Mitchell 2003).

7.3 Floating Borders

Landscape is a term that has become commonplace, confidently used in everyday language, and one does not really think about what it truly *is*, and its convenience in casual language is precisely its plasticity. Landscape as a unit of study has both strengths and weaknesses and is a flexible concept adapting to the context. It is after all a mental construct; hence its subjective and self-evident nature relies on dominant and pursuing conceptions (Henderson 2003). “All maps are mental maps in that their content is culturally determined and ethnocentric in origin” (Axelsen, Jones 1987), it is a classification with our meaning and intentions internalised.

We cannot possible see the same landscape, since seeing the same elements is only half the picture, the rest is in ones head (Meinig 1979). It often comes down to what

we *want* to see in the landscape, what appears as *rightfully* belonging. And this is not a purely esthetical concern; it is an expression of what we fundamentally believe to be right and true.

The many forms of Landscape and the Landscapes many forms

The landscape is an idea and ideology just as much as lived cultural identity and physical geography. Landscape is “something to behold” from a position, most commonly understood as a location in space but also from a social position. Mitchell’s (2004) distinction between the *term* landscape, as the result of collective work and cultural identity grounded in the land, and the *idea* of landscape, which is understood as representation, vesting the *worked landscape* with the power to alienate.

Olwig (1996) also brings up the *nexus* between scenery and territory and their ostensible qualities of community, nature, justice and environmental equity, which all comes together in landscape. Widgren (2004) correspondingly advocates a dialectical synthesis between the two previously discussed approaches, *a way of seeing and geomorphology*.

Landscapes eventually are a highly subjective *experience*, and emotions affecting the experience can be highly unstable. The physical and the experienced, or even the imagined landscape is in this way real. This plasticity can be advantageous, but also carries the risk of weak communication (Palka 1995), but precisely *flexibility* is said to be part of landscapes resilience as a category (Henderson 2003). Landscape is destined to be ceaselessly changing and ephemeral, though this is the chaotic beauty of mental construction. The highly subjective definition of landscape is so strongly linked to how people see themselves, and how reality is perceived as spatial entities holding different values, that it becomes a resource for exploring identity and values, no matter how slippery the concept.

7.4 Towards an Agricultural lands

cape: Landscapes of Production

Both *landscape* and *land* can be seen both as parts of space defined by social interaction and negotiation between people, as well as between people and the environment. “In the process, the social, cultural and natural environment are meshed and become part of the shared symbols and beliefs of the members of the group. Thus the natural environment and changes in it take on different meaning depending on the social and cultural symbols affiliated with it” (Greider & Garkovich 1994, p. 8).

Farmers operating in the same historical landscape and in the same socio-economic context and sharing a common practice, have all the aforementioned embedded in their landscape of food production. Setten (2006) argues for landscape and place as complimentary concepts united by practice and the idea of landscape as a *visual* idea and place as *lived*. Resultantly, this work builds on this idea and use *place* and *landscape* both as viewed and lived, and they come together in experience through work, leisure, art and many other life dimensions.

Although landscapes can hardly be dealt with in general terms, since any landscape has a distinct meaning for those who live in it, yet at the same time, it holds a different meaning for those who view it as outsiders. These two cannot fully unite in the same subject, one cannot approach the landscape as a *way of seeing* and also fully experience what it is to live in it, as the very foundation of the way of seeing, builds on alienation between the subject and the object. The former is reading and the latter is experience. This consequently brings out an inconsistency between users and decision makers in the debate concerning conservation of productive soil, as it is not the same landscape discussed. This has firm bearing on the previous discussion on the relativity of landscape, still, a critical realism approach renders the possibility for a value hierarchy based on soil, as a means to an end, not just individuals, but societies at large. This cuts through the constructed ideology governing the contested *ways of seeing* by drawing on the *landschaft* idea. The demands of neoliberalism meet the needs of landschaft with support in generational social utility.

7.5 Agricultural Landscapes and Capitalism

The view of landscape as a representation is well established (Mitchell 2008). Even so, there is as demonstrated so far, a complexity behind modern landscapes that results from forces not leaving a direct imprint in the morphology. The rules of the game can change dramatically without leaving too many obvious clues, as in the case of agricultural restructuring. Capitalism as a key driver in change makes the simpler archaic culture-land argument and its stability in reading the landscape less applicable, since there are also innovations and changes with direct results for the landscape that we cannot see (Mitchell 2008). The flexibility and the arbitrariness of the actors such as local decision makers and globalised capital make destructive capital investment contrary to long-term societal necessities, often masked as development and pitched as economic growth. Its negative effects are moderated and the resistance marginalised, as is generally the situation in the cases deployed in this work. Below, I consider what functions as the contrast to destructive capital investment in the agricultural landscape, and look into its foundation and rationale.

To Inherit Land and Social Responsibility

Agricultural landscapes are lived landscapes, often with deep historical roots in the form of heritage and family ties to a place and its traditions. The family farm has a special position in Scandinavian agricultural history and identity. Meaning and values are passed on through generations and produces a unique “time transcending sense of place” comprising values like pride and loyalty, this can be summed up in the already discussed *sense of tradition*, all subjective feelings of course, but as tangible as money for those involved. Families “become” the place with all that comes with it. From their lives, a landscape is socially constructed; they adopt the name and the duties passed on from their forefathers.

Although, most farms nowadays rely on a second income – like the interview from Vesby showed - as argued above, the act of working the land is still meaningful. There is no longer a forefather cult in Scandinavia, where the living generations are literary just the temporary caretakers together with the dead (Hauge 2002), but there

is a tie and history is very much alive. This is at the core of this work; the implications of constructed realities in what appears to be an objective debate.

Ingold (1993) also argues this “link through tradition” is an essential part of how we see our self today and especially our relation to the land, i.e. from a *dwelling perspective*, landscape is the space which we are in and that envelopes us, as well as the time and history that cannot be untangled from a landscape. Cultivation and dependency on the environment must have resulted in a deep respect and an extraordinary connection between humans and the environment. This direct link seems somewhat broken in the modern society, and is a consequence of opacity by complexity. The link is still real and the disconnection is just hidden beneath layers of ideology, as we still depend on a sound human/land relationship. The fragile link between tradition as a carrier of knowledge and the physical soil as a carrier of possibility for life is a powerful argument, but it is diluted in the complex system of modern capitalism and politics.

7.6 Summing up before the Politics

Economic growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors is trumping growth in the primary sector. Why is it still happening when the outcry of resistance is loud and clearly point out the negative effects (Dybdal 2013; Rypeng 2013)? There are many aspects to it; of course, one is perhaps the urban bias in the discourse, revealing itself when urban development on productive land is granted priority. Location is important for commercial activities and the major corporations get their way with local planning and hold a power over decision-makers and popular opinions by offering investment capital, job creation, and leisure activity in the form of shopping goods.

The struggle in the IKEA, Vestby case has very much been fueled by the ambitions of local politicians, i.e. the Mayor of Vestby calling the departments clearance, right before Christmas “the best Chirstmas present he could ever receive” (Aasdal, Kluge & Gimmingsrud 2013). Shopping is leisure and not much considerations are given to

signals of concern for the climate and the food supply. The class power and the dominant ideology can in this case be read directly as land use priority.

The threshold of soil available and quantity of food produced is of course flexible. Conversion of productive soil can be tolerated as long as the political and economical climate is well functioning and the market can absorb and even-out the underproduction by geographical (re)-distribution. Thus, the market's fix for the market's self inflicted problems. "Reassigning" the landscape has become a political issue after the last election in Norway and the value fronts are getting defined in discussions concerning old laws and regulations protecting production over private property rights and economic liberalism (Hildal & Gytri 2014).

Intersecting the economic development and rural resistance are the broad political objectives. On the highest level in Norway the official status is that all new development on productive soil must be balanced against the benefit for the greater society, as stated earlier in the law on soil (Landbruksdirektoratet 2014). The Norwegian White paper (Number 9), stipulates in accordance with the law, that the agricultural and food politic have the overarching object of maintaining the onshore self-sufficiency degree at a rate corresponding to the population increase. This implies the acknowledgement of protecting arable and cultivated soil. The national goal is to mitigate the reassignment of cultivated soil at less than 6000 acres per year (Rygh et al 2015). This points back to figure. 2 on the converted soil graph, where a positive change was observed showing that there have been results in broad terms. Still, the case specificity of the highly productive 70 acres in Vestby, calls for a detailed understanding and place sensitivity.

The developer quite often and remarkably claims the argument of being in the greater societies interest (Rypeng 2013), crossing, long-term ecological and social interests with economic rhetoric and neoliberal tools. I believe my interpretation of "benefit for the greater society" has been made clear. It is easier to move a shopping mall not yet built, than to move soil and production that is deeply rooted in the earth. This mandates planning according to future social needs, and not just productivity in

the short-run.

This is undeniably hard in the climate described above and when global competition norms infuse agriculture politics at state level (Sundvolen-Plattformen 2013). Food security and quality is unfortunately, not yet a serious enough issue in planning, politics or the popular mentality.

