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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Faculty of Landscape Architecture,
Horticulture and Crop Production Science

Perceptions and Landscape Values in the English Lake District

A Case Study of Troutbeck Valley

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Master's Thesis in Agricultural Science/Agroecology · 30 HEC · Advanced Level A2E

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Foreword

Since my childhood, I have always felt very close to and inspired by nature which has grown into an interest in knowing more about the fragile relationship between the environment and human activity. Recognizing that our human world is becoming more and more alienated from nature, I would like to understand the reasons and find possibilities to mend it. There is an intention in the ever-changing world to seek balance and an unspoken constitution saying that consuming is not possible in the long term without re-producing, in general. The Agroecology Program reaffirmed my place and my desire for this balance. It also helped me to understand the importance of collaboration and communication which made me realize that we must discover new ways for human beings to become reenchanting with nature. Another gift received through this program was the opportunity to become introduced to landscape-related subjects and to become fascinated by the sense of place experience. Inspired by my studies, I see opportunities in encouraging people to improve their sense of wonder, their sensibility to create better places to live, and to share their experiences about it. This may contribute to a more compassionate world.

Summary

This thesis seeks to explore residents' and visitors' sense of place, in the form of a case study in the English Lake District National Park, which is under environmental, social, and economic pressures. It addresses the issue of local land use changes from an agroecological perspective and an attempt is being made to use the knowledge of landscape values and meanings for enhancing and sustaining the upland landscape. The main methods used are literature study, observations, and interviews, for which 14 residents and 14 visitors as key respondents were chosen. Analysis of the interview results involved the organization and thematic categorization of data. One relevant finding was the uniformity of the identified key categories and sub-categories for the sense of place constructed by the respondents, which was found primarily 'recreational' by visitors and predominantly 'reassuring-comforting' by residents. Physical and spatial components of the landscape were found to have a central role in constructing meanings. Iconic and aesthetic roles of sheep were highly valued, suggesting that historical past can contribute to the creation of landscape meanings, whereas gained products from sheep received much less attention. This finding was unexpected and may suggest a certain level of weakness in promoting local farm products. The results, furthermore, seem to support the idea that humans have an overall tendency to prefer diversity and to seek harmony between landscape elements. This may be extended to the heterogenous mosaic of agricultural and semi-natural components in the upland landscape with a desirable degree of diversity. On the one hand, the physical form of the landscape is considered to be the main contributor to the sense of wilderness. On the other hand, manmade elements of the landscape, however less attractive for the eyes, could convey the sense of 'ordered wilderness'. Changes happen at a very slow scale in Troutbeck and this is one of the main reasons for finding the area attractive. Desired landscape would require the place to become preserved in present state in terms of its relative contentedness and tranquillity. Enhancement of the landscape may involve diversity and balance in the number of tourists, level of development, and rejuvenation of the village itself. This case study confirms that landscapes encompass more than just physical entity and it raises the question of what sort of landscape is desirable in the long term. Ancient values may be rethought and a deeper understanding of the right balance between natural and cultural must be prioritized. Whether to what extent it is possible to define balance, regarding the many different forms of opinions, this is a question that must be fully considered. One difficulty may be to reach an agreement as to where to set limits. An integrated view on nature and human beings may help this process. By recognizing various interpretations of potential users and key values, more access may be gained to 'hidden aspects' of the landscape (Arnesen, 2008) which contributes to a collective way of designing and the enrichment of places. The challenge is now to raise public awareness of landscape values, wider recognition of ecosystem services, and to develop appropriate pasture management regimes so as to support diversity. There is, therefore, definite need for communication and for a greater effort to reconnect producers to consumers. Future landscape changes are inevitable at the social, natural, and economic levels and investigating associations of these dimensions in future studies is recommended.

Table of Figures

Figure 1. The meaning of landscape.....	3
Figure 2. Goals of the Lake District National Park addressed from an agroecological perspective	4
Figure 3. Location of Troutbeck.....	5
Figure 4. Main distinctive characteristics of Troutbeck Valley	6
Figure 5. Troutbeck Tongue	7
Figure 6. Down Troutbeck Valley to Windermere.....	7
Figure 7. The linear setting of the village in north-south direction.....	7
Figure 8. View to the surrounding fells from Troutbeck.....	7
Figure 9. Old farmhouse at Town End	8
Figure 10. Traditional barn at Town End	8
Figure 11. The Mortal Man Inn in Troutbeck	10
Figure 12. Land use on commercial agricultural holdings	18
Figure 13. Network of issues associated with concerns for the sustainability of upland farms	19
Figure 14. The Local Knowledge System of upland farming and their interrelated nature.	20
Figure 15. Categories and sub-categories emerging when analyzing question a, b, and c.....	23
Figure 16. An overview of the results within the first theme	24
Figure 17. Working farm in Troutbeck	26
Figure 18. Village Shop and Tea Room in Troutbeck.....	27
Figure 19. Cakes made by the villagers for the Tea Room in Troutbeck.....	28
Figure 20. Similarities and differences between landscape values of residents and visitors.....	31
Figure 21. Value of sheep according to the respondents.....	32
Figure 22. Services provided by the sheep according to the respondents.	33
Figure 23. Troutbeck farmer moving flock of sheep.....	34
Figure 24. The icon of the sheep 1	35
Figure 25. The icon of the sheep 2	35
Figure 26. What would the Lake District be like without sheep?	36
Figure 27. First impression of the landscape referred to categories by residents and visitors	38
Figure 28. Lime Fitt Holiday Park.	39
Figure 29. Landslides caused by flooding in Troutbeck Tongue	41
Figure 30. The many co-existent landscapes represented by different interpretant communities..	44

Figure 31. Photograph used for theme 2.....	56
Figure 32. Troutbeck village in the distance seen from Garburn path 1	56
Figure 33. Troutbeck village in the distance seen from Garburn path 2	56
Figure 34. An overview of the responses to question i, j, and k.....	58
Figure 35. Timeline	60

List of Tables

Table 1. Ecosystem services provided by the upland.....	22
Table 2. Occupation sector and gender of the interviewees.....	59
Table 3. Changes and future vision of Troutbeck Valley mentioned by the respondents	61

Appendix

A. Interview Themes, Questions, and Prompts.....	55
B. An overview of the Responses to Question i, j, and k	58
C. Occupation Sector and Gender of the Interviewees	59
D. Timeline of