Global Scope

Industrialising farming and making it a competitive business on the free market might release some farmland for development, it is however damaging agriculture, degrading food producers and at the same time making societies vulnerable to internal and external shocks beyond their control. A collapse in the rice harvest in Asia caused by climate or political conditions would be strenuous on the free market. Global climate and water shortage is a significant issue in itself, but one that is inevitably directly coupled to local conditions and agriculture. 70% of all drinking-quality freshwater in the world is used for agricultural irrigation and the climate is becoming more unpredictable in addition to aquifers being emptied (UNDESA 2014), and with quality soil deeply depleting. What then when purchasing power rules and the production and competence is out of democratic control? Trade is a solution, but concentration of production and monopolisation of resources is not.

8 Food Production in Europe and Political Discussion

8.1 The Historical background and Basic Political Lines

EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) mobilised from the 1960's all available means of a modern agriculture to maximise the yields and drive prices down in a post-war volume production boost. The scheme that was unleashed carried the seeds of the counter movements and protests discussed earlier. Since the 70's, overproduction has chronically plagued the Common Market. Though the policies are changing, even recently, 40% of the EU's budget is directed to the agricultural sector (Strøm, Lutnæs & Klepp 2006), meeting price guarantees and production incentives, but also to omit the out-put which has become enormously too large. The modern European agriculture is simply too efficient, resulting in global side effects such as the price disruption for more vulnerable producers when surplus production is dumped on the world market (Rohac 2011). So, in pure quantitative terms it seems like there is no need to worry for the loss of productive land, there is enough elsewhere and science keep increasing the output per acre, politicians keep rewarding quantity by price guarantees and subsidies and the market allows for free movement of goods and services across borders. The consumer and producer counter movements are also contested on the ground that the agricultural regime they advocate is simply not sufficient to feed the planet (Heggdal 2014). This again have its own antagonists, based on different scenarios of future development in dietary patterns, food waste and agricultural practices etc. demonstrating the viability of a regulated agriculture and consumer prudence. The Four- Scenario-Model based on the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations projections for 2030, by Wirsénus, Azar & Berndes (2010), proclaims both a possible future of less area needed for cultivation and an ecological turn.

My thesis would be over at this point concurring to that conclusion. Science's progress in output is unquestionable and since the "Green Revolution", production capacity seemed to wane off as a threat to feed the planet (AgBioWorld 2011). Even within a more sustainable agriculture, it seems cultivated area does not need to expand in the future; this is of course heavily disputed. With a growing demand for quality food in the west (Caswell & Siny 2007) and an increasing population

worldwide -by 2050 estimated to push demand to a 70% increase in food production (Population Institute 2015), a situation that nullifies the current bio-mechanical driven overproduction might be a reality.

The same issue then becomes apparent as with the soil relocation techniques previously discussed and it brings forth the question of what we as a society prioritise and on what basis is that direction founded? The answer here rests on economic growth and capitalism as dominant ideologies with unreliable implications for food production. At the same time it also sheds some light on landscapes as a medium of dominant ideology, or landscapes as the form social justice takes.

8.2 Situation and Political Ambitions in Norway and Sweden

The numbers of farms has plummeted in Norway over the last decades; on the other hand, the production is increasing, along with stress on the soil and communities. Statistically, this amounts to 80% decrease in effort-years, and a 70% increase in the volume of production the past 50 years (Rattsø et al 2015). Structurally the impact is huge, *process* and *context* is changing, such as in ownership, regulations and the whole practice of farming. If one were to examine *form* and *function*, one would find that the large scale, cost efficient and output driven agriculture is not something that necessarily materialises in the geomorphology. It is hardly visible in Norway because *process* and *context* has been kept relatively constant by political ambitions through the protecting and preserving of agriculture and qualities in the countryside. In parts of Sweden radical changes have been taking place in the *process* and *context* in addition to the technical modernisation, and this affects the *form* and *function*. Deregulation and free competition fuels centralisation, which rises suspicion of an urbanisation bias, triggering protests in the rural communities (Aftonbladet 2015).

The rural protests are largely ignored; the urban bias is consequently verifying its own existence with its silence. This results in a *context* where parts of the country are lacking in means of *process* (i.e. incentive to produce) to be competitive. This has severe implications on *form* and *function* in areas such as fallow fields, abandoned farms, and in creating non-producing rural communities. The speculation

of agricultural of soil on the open market has lead to an increase in prices in Sweden and Denmark. This results from banks and finance regarding temporary investment in rural properties as secure, with one of their reasons being the rising prices on forest in Sweden in the 90's. As a consequence the farmers in Denmark became heavily indebted and in Sweden, along with incentives of centralisation, younger farmers where pushed out of the northern and middle regions, and over the past 50 years this has left behind fallow agricultural land that amounts to the size of Norway's total productive area (Norges Bondelag 2015).

The fact that the agricultural landscape *form* in Norway has remain relatively constant is an intentional official policy to sustain an active and producing countryside as a mean to secure the food supply, maintain environmental and aesthetic qualities, and to avoid similar experiences as what occurred in the periphery regions of Sweden. Even though active redistribution, custom barriers and cohesion policy have been partly successful in achieving this, it has become evident that even place specific cases like Vestby can raise questions on the general direction of society and political agendas. Currently, the new right-wing government pursues a neoliberal agenda and advocates deregulation and cut-backs on supportive programs, while holding on to the same objectives as the previous government (Sundvollen-Plattformen 2013).

This only further confuses the rural communities and forces food producers to reevaluate their values, in addition to seeing them selves as part of a solution to a global problem (Holsen 2009). In Norway it has been projected that the population will increase by 20% in 2030, it is a national political objective that food production should also increase 20% (Norsk Landbruksvirke 2014). This can be done in two ways: by strictly preserve soil and maintain a sound environmental regime, or boost efficiency on less soil by going industrial, but running into unpredictable security, environmental and health implications. While, no clear agenda is in place, it seems that the deregulation of trade, elimination of vital subsidies and weakening of tradition such as the removal of konsesjonsloven (Sæterbakk 2015), indicates a preference of competitive food production and a breaking up of soil for investment.

8.3 Productivism, Counter Culture and Neoliberalism

Food production and the global capitalist economy is interconnected, consequently, it operates in a competitive market where growing economies and population put pressure on local production in Scandinavia, this validates the first law of geography that everything is connected to everything else (Holth-Jensen 2009).

Political Impact on Landscapes

Food is too cheap; the global situation of energy prices and demand, in addition to the local alternative initiatives (i.e. bio-food, small scale and locale produce) will enforce a price correction (Almås, Haugen, Rye & Villa 2008). *Productivism* in Europe (i.e. agribusiness and industrialised farming) is challenged by *post productivism*. The *set-aside scheme*, part of the EU's *Extensification* ideal, was to replace *intensification* in a step towards a more sustainable agriculture, where land retirement was encouraged. This was a politically restructuring, that was orchestrated to counter EU's previously set objectives of increased production. In addition to with the *set-aside scheme*, various subsidies and details in the price guarantee system, was abolished in 2008 (European Commission 2009). The European agriculture has gone through several restructuring phases, the latest of which takes aim at de-coupling production from subsidies, and instead adopts a *direct payment scheme* for *cross-compliance* in fulfilling other cultural and environmental qualities. (Sorrentino, Henke & Severini 2011; European Commission 2011). The acknowledgement of a rising pressure on increasing quantity and quality food in the future is firmly stated in the new agreements, this is to be met and tackled by a highly competitive food industry (Eur-Lex 2011).

When driving across the border from Norway to Sweden, it appears that the market driven centralisation of skewing production to the most profitable regions within the EU, has generated some of the same effect that was intended by the set-aside scheme. This cross-compliance factor of ecology seems to be achieved by leaving everything untouched due to a disagreeable economic environment for food production. In a *laizess-faire* production regime the areas with the best climatic conditions and the richest soil along with the best infrastructure will most likely receive the most investment –this is not most parts of Sweden or Norway (see figure).

5 above). This consequently either frees up productive land for urban development by depreciating it in a competitive market, or drive prices up, as in Denmark. The food producing communities in the periphery becomes a burden to the society it has nourished. Investors in countries with the purchasing power like those of Scandinavia are not interested in land near cities to be tied up for food production, but are thrilled by ever new suggestions to loosen regulations, devalue property and prices, in addition to the depreciation of the primary industry and the landscapes it produces, and have opportunities to invest in fixed assets in peripheral regions.

The national socio-economic report issued in Norway this winter underlines my critique and mandates the question; what are the dominant values when producing food is no longer a sound socio-economic policy? Deregulation of farmland is one of the proposed measures to enhance national productivity in the report “Commission for Productivity”, ordered by the current Norwegian government 2015 (Rattsø et al 2015). This massive neoliberal manifesto is scrutinising the current agriculture production in a one dimensional approach, comparing prices and productivity in neighbouring countries and across the EU, as a means to demonstrate that Norwegian food is too pricy to produce and buy; thus deregulation, privatisation and competitions are the remedies (Rattsø et al 2015). A landscape formed by these ideals will undoubtedly be very different from what we have in Norway today, and the questions remains, will it reflect social justice or the agenda of the dominant ideology?

With reference to the critique relating to the productivity and competitiveness of agriculture, one could question weather food production should be economic profitable? Given the fact that access to safe and healthy food is after all a human right, should hospitals, law enforcement and other institutions that benefit society at large, be profitable too? It is costly to produce quality food in sufficient amounts, sustain animal health and welfare and to maintain a sound environment, culture and tradition. This upsets the Economic Analysts, which further provokes the consumer by contrasting food prices and the heavily subsidised agriculture (Nationen 2015b; Dagens Næringsliv 2014). The role of agriculture and what it produces is a confusing one, it is heavily politicised and economically embedded. In all of this,

one should not forget the essential point across the first part of this thesis –we all depend on this resource, the labour and produce resulting from it, and allowing market logic to control it is risky.

8.4 Politics, Food Security and the Free Market

Agricultural policy and production does not operate in an isolated system, and the local landscape can suddenly experience the materialisation of global capitalist investment, in the form of absurdly large shopping malls. The transformation from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption brings about as radical a change as there ever can be to a landscape and it also mirrors the urban/rural dichotomy.

Just as physical soil erosion and contamination is harmful and dire to our existence, our acceptance and submission to market logic when dealing with agricultural landscape is detrimental. This ongoing destruction in our most primary of resources lacks transparency but is tentatively under damage control by politics. International trade agreements obscure the direct link we have with our soil and landscapes in serving our primary needs as discussed in earlier sections. Utilising a comparative advantage is also a positive and necessary means (Gaasland 2014), but to let it rule out diversity in agriculture, I argue, comes with negative effects.

If the food produced today is perceived as modern, then the alternative of scaling down and moving towards a sustainable agriculture with values comprising of the farmers tradition, respecting local communities and reflecting on the current trend of bio-food and environmentalism cannot be branded as old fashion, but is instead a *post modern production*. What seems to be emerging is a condition where production is partly detached from necessity and infused with historical and romantic notions within a fragmented space of producing localities and *locale* (Rosenau 1991). This falls in with *post-productivism* and can be argued to already be a considerable influence, designated to play an even more significant part in the future.

Self Sufficiency and Geopolitics

The question of food security as stability-in-delivery is constantly depending on stable geopolitics and the arbitrary mood of speculators. Countries and regions become vulnerable to *Agflation* (inflation following a rise in raw materials that spreads to the consumer price on food) in a *fordist* agriculture. It is not only consumers who are calling for a shift in production; it is in the nation's best interests to pursue a high degree of self-sufficiency and a diversified agriculture (Almås et al 2008).

Context, Process and Function in a broad perspective

Centralising production and creating dependency elsewhere can lead to a power asymmetry in the case of food production, as for everything else. Resulting from the nature of the commodity which food is, once restructuring of the economy is adapted to import dependency and productive soil has undergone irreversible changes as part of investments in other sectors, there is no reset. Neither politicians nor the people can go against the trade agreement after its effect has materialised in the landscape. The negative effect of a possible failing system of self-sufficiency will wield no discrimination in regard to an urban or rural bias. The ideals that legitimises the market logic: supply and demand, equilibrium, competition, consumer power, and freedom of choice, are in such a case punctured by not offering an alternative, hence the free market is not free when there is no leverage and a state loses bargaining power. There would most likely in many cases be an alternative food supplier to buy from, if one has the resources for trade, the point is that food is not a product that should be gambled with on the market, it is not like other commodities that artificially fluctuates with demand, as its demand is constant. The fulfilment of this demand is bound to the land and the local knowledge; it is fixed in space by soil and water (Almås et al 2008). Free trade agreements in agriculture might press consumer prices, but it is creating an unstable situation that threatens the environment, human health, local economies, and traditions (Murphy 2009). Also, in a global perspective the implemented deregulations via the OECD, WTO and NAFTA has brought control of everything, from seeds and grains, to the export of processed food, to the hands of multinationals and/or developed countries (McMichael 2001). Complete

self-sufficiency is hardly conceivable for any society, but I argue there is room for action between total protectionist and neoliberal free trade.

Wars and energy crisis have resulted in an increase in the global food prices, with developing countries bearing the largest brunt (Mitchell 2008; Almås et Al 2008). The central point: fuelling the economy by conceding ones agricultural resources or making it industrial is not a long-term solution. Herein, the subtle point is that tradition and myth plays a crucial part in keeping up production, it must make sense to those who practice it. What is the motivation for farming in such an ungrateful atmosphere and in spite of market logic? For example, the next generation of young farmers of middle and northern Sweden stand no chance in securing land for food production, as large investors and banks secure it for non-food producing capital investment (Norges Bondelag 2015). I believe this points back to the sense of place idea, and tradition as important forces infiltrating a hard core political-economic reality verified by wide scale media discourse, and aligning with Habberstad's (2014) conclusions on farmers value assessment on local landscapes in Vestby.

Sodano & Verneau (2014) summarise and support my key political points, in their argument against the deregulation of antitrust within the EU. They state that

“First, food is a primary good, essential to meet the basic needs of people and, as such, with an inelastic demand, which facilitates exploitation by eventual monopolists. Second, the high market differentiation and the local dimension of markets further facilitate the exercise of market power, and complicate the assessment of market power, due to the indeterminacy of market equilibrium solutions and the difficulty involved in the recognition of the relevant market”.

8.5 The landscape and Soil as Construct and Commodity

The previously mentioned popular movements are a counterweight to the neo-liberal development, consisting of both environmentalists and consumers and they are actively speeding up the post-productivist transition (Woods 2005). Accordingly, they display scepticism to industrial farming and free trade of food by protesting by the thousands (DW 2015). This appreciation of sustainability and tradition by the consumer gives a value-added and an incentive for the producer to maintain practices that preserve, or create new landscapes (Gaasland 2014) that contrast the urban infused landscapes of consumption. The link between landscape and commodity is partly myth driven, but has real consequences as will be explored below.

Within market and consumer research there are two motivations that dominate people's choices: *Consumer-ethnocentrism* and *Country-of-Origin Images*. The former is patriotically motivated in that one may consciously choose a product out of concern for national economy or locality. The latter is motivated by images and myths of a foreign country that is embodied in the product (Almås et Al 2008).

The construction of the “Norwegian” as used in agri-marketing builds on national romanticism and is hence connected to the landscape concepts through the landscape as a picture of the nation's soul, and also the landschaft idea, with connotations to the right to self-rule and “folk and land”. The motivation in consumer-ethnocentric marketing campaigns is therefore; the landschaft idea reflected as “community” i.e. unity in tradition and a common landscape, the faith in our own laws and regulation and trust in our kin wanting the best for us. This is some of what is appreciated when we buy food-products that are locally produced, a will to support a common cause, even if it means accepting a higher monetary price for preserving other values.

The climatic conditions, the quality of the soil and the traditions and techniques of the producers internalised in the commodity is what we want the commodity to represent and objectively be. The landscape carries all this values as the *site* of production, but also as *social space* where production takes place. There is dialectic in what we want the produce to be, what the farmer produces, and the landscape as a

representation and materialisation of those values. I believe people incline to their belief of what a sound agricultural landscape should look like. This “will to see” desired qualities, changes the landscape in its objective and subjective form.

Patriotism might appear discriminating, but set in context with post productivism and short-travelled food, it might come off as solidarity and good environmental perks and local democratic control comes with it. I believe it also sharpens awareness of soil destruction, as a shopping mall in a landscape would be the ultimate threat to the *landschaft* and the image. The Country-of-Origin Image also steers consumers and dictate attitudes on landscape and production. This falls closer to the landscape as a *way of seeing*, the picturesque image and the background, beyond the producing space. This idealisation might also carry positive effects, since ways of production that display the desired aesthetic qualities also carry sound ecological qualities. That is, as long as there is a degree of realism maintained in the relationship between the commodity and the myth.

The two concepts (prospect and landshaft) discussed come together in food as a commodity, when the landscape pictured carries the logic of the supremacy of the people in it, that is, the rural community (*landschaft*) visualised in traditional landscape terms. What makes an image of a landscape beautiful is then a mixture of content and technique: the intrinsic beauty of nature, the people in it, and their ways of life, all captured by the art of representation and prospect. The picture displayed on packaging is never of the supermarket where the product is sold, or it is never named in terms of modern mechanised production, but rather its appeal rests on images of rural scenes where the product was made, filled with history and tradition and a name evoking national pride or trust. This is the agricultural landscape as myth and a part of a national landscape and marketing.

The farming community is the raw material in the construction of the Norwegian identity, and the culture’s rural homogeneity was often utilised as an element in confining Norwegian culture and community (Sørensen 1998). A wave of historicism came across the Norwegian society in a search for the origin, and the traditional farmer represented a level of continuity with revived national symbols

like the viking area, untouched nature, and the expansionist middle ages (Almås et al 2008). In him, folk music, tradition, and the real roots was represented and alive. The landscape was an obvious ingredient and I believe many peoples idea of landscape is a product of this active period of construction. It lives on today in peoples consciousness and the myth of rural idyll is a force to be reckoned with in marketing food products as a concept holding desired qualities. It exercises a force over the social construction of landscapes by the previously mentioned *will to see and intentional looking*.

The commodity, the landscape, the consumer and the rural identity constitute parts of each other. Herein, the protection of soil is natural, and the possibility of producing such a unique commodity as food, has an impact on both landscape and identity. The reception of the produced commodity and what it is desired to represent directly affects the landscape and how the producer sees herself and how we see the landscape. The prospect, the landschaft and the tandscape come together in food as a commodity, as they are appreciated as either consumer-ethnocentrism or country-of-origin images.

The Core of Landscape

Landscapes are grounded in culture, as reflections of how we see our self and that there exists as many landscapes as there is self-definitions (Greider & Garkovich 1994); and that the links to our culture and who we are and where we are going, is to be found in the landscape (Mitchell 2008).

Landscapes are:

- The synthesis of things and their cultural and social meaning.
- Both *representations* and geomorphology.
- A driver and an outcome of social relations.
- A fixed commodity, as well as sites of relations of production.
- As a commodity, tied to being a resource created by humans, with values that facilitate production, exchange and consumption (Mitchell 2008b). Herein, landscape serves as a resource and it finds its significance in land use,

production and capital (Widgren 2004).

Axioms

This section is based on Mitchell's (2008) axioms of reading the landscape and systematically goes through them confirming, extending and contextualising my interpretations and conclusions in the discussions above. The axioms will work as a general summary of method and cases, and build up to the concept of "landscape as the form social justice takes". It reveals the underlying workings of producing places such as Hylle and Torp. It also mirrors why these type of landscapes become contested, just as in the case of Vestby, by identifying development stages as choices and necessities under capitalism as the dominant system. The axioms give theoretical life to the system and mechanisms that produce landscape.

The landscape is produced; it is actively made; it is a physical intervention into the world and thus not so much our "unwittingly autobiography" as an act of will:

This gives association to conventional planning, though this is not the essential here, more so is the idea of a social will and direction that manifests in landscapes, what appears as organic formation. By this I imply what has been understood as the driver of change throughout the text; the dialectic process of materialism where humans organise nature, consciously or unconsciously and the socially produced structures that comes out of it that the agents navigate, but also produce and reproduce, being the process that become physical form as landscapes.

Planning is a mere tool within the greater social organism constantly evolving; planning is the methodical form to express this much more fundamental drive. When painting a picture, glimpses of the same will or drive is exhibited as when a real landscape is constituted. Discussed in the origin of landscapes as a *way of seeing* and as a *will to see*, or even in the landschaft heritage, we organise our environment as we do for a reason. In a context where society is said to be the active agent in forming landscapes within a capitalist mode of production, the *relations of production* is an integral part herein. These relations are always contested and historically and technologically contingent and the particular context for my cases has been drawn up in the discussion above.

Landscape production in all of my cases has been based on commodity production, however a unique one. Food involves a rather special relation of production (as extensively elaborated on in rurality and all that comes with it). The recent changes in relation of production in my cases follows a change in the actual commodity produced, going from foodstuffs to consumer goods imbedded in a very different network (grain to furniture), or from technological and institutional changes internal or external to agriculture (conventional farming to agribusiness). Both reasons can be said to follow Mitchell's (2008a, p. 34) rule that "What is possible and what is not- literally what can be produced in the landscape- is a function of what is produced elsewhere to be sold for profit. And, typically what cannot be produced for profit fades out of existence"

The agricultural network of production has partly been explained in a European context and its international and heavily politicised mode is evident, still its praxis is very much connected to the land and the produce, more so than many other tasks in contemporary society. There are similarities to IKEA's furniture business's network of production, but the relation of production that comes with this kind of activity is different and it often destroys the former relations. Being industrial and commercial in nature, the producers are completely alienated, the network and the whole value chain are based not on necessity or social utility, but capital circulation and accumulation. It is to simplistic to argue agriculture is juxtaposing the capitalist mode of production, it is of course since long deeply enmeshed. The point is that it also carries an old relation to the land and still performs, in its essence, praxis closer to our material base and that this is very much alive in rural producing communities. In not being *completely* alienated the rural carry the notion to protest the contradictory evolution of society.

Any landscape is or was functional: Landscapes are the result of a pursuit to raise value, by investments for direct value creation or for it to happen in the future. Financial markets and states establish satisfying conditions like physical infrastructure to facilitate this motivations and these investments become visible in the landscape. However chaotic these arrangements of objects might seem, every

thing from telephone poles to highways facilitate this greater purpose, it is a function of it. At this stage planning comes to the forefront as the means to coordinate according to this function of capitalisms objective. Exchange value is then the primary motivator in a capitalist society for producing landscapes, for so to exploit circulation of capital via these investments. This is bound to the use value in fixed property, since it works as a setting for direct profitable activity, but also to serve as a stage for other forms of stored use value for later realisation.

The shopping mall makes a way with the old system of use value of resource production based on the soil. Soil, the organically orchestrated environment that creates the crucial condition for agricultural exchange value, along with other previous investments in agricultural machinery etc. will have to be replaced. In its place come warehouses, parking lots and infrastructure as fixed investment to tap into circulating capital by consumption of good produced elsewhere. In e.g. Hyllie the built environment offers an indication to a contrasted historical development, here the two results of capitalist conditions appears side by side. Centuries of agricultural investment in the landscape and a production system well adapted to recent mode of production within agriculture are rolled over by the service economy in a few years. Shopping malls and serving infrastructure appears side by side with productive soil. What they have in common is that they serve a functional factor and both are the result of reproduction of labour power.

Production of food is an obvious necessity and has by and large dictated the development of the agricultural landscape, the tertiary sector and superstructure activity also have needs that must be accommodated for to secure reproduction of labour. The cost of this like, housing, roads etc. are figured into the landscape and become part of the functional elements. They also express the needs of the class in power and are normative statements. Hyllie serves as a flashy beacon of developers sway on local politicians and the power of the consumers, its location and following consequences for what was there before, highlights it even more. Investors and the state also utilize the landscape to negotiate contradictions in the social and economic development by utilising space and social solutions. This refers to the political economical means to mediate soil taken out of production discussed above.

Neoliberalism serves as a tool here, to reconfigure spaces of production and deregulate trade, making possible investment in more profitable sectors and at the same time escaping the consequences of destruction within food production as a functional factor serving to reproduce labour. Simply put, one can build IKEA on freed cheap agricultural land without directly harming the food supply.

No landscape is local “context matters”: The obvious case where a shopping mall enters a location and alters that location has more attached to it then what takes place *in situ*. The fact that it is constructed at that very location does not mean that it started or even end in that location, it is only passing through and it is just a temporary manifestation of a global network of trade and information. Again one can see from the case of Hyllie and the international owner structure, that at the very foundation it is just as much a result of happenings elsewhere as the situation in Malmö. The actual goods traded are produced at low cost abroad and bought by consumers, for the most part earning their wage through a global market. True domestic production and consumption hardly exist and I believe projects like Hyllie would not be possible without external capital investment and commodity trade founded on outsourced production and cheap labour. The Scandinavian labour power required for production of goods would make the end-price too high, hence labour is reproduced elsewhere and goods consumed where profit is greatest.

This is true in the primary sector under a deregulated market as well, and it brings me back to my critique on food treated as any other commodity and the unrealistic expectation of price to be within the same class as other consumer goods. It is to me a paradox that retail based on cheap consumer goods is lucrative and producing food necessary to live is not and hence must yield to e.g. furniture and interior design goods offered by IKEA. Part of the explanation, at least for why general commodities are so cheap, is exactly the outsourcing within the global network of production, but also international finance and money markets. Even the political economy discussed throughout the text that establish the conditions both for the service economy and agriculture are negotiated in Brussels or even outside the EU. This is transferable to the centralisation of agriculture, the commodification of food and the landscapes resulting from it. Many of the demonstrations across Europe are a

result of this vertical proliferation and consolidation of control. Other ways that outside landscapes interact with the local agricultural landscape is of course the material exchange of input to the sector like, fuel, machinery, chemicals, food additives etc. The import-export network of ingredients, processing and finished produce is worldwide. Landscapes around the globe with the struggles fought out there, the results and the conditions it creates are directly affecting or even internalised in local landscapes.

Global division of labour allows for a massive potential in accumulation, by wages being less than its reproducing costs and the implications on both local landscapes of production and consumption are greater than what appears at first sight. Some of the essence in what I termed postmodern production is in alleviating this dependency and focus on “anarchist modes of production and consumption”, which is based on local produce.

History does matter: The landscapes explored in this thesis are imbedded in history as well as a result of contemporary conditions. This means most landscapes have a history of social struggle, wars, technology, climate and natural changes that also set the preconditions for what the landscape is today and what it will be in the future. The agricultural landscape in Vestby is a consequence of the need for food and fibre, but it is also utterly shaped by historic and technological development.

As discussed, the mechanisation of agriculture and the development of the current political economic environment have had profound effects on the landscape we see today. The soil itself may look the same as it did hundreds of years ago, but the activity on it and the surroundings has gone through tremendous changes. And for this process to occur, the old must be destroyed when it is outdated. Soil has a peculiar role in this, being one of the few things that must remain unchanged to still produce (Recognisable as the central dispute in this thesis). Resources employed alter it of course, but in its physical structure it must remain relatively constant. Mitchell (2008a) claims: “The Landscape is shaped by the current state of technology and so is always vulnerable to losing out to innovation as more modern production facilities capture more of the socially available relative surplus value”.

This is the main mechanism behind the emerging industrial farming, but also the driver of the total destruction of soil by reassignment of its purpose for commercial buildings. The creative destruction may very well produce new and “better” performing landscapes, but it will also, as stressed in this work, destroy communities, individuals, traditions and whole landscapes. The contradictions that arise here have been the reason for this thesis and to understand the landscapes in question, the dialectics of conservation and renewal is important. The landscape is struggled over and for, it will inevitably change, either in the way we perceive it, knowing what we know in hindsight, or in means of material changes. Identity, tradition and meaning is stored in the landscape and its roots does not come up easily.

Landscape is power: The power of controlling or affecting what is to be found in the landscape and what it is suppose to mean is crucial to analyse the cases in my work. Landscape is an expression of negotiated social power, the status on what can be done and not, stems from a range of sources and the landscape is where it is determined and takes physical form. A termination of the construction plans in Vestby would be a tremendous demonstration of power, even though it would never be visually expressed in the landscape, except by its absence. A completion of the warehouse would also display power with its presence, enhanced by what it had to destroy for it to become. And what was there before would no longer be visually accessible information as part of the landscape.

As seen throughout this work, there are quite a few actors and structures involved in the process that leads to the landscapes we see in my cases today and their future prospects, all resting on layers of historical conditions. What triumphs in the landscape and become materialised, like the shopping complex in Hyllie is not only a representation of consumer culture, it is producing it and at the same time inhibiting agriculture. The consumer landscape in my thesis surrenders the productive landscape that was initially there and establishes itself as a natural part of society, this is the materialization of capitalist ideology and it does not simply reflect it, it indicate future directions.

Landscape is the spatial form that social justice takes: As have become evident throughout the text and emerging as the very fundamental idea of analysing landscape; landscapes take the spatial form of not only function, history, power and global networks, but infusing all these are also the expression of social justice. Landscapes are social relations in concrete form that speak back to us about what we have achieved by struggle and negotiating everything from identity to economy. How space is arranged reveal, but is also producing the priority of social values. This is perhaps best understood in my cases in relation to tradition and sense of place, but also more distinct factors like economy and production become relevant.

The effect a shopping mall has on an agricultural landscape and what it signals is quite extensively elaborated on, the situation is one where the economical development has depopulated the agricultural landscape, or at best driven people further into alienation. “A massively uneven and contradictory economic system has created a massively depopulated agricultural landscape” (Mitchell 2008a, p. 46). This mechanisms works relentlessly across space in a capitalist context and the landscapes of marginalised farmers in periphery Sweden, the silent consent to soil destructions in Hyllie and Torp and the contested planning in Vestby discussed in this thesis are results of battles lost and won in the face of ideology.

The urban bias mentioned previously, where the city is beheld as the engine of society in every ways (Andersson 2014), is also a force of change and together with the political economic rationale of centralisation, they aid in socially justifying shopping malls on productive soil. It produces the social unjust landscapes of depopulated countryside and represents a steady move away from the original idea of landschaft. “The trick for us is to use our analysis, design or other skills both to show how it does still belong to the people and to counter the heavy weight of alienation that is so much a part of the capitalist production of landscape” (Mitchell 2008a, p. 47). A first step would be to realise the consequences of shopping malls on the land we grow our food, not just as depraving producers of their right, but at the societal scale which their praxis serve. This idea of spatial form and social justice sett forth here continues in the conclusions below.

Conclusions

Food production is a necessity for existence and productive landscapes are founded on a scarce physical resource and human labour, when it is threatened by destruction, we should be alarmed. As demonstrated, the rationale of those who advocate soil protection goes beyond a specific place and their voices resonates a universal and relentless relationship with our *material base*, as well as being entangled in a complex conditional relationship with markets, commodity, myths, ideology and meaning.

Why does a shopping mall in a grain field look like a tumour on healthy tissue for some and appear as a symbol of success and wealth for others? It is after all nothing more than the last cultural layer in accumulated strata of a history of production and consumption. I argue throughout this work that shopping malls on productive soil represent the pinnacle of capitalism and the nemesis in the two-sided story of rural society founded on quantitative food production, and the qualitative dimensions of aesthetic, tradition and culture. According to my theoretical approach, the bizarre ambivalence in the landscape is sustained by a combination of alienation and ideology in dialectic with the rural.

At the core, the essence of this thesis rests on the notion that in the old world, landschaft were mainly steered by production of any form, unlike the modern landscape which is often consumption driven (Cosgrove 2008). What we desire is not always equal to social justice. Capitalism has created an environment where agriculture is not economically competitive, and hence according to its own logic, it is a just practice that legitimises the redirection of soil to other purposes. While it is difficult to argue against the direct economic merits that comes with a large-scale investment into a struggling municipality, generational perspectives and simple material relationships seems unconsidered and lost in the discourse, irrespective of its importance. Nonetheless the Norwegian political situation is slowly changing, as soil protection is incorporated into national strategy (Fylkesmannen 2015).

Restating the Issue

The production of food as an economic burden that needs to be outsourced, in addition to re-designation of productive soil into spaces of capitalistic consumption, confirms and implies that: *exchange-value* outplays *use-value*, irrespective of its repercussions to a long term perspective on society. The primordial system keeping everyone alive, the system of human, soil and its produce are considered mundane, taken for granted and down played in a consumer driven economy. The desire for material possessions demand jobs that pay a wage, and the capitalist system offers just that, but at the expense of soil used for agriculture. Food production can be rationalised to increase yields and save space for the economic growth, the downside is that the economy is never finished growing. Neoliberal processes take advantage of the social apathy that arises when we are confronted with obscure systems within a context of potential freedom. The cases discussed in this thesis validates this, when we allow shopping malls, as extensions of a consumption driven economy to manifest, it result in a compromise of resources needed for society.

Production is inseparably tied to certain criteria in climate, soil quality, but also knowledge and praxis. Its major producing centre can be skewed and shortcomings supplemented by import, but the centre of gravity for both production and control of it, I argue, ought to be local and the power in the hands of the producer and the consumer, and in this case, every citizen within that democratic state, not just the ones doing business.

Soil holds an economic potential as it can realise capital by being used to produce, and also allows for investment to materialise in built structures, both enforced by the private property right. Whatever the economic potential, we must exhibit control and choose a social utilitarian direction of development, as opposed to falling prey to a naturalised neoliberal agenda.

This is relevant when it comes to conditions under which we produce food, and, is applicable to performing irreversible damage to soil. The productive soil falls under a unique category as demonstrated throughout the text and should, along with its

extension, agriculture, uncorrupted by ideology, be protected as a common good. There are simply too many factors that are taken for granted to be constant in speculative equations for the future to make it realistic; energy prices, climatic change, transport, trade agreements, war, economic crisis, to list a few. The political power opening up a market can also be the one making it inaccessible, thus joining the objective and political reasoning behind protecting soil *per se* and as a common resource within the democratic state.

The issue of social acceptability of soil destruction arises by alienation between the subject, and the objective condition of life in a modern, industrial and urban context, and the processes bound to the earth. Hyllie and Torp display the *form* they do because they are the dialectical material face of a particular *context* working under particular *processes*, such as polities and law. This is the contemporary landschaft where local power has resigned to global forces and fulfils its *function*. Relative to Hyllie and Torp, Vestby currently displays social justice in preserving its *form* and *function*. With all this in mind where the Vestby case is concerned it is clear that construction should not proceed on that productive soil, and instead be relocated to the alternative location.

The thesis question in this research states: How do we reconcile the benefits we receive today, from destroying soil and agricultural landscapes for capitalist purposes with its costs for tomorrow? To answer this, it must be understood according to value systems. This means that the rural expresses its concern for tomorrow, while economical rhetoric advocates a more direct realisation of monetary values and societal values in the form of job creation and investment opportunities. The answer then, is divided between long-term ecological societal values, and the need to the market logic of capitalism. It is my conviction that the contemporary farmers represent an extension of the basic logic of the material human/land relation and that this is based on a social responsibility as food producers. And in answering the main question in this thesis, I posit that the role of capitalism as a development mechanism at the expense of productive soil and agricultural landscapes is questionable and as such cannot be reconciled.

Social Justice in the Form of Landscapes

Landscapes embody social will and intentions, and reveals traditions that have endured since the beginning of time, and new ideology.

Favouring a landscape of consumption over a landscape of production is not social justice. In addition to destroying our core source of sustenance, it also puts at risk on the guarantee that future generations can produce food from their soil. Moreover, it destroys the values of production and soil that is rooted in tradition.

Although capitalism has become the watchword of modern times, and its immediate proceeds are used to advocate its agenda—we have a social responsibility and no right to shift the fundamentals of food supply to total capitalistic market logic. Throughout this thesis, the indispensability of the soil has been established. There is hardly any situation in Scandinavia where it is socially justifiable to destroy soil for the short-term gains of capitalistic incentives. Responsible food production as a means of life preservation is a human right, and it is also our inherent duty to *not bite the hand that feed us*. The destruction of soil is irreversible.

Although it may appear to be a quick fix, industrial agriculture is not sustainable, because its basis rests on a flawed market logic and its consequence ripples by devastating rural communities, livelihoods, traditions, identity, animal health and welfare, environment, and most importantly, the soil. There should be no self-interest in the protection of soil, what should be advocated is maximum self-sufficiency and democracy in its rules and regulations. The rural protests exerts a need to preserve a set of values supporting a livelihood, on another level it is a fight for a broader societal vision, this expresses social justice, because it resonates the *landschaft* and advocates generational ecologic perspectives, in line with our material base. The rural and the new conscious consumers and the political will to protect soil represent a solution to meet increased production and at the same time produce a sound landscape—this is the social just landscape.

Reference List

- Aasdal, D. Kluge, K & Gimmingsrud, J (2013). Ja til IKEA i Vestby.
NRK.no
Accessed at: 19.04.15
Available at: <http://www.nrk.no/ostlandssendingen/ja-til-ikea-i-vestby-1.11430063>
- Aftonbladet (2015). Uppror mot “Fanatisk urbanisering”
Aftonbladet.se
Accessed at: 03.04.15
Available at: <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article20574184.ab>
- AgroBioWorld (2011). The Green Revolution: Accomplishments and Apprehensions. *Agrobioworld.org*
Accessed at: 04.02.2015
Available at: <http://www.agbioworld.org/biotech-info/topics/borlaug/borlaug-green.html>
- Almås, R, Bratberg, E & Syverud, G (2014). Jordbruk I Norge. *Store norske leksikon. Snl.no*
Accessed at: 17.02.2015
Available at: https://snl.no/Jordbruk_i_Norge.
- Almås, R, Haugen, SM, Rye, JF & Villa M (2008). Den Nye Bygda: *Norsk Landbruk i ett Generasjons Perspektiv*.
Tapir Akademisk Forlag, Trondheim.
- Andersson, E (2014). SvD Kultur: Hur vi stirrat oss blinda på storstaden
Svd.se
Accessed at: 21.04.15
Available at: http://www.svd.se/kultur/landet-bortom-storstaden_3937252.svd
- Andrews, T (2012). What is Social Constructionism?
Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal, Vol. 11
University College Cork.
- Axelsen, Bjørn & Jones, Michael (1987). Are All Maps Mental Maps?
GeoJournal. No. 14, pp. 447-464.
- Berg, NG, Dale, B, Lysgård, HK & Løfgren, L (2004). Mennesker, Steder og Regionale Endringer.
Tapir Akademisk Forlag, Trondheim

- Björk, F & Nosti, H (2011). Alt mer Åkermark Bebyggs.
Svt.se
Accessed at: 30.01.15
Available at: <http://www.svt.se/nyheter/regionalt/hallandsnytt/allt-mer-akermark-bebyggs>
- Boek, JL (2014). Sterk Kritikk av Regjeringens Håndtering av Jordbruksoppgjøret.
Bondelaget.no
Accessed at: 30.03.15
Available at: <http://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/sterk-kritikk-av-regjeringens-handtering-av-jordbruksoppgjoret-article78350-3805.html>
- BREEAM (2015). What is BREEAM?
BREEAM.Org
Accessed at: 21.05.2015
Available at: <http://www.breeam.org/about.jsp?id=66>
- Caswell JA & Siny, J (2007). Consumer Demand for Quality: Major Determinant for Agricultural and Food Trade in the Future?
Department of Resource Economics, University of Massachusetts, Stockbridge Hall.
- Cosgrove, D (1998, p. 61-81). Cultural Landscapes, in *A European Geography*, eds Unwin, T.
Routledge.
- Cosgrove, D (2006). Modernity, Community and the Landscape Idea. *Journal of Material Culture* Vol. 11, p. 49-66
- Dagbladet (2013). Meninger: Til Krig Mot Landbruket.
Dagbladet.no
Accessed at: 17.03.15
Available at:
<http://www.dagbladet.no/2013/11/27/kultur/meninger/leder1/dbmener/landbrukspolitikk/30543248/>
- Dagens Næringsliv (2014). Debatt Landbruk: Økte Matvarepriser.
DN.no
Accessed at: 09.05.15
Available at: <http://www.dn.no/meninger/debatt/2014/08/19/2158/Landbruk/kte-matvarepriser>
- DW (2015). Thousands protest in Berlin against industrialized farming
DW.de
Accessed at: 25.04.2015
Available at: <http://www.dw.de/thousands-protest-in-berlin-against-industrialized-farming/a-18198089>

Dybdal, GJ (2013). Motstanderne Står Sammen mot IKEA.

vestbyavis.no

Accessed at: 20.03.15

Available at: <http://www.vestbyavis.no/nyheter/article6593928.ece>

Edman, T, Larsson, K & Lindberg, G (2013). Jordbruksverket: *Explorering av Jordbruksmark 2006-2010*. Jordbruksverkets Raport 2013.3.

Accessed at: 11.03.2015

Available at:

http://www2.jordbruksverket.se/webdav/files/SJV/trycksaker/Pdf_rapporter/ra13_3v2.pdf.

Ekonomifakta (2015). Största Privata Arbetsgivare, Uddevalla. Ekonomifakta.se.

Accessed at: 06.05.2015 Available at:

<http://www.ekonomifakta.se/sv/Fakta/Regional-statistik/Alla-lan/Vastra-Gotalands-lan/Uddevalla/?var=17258>

Enoksen, MM (2014). Nå Intar Bøndene Byen.

Dittoslo.no

Accessed at: 03.04.15

Available at: <http://www.dittoslo.no/indre-by/nyheter-indre-by/na-inntar-bondene-byen-1.8437150>

Eur-Lex (2011). The CAP: Towards 2020.

eur-lex.europa.eu

Accessed at: 18.01.15

Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1424246998906&uri=URISERV:ag0010>

European Commission (2009). Health Check of the Common Agricultural Policy.

ec.europa.eu

Accessed at: 01.05.2015

Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/healthcheck/index_en.htm

European Commission (2011). Common Agricultural Policy towards 2020

Assessment of Alternative Policy Options

Commission Staff Working Paper. Impact Assessment. Brussels.

Accessed at: 09.05.2015

Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:e8611341-10b2-42fb-8930-9bd4b95b5103.0001.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission (2015a). Environment: Report on the implementation of the Soil Thematic Strategy and ongoing activities.

ec.europa.eu

Accessed at: 18.01.15

Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/soil/three_en.htm

European Commission (2015b). Environment: Soil.

ec.europa.eu

Accessed at: 28.02.15

Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/soil/index_en.htm

Facebook.com (2015a). Nei til IKEA på Deljordet

Accessed at: 24.04.2015

Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/409203009128186/>

Facebook.com (2015b). Underskriftskampanje for og få IKEA til Vestby.

Accessed at: 24.04.2015

Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/409203009128186/>

Facebook.com (2015c). IKEA, Ikke Bygg på Matjord.

Accessed at: 24.04.2015

Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/IKEA-ikke-bygg-på-matjord/251568325002600>

Falleth, E (2014). Verdien av Jorda: Jordvern, Planlegging og Grønne Verdier. *Gøy på landet og grønt i byen*. NAL - kurs 13. mai 2014

Fakultet for Samfunnsvitenskap, Norges Miljø- og Biovitenskapelige Universitet.

Accessed at: 19.04.2015

Availabe at: <https://www.arkitektur.no/goy-pa-landet-og-gront-i-byen>

Vestby Avis (2013). Kart Deljordet

VestbyAvis.no

Accessed at: 06.05.2015

Available at: <http://www.vestbyavis.no/nyheter/article6524221.ece>

SSB (2013). Indikatorer for bærekraftig utvikling, 2013: Viktige signaler om samfunnet.

Accessed at: 10.04.2015

Available at: https://www.ssb.no/natur-og-miljo/artikler-og-publikasjoner/viktige-signaler-om-samfunnet--117152#Irreversibel_avgang_av_produktivt_areal

Rygh, OC et al (2015). Bruk av leiejord, endringer i driveplikten og vernehjemmel I jordloven: konsekvenser og effekt for jordvernet. Delraport.

Accessed at: 06.02.2015

Available at: https://www.slf.dep.no/no/eiendom-og-skog/eiendom/driveplikt/_attachment/46013?_ts=14c98c2edf0&download=true.

Fylkesmannen (2015). Jordvern I Nordlann: Strategisk plan for forvaltning.

Fylkesmannen.no

Accessed at: 20.05.2015

Available at: <http://www.fylkesmannen.no/Nordland/Landbruk-og-mat/Jordvern/>

Gaasland, I (2014). Dyrk Kulturlandskapet! Universitetet i Bergen
Uib.no
Accessed at: 21.05.2015
Available at: <http://www.uib.no/aktuelt/77128/dyrk-kulturlandskapet>

Giddens, A (1971). Capitalism and Modern Social Theory. *An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durheim and Max Weber.*
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Greider, T & Gargovich, L (1994). The Social Construction and the Environment.
Rural Sociology Vol. 59, pp. 1-24

Grimstad, E (2013). Bruk Delijordet I Vestby til Matproduksjon!
Regjeringen.no
Accessed at: 19.04.2015
Available at: <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/bruk-delijordet-i-vestby-til-matproduksjon/id733567/>

Gunnufsen, E, Øvrum, A & Nordal, O (2015). Tilltak for og Styrke Jordvernet.
AsplanViak. Issue: 2 Landbruks- og matdepartementet Accessed at: 19.04.2015
Available at:
<https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/b9969e2bb12a4f538b67924047605b96/jordvernutredning---sluttrapport-asplan-viak-05032015.pdf>

Halfacree, KH (2009). Rurality and Post-Rurality. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, pp. 449-456
Swansea University, Swansea, UK.

Haraldsen, KT (2012). Flytting av oppdyrket jordsmonn for reetablering av jordbruksarealer: *En oversikt over erfaringsgrunnlag og vurderinger av risiko for spredning av skadelige organismer*
Bioforsk Rapport Vol. 7, No. 181.

Haraldsen, KT (2015). IKEA Vestby: Flytting av Jordsmonn og Oppbygging av nye Jorbruksarealer.
Bioforsk.no
Accessed at: 30.03.15
Available at:
http://www.bioforsk.no/ikbViewer/page/forside/nyhet?p_document_id=118083

Harvey, D (1975) The Geography of Capitalist Accumulation: A Reconstruction of the Marxian Theory. *Antipode* Vol. 7, Issue. 2, pp. 9–21.

Harvey, D (2004). The “New” Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession.
Social Register. Vol. 40

Hauge, A (2002). Forfedrekult, Huskult og Hinsidighetstro I Norge.
arild-hauge.com

Accessed at: 27.02.15

Available at: <http://www.arild-hauge.com/fedrekult.htm>

Heggedal, Ø (2014). Økologisk Landbruk Metter ikke Elleve Milliarder.

ManifestTidsskrift.no

Accessed at: 04.02.2015

Available at: <http://www.manifesttidsskrift.no/okologisk-landbruk-metter-ikke-elleve-milliarder/>

Henderson, George, L (2003). What (else) we Talk About When we Talk About Landscape. For a Return to the Social Imagination. Everyday America. *Cultural Landscape Studies After J.B Jackson* eds. Wilson, C & Groth, P.

Kluwer Academic Publisher, Dordrecht, pp. 178-198

Hildal, E & Gytri, A (2014). Rustar Seg til kamp for Landbruket.

NRK.no

Accessed at: 09.03.2015

Available at: <http://www.nrk.no/sognogfjordane/rustar-seg-til-kamp-for-landbruket-1.11579591>

Holgersen, S (2014). The Rise (and Fall?) of Post-Industrial Malmö. Investigations of city-crisis: *Investigation of City Crisis Dialectics*. Lund University.

Holsen, S (2008). Til Kamp for Norsk Matjord. Bergens Tidene. *Bt.no* Accessed at: 07.04.2015 Available at: <http://www.bt.no/na24/article472254.ece>

Holth-Jensen, A (2009). Geography, History and Concepts: *A Student's Guide*. SAGE Publication Ltd. London

IKEA (2015). Våre Etableringsprosjekter: Vestby.

IKEA.com

Accessed at: 09.04.15

Available at:

http://www.ikea.com/ms/no_NO/about_ikea/facts_and_figures/ekspansjon_norge/prosjekter.html

Ingold, T (1993). The Temporality of the Landscape. World Archeology.

Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society. Vol, 25 No. 2, p. 152-174

Jones, M (1991). The Elusive Reality of Landscape: Concepts and Approaches in Landscape research.

Norwegian Journal of geography. Vol. 45, pp. 229-244. Oslo

Jones, M (2003). The Concept of “cultural landscape”- Discourse and Narratives.

Landscape Interfaces: Cultural Heritages in Changing Landscapes, eds Palang, H &

Fry, G. p. 21-51 Kluwer Academic

Jones, M (2006). Landscape, Law and Justice- Concepts and Issues.
Norwegian Journal of Geography Vol.60, p. 1-14

Jones, M (1993). Landscape as Resource and the Problem of Landscape Values.
Papers From the Department of Geography. No. 137
 University of Trondheim

Juven, O (2014). Grønn Grense skal Verne Akershus-Jorda.
NRK.no
 Accessed at: 19.04.2015
 Available at: <http://www.nrk.no/ostlandssendingen/akershus-skal-fa-gronn-grense-1.11834384>

Kjøniksen, H (2015). Temperatursvingninger Rundt IKEA.
Moss Avis.no
 Accessed at: 25.04.2015
 Available at: http://www.moss-avis.no/Temperatursvingninger_rundt_IKEA-5-67-64190.html

Klepierre (n.d.). Who We Are: Shareholder Base.
Klepierre.com
 Accessed at: 26.02.15
 Available at: <http://www.klepierre.com/en/who-we-are/shareholder-base/>

Kommunal Rapport (2013). Listhaug møtt av demonstranter i Vestby Kommunal-Rapport.no
 Accessed at: 17.04.15
 Available at: http://kommunal-rapport.no/artikel/listhaug_mott_av_demonstranter_i_vestby

Landbruksdirektorated (2014) *Jordvern*.
slf.dep.no
 Accessed at: 21.02.15
 Available at: <https://www.slf.dep.no/no/miljo-og-okologisk/areal-og-jordvern/jordvern#nasjonale-maal-for-jordvern>

Lansstyrelsen (2012). Miljöråd for Landbrukare: Exploatering- et hot mot åkermarken. Innformation Från Länsstyrelsen i Örebro Län Nr.4.
Lansstyrelsen.se
 Accessed at: 23.03.15
 Available at:
<http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/orebro/SiteCollectionDocuments/Sv/lantbruk-och-landsbygd/lantbruk/vaxtodling/Miljöråd%202012/Miljöråd%20nr%204%20-%202012.pdf>

LFR (2012). Jord- och Skogbrukens Betydelse I Samhällen och Miljön.
Lfr.se
Accessed at: 12.04.15
Available at: <http://www.lrf.se/globalassets/dokument/om-lrf/mer-om-lrf/lrf--degrona-naringarna/vastra-gotaland.pdf>

Mail Online (2015). Polish Farmers Ride on Warsaw to Demand Government Funds.
Dailymail.co.uk
Accessed at: 03.04.15
Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-2949354/Polish-farmers-ride-Warsaw-demand-government-funds.html>

Malmö Stad (2013). Klimatsmarta Hyllie.
Malmo.se
Accessed at: 05.05.2015
Available at: <http://malmo.se/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Utbyggnadsomraden/Hyllie/Klimatsmarta-Hyllie.html>

Marsden, T & Franklin, A (2013). Replacing neoliberalism: theoretical implications of the rise of local food movements.
Local Environment, 2013 Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 636–641

Michael, P (2001). The Impact of Globalisation, Free Trade and Technology on Food and Nutrition in the New Millennium.
Proceedings of the Nutrition Society, Vol. 60, 215–220
Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA.

Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning (2010). Detaljplan för östra Torp: Uddevalla Kommun.
Udevalla.se
Accessed at: 09.04.15
Available at:
<http://www.uddevalla.se/download/18.4076d7c12fc2911d2080006244/1338979542407/Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning+100505.pdf>

Mitchell, D (2003). Cultural Landscapes: Just Landscapes or Landscapes of Justice?
Progress in Human Geography Vol. 27, No. 6, pp. 787-796

Mitchell, D (2004). Landscape. Cultural Geography. A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts. eds Atkinson, D, Jackson, P, Sibley, D & Washbourne, N, Tauris, IB, pp. 49-56

Mitchell, D (2008a). New Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Paying Attention to Political Economy and Social Justice. *Political Economies of Landscape Change*, pp. 29-47 eds Wescoat, JL & Jr, Johnston, DM.

Mitchell, D (2008b). A Note on Rising Food Prices.
World Bank, Development Economics Group July 1, 2008. World Bank Policy

Research Working Paper No. 4682

Mohr, LT (2015). Vi Fortsetter og Produsere Mat, Folkens! Nationen.no
Nationen.no

Accessed at: 24.05.2015

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/landbruk/vi-fortsetter-a-produsere-mat-folkens/>

Murphy, S (2009). Free Trade in Agriculture: A Bad Idea Whose Time Is Done.
Monthly Review. Org Vol. 63, Issue. 03

Accessed at: 16.05.2015

Available at: <http://monthlyreview.org/2009/07/01/free-trade-in-agriculture-a-bad-idea-whose-time-is-done/>

Nalin, E (2000). Varför bör CAP- EU:s gemensamma jordbrukspolitik – reformeras?
Livsmedelskonomiska Institutet. Rapport 2000:1

Wallin & Dalholm Tryckeri AB, Lund 2000

Accessed at: 14.04.2015

Available at: http://www.agrifood.se/Files/SLI_rapport_20001.pdf

Nationen (2014). Regjeringen vil Fjerne Konsesjonsloven og Oppheve Boplikten.

Nationen.no

Accessed at: 02.04.2015

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/naering/regjeringen-vil-fjerne-konsesjonsloven-og-opphev-boplikten/>

Nationen (2015b). Landbrukskritiker vil ha Bønder til Andre Næringer.

Nationen.no

Accessed at: 09.03.15

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/landbruk/landbrukskritiker-vil-ha-bander-til-andre-naringer/>

Norges Bondelag (2015). Høringsvar- Forslag om Oppheving av Konsesjonsloven:
Landbruks og Mat Departemanget.

Regjeringen.no

Accessed at: 10.05.2015

Available at:

https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/b94d0bd1cf6142fc96b1e8d4ff663744/328_norges-bondelag.pdf

Norsk Landbrukssamvirke (2014). Politikk: Landbrukspolitiske Mål

Landbruk.no

Accessed at: 04.02.15

Available at: <http://www.landbruk.no/Naeringspolitikk/Politiske-maalsettinger>

Palka, EJ (1995) Coming to Grips With the Concept of Landscape. *Landscape Journal* Vol. 14, pp. 63-73

Population Institute (2015). FAO says Food Production must Rise by 70%

Populationinstitute.org

Accessed at: 05.02.2015

Available at:

<https://www.populationinstitute.org/resources/populationonline/issue/1/8/>

Potter WJ (1996). An Analysis of Thinking and Research about Qualitative Methods. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc Publishers, Mahwah, New Jersey.

Juven, O (2014). Grønn Grense skal Verne Akershus-Jorda.

NRK.no

Accessed at: 19.04.2015

Available at: <http://www.nrk.no/ostlandssendingen/akershus-skal-fa-gronn-grense-1.11834384>

Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning (2010). Detaljplan för östra Torp: Uddevalla Kommun.

Udevalla.se

Accessed at: 09.04.15

Available at:

<http://www.uddevalla.se/download/18.4076d7c12fc2911d2080006244/1338979542407/Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning+100505.pdf>

Skyscrapercity (2014).

Skyscrapercity.com

Accessed at: 06.05.2015

Available at: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?p=118862879>

Rattsø et al (2015). Produktivitetskommisjonens første rapport: Produktivitet, grunnlag for vekst og velferd.

Regjeringen.no

Accessed at: 12.03.15

Available at: <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/nou-2015-1/id2395258/>

Regjeringen (2013a). Kommuneplan Vestby Nord: Vestby Kommune-Innsigelser.

Regjeringen.no

Accessed at: 09.04.15

Available at: <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/kommunedelplan-for-vestby-nord---vestby-/id748500/>

Regjeringen (2013b). Kommuneplan Vestby Nord: Vestby IKEA.

Regjeringen.no

Accessed at: 09.04.15

Available at: <https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/kommunedelplan-vestby-nord-vestby-ikea/id748449/>

Regjeringen (2015) Statens Tillbud: Jordbruksforhandlingene.
Regjeringen.no
Accessed at: 07.05.2015
Available at:
<https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/3cc40a319c924fc28a8f9aed0cb65369/statens-tilbud-jordbruksoppgjoret-4.5.15.pdf>

Rohac, D (2011). Is the Common Agricultural Policy Sustainable? Global Policy Forum.

Globalpolicy.Org
Accessed at: 20.02.2015
Available at: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/social-and-economic-policy/international-trade-and-development-1-57/agricultural-subsidies/50003-is-the-common-agricultural-policy-sustainable.html?itemid=1057>

Rosenau, PM (1991). Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences : Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions.

Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Rotschild, KW (2009). Neoliberalism, EU and the Evaluation of Policies. *Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 213–225, April 2009
Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Vienna, Austria.

Rowntree, LB (1996). The Cultural Landscape Concept in American Human Geography. *Concepts in Human Geography*, eds Earle, C, Mathewson, K & Kenzer, MS, pp. 127-159
Rowntree & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Rygh, OC (2015). Bruk av leiejord, endringer i driveplikten og vernehjemmel I jordloven: konsekvenser og effekt for jordvernet. Delraport.

Accessed at: 06.02.2015
Available at: https://www.slf.dep.no/no/eiendom-og-skog/eiendom/driveplikt/_attachment/46013?_ts=14c98c2edf0&download=true.

Rypeng, L (2013). IKEA Motstandere Aksjonerer mot Landbruksministeren.
Oblad.no

Accessed at: 20.04.2015
Available at: <http://www.oblad.no/nyheter/ikea-motstandere-aksjonerer-mot-landbruksministeren-1.8179959>

Sæterbekk, J (2015). Norges Bondelag: Lær mer om Konsesjonsloven.
Norgesbondelag.no
Accessed at: 20.05.2015
Available at: <http://www.bondelaget.no/nyhetsarkiv/lar-mer-om-konsesjonsloven-article80260-3805.html>

Sandbu, A (2014). Klare for Matjordkamp i vekstkomuner: Ønsker Boligblokker og 1000 Nye Inbyggere Årlig.

Bondebladet.no

Accessed at: 22.03.15

Available at: <http://www.bondebladet.no/nyhet/klare-for-matjord-kamp-i-vekstkomuner/>

Sodano, V & Verneau, F (2014). Competition Policy and Food Sector in the European Union. *Journal of International Food & Agribusiness Marketing*, Vol. 26, Issue. 03.

pp. 155-172.

University of Naples Federico II, Portici, Italy

Sørli, TJ (2013). Byttet Hvete Åker mot IKEA

Bondebladet.no

Accessed at: 25.02.15

Available at: <http://www.bondebladet.no/gardsdrift/byttet-hveteker-mot-ikea/>

Sorrentino. A, Henke. R & Severini. S (2011). The Common Agricultural Policy After the Fischler Reform: National Implementation, Impact Assessments and the Agenda for Future Reform.

Aschgate Publishing Limited, Surrey, England

Statistics Norway (2011). Statistiske Analyser: Landbruk I Norge 2011

Ssb.no

Accessed on: 19.05.2015

Available at: <https://www.ssb.no/jord-skog-jakt-og-fiskeri/artikler-og-publikasjoner/landbruket-i-norge-2011>

Statistics Norway (2013). Forbrukerundersøkelsen

Ssb.no.

Accessed at: 22.02.15

Available at: <http://www.ssb.no/fbu>

Steen & Strøm (n.d.). Emporia.

Steenstrom.com

Accessed at: 26.02.15

Available at: <http://www.steinstrom.com/who-are-we/solid-owners/>

Strøm, BO, Lutnæs, ÅK (2006). EUs landbrukspolitikk. Dagens politikk og sentrale utviklingstrekk. Rapport 2 – 2006

Agrianalyse.no

Accessed at: 30.03.2015

Available at: <http://www.agrianalyse.no/file=1355>

Sundvolen-Plattformen (2013). Politisk Plattform: Politisk plattform for en regjering utgått av Høyre og Fremskrittspartiet.

Regjeringen.no

Accessed at: 11.03.2015

Available at: https://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/politisk-plattform/id743014/#Fiskeri_landbruk

Sveriges Riksdag (2010). Åkermarkens Skydd och Externa Köpcentrum Motion 2010/11: C362

Riksdagen.se

Accessed at: 04.04.2015

Available at: http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Forslag/Motioner/kermarkens-skydd-och-externa-_GY02C362/?text=true

Sveriges Riksdag (2014). Åkermarken som Riksinteresse.

Riksdagen.se Motion 2014/15:2851

Accessed at: 19.02.15

Available at: http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Ovriga-dokument/Ovrigt-dokument/kermarken-som-riksintresse_H2022851/

Tannum, E (2015). Debattinnlegg: Ja til IKEA i Vestby, men ikke på Delijordet.

Moss Avis.no

Accessed at: 25.04.2015

Available at: http://www.moss-avis.no/Ja_takk_til_IKEA_i_Vestby__men_ikke_p__Delijordet-5-67-67118.html

Tjernshaugen, K & Molteberg, GL (2014). Nytt Tillbud til Bøndene: Over en Milliard Skiller.

Aftenposten.no

Accessed at: 30.03.15

Available at: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/politikk/Over-n-milliard-kroner-skiller-i-jordbruksoppgjoret-7556954.html>

UN News Center (2015). Spotlighiting humanity's 'silent ally,' UN launches 2015 International Year of Soils.

UN.org

Accessed at: 06.01.15

Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49520#.VNSLlkJ-9E4>

Underskrift.no (2015). Nei til IKEA I Vestby.

Accessed at: 24.04.2015

Available at: <http://www.underskrift.no/vis.asp?kampanje=3527>

UNDESA (2014). United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs: International Decade for Water "Water for Life" 2005-2015

Accessed at: 09.05.2015

Available at: http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/food_security.shtml

Vårt Land (2013). Bønder Demonstrerte mot Landbruksministeren
Vl.no

Accessed at: 19.04.2015

Available at: <http://www.vl.no/samfunn/bønder-demonstrerte-mot-landbruksministeren-1.45552>

Wangen, K (2015a). Bioforsk gir Grønt Lys til IKEA: Ny Oppskrift Skal Åpne for Jordflytting I Vestby.

Nationen.no

Accessed at: 30.03.15

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/landbruk/ny-oppskrift-skal-apne-for-jordflytting-i-vestby/>

Wangen, K (2015b). Forskere Advarer mot Flytting av Matjord.

Nationen.no

Accessed at: 14.04.15

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/landbruk/forskere-advarer-mot-flytting-av-matjord/?share=qb3AQToIihCAVHh8UCHIJ67sfkDvYC4%2FgOJStb4fTmfDp6kyGkzJmOKfBsSYfWBz836SYGGCESUItKx2R6uZV1fi2LiLYAQhO1tiWkadDjiVCHH3td7iGG%2BE8k2bRNn3SsPmQ%2B5qN5bPqnk9UbfOw26XuPRFDHv2mRcfhbS1G0s%3D>

Widgren, M (2004). Can Landscapes be Read? *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*, eds Palang, H et al. pp, 455-465. Springer Netherlands

Wirsénus, S, Azar, C & Berndes, G (2010). How much land is needed for global food production under scenarios of dietary changes and livestock productivity increases in 2030? *Agricultural Systems*. Vol. 103, Issue. 9, November 2010. pp, 621–638

Woods, M (2005). *Rural Geography: Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring*.

SAGE Publications Ltd, London

Yeung H. Way-Chung (1997). Critical Realism and Realist Research in Human Geography: a method or a philosophy in search of a method?

Progress in Human Geography , Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 51-74

Department of Geography, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Yri. S, Y (2015). Naturvernforbundet vil stoppe utbygging av Ikea.

Nationen.no

Accessed at: 14.04.15

Available at: <http://www.nationen.no/landbruk/naturvernforbundet-vil-stoppe-utbygging-av-ikea/>

Zoric, D. Solhaug, KE & Sundquist, J (2013). Landbruksministeren vil Offre Matjord for IKEA

NRK.no

Accessed at: 12.04.15

Available at: <http://www.nrk.no/norge/gront-lys-for-ikea-i-vestby-1.11378049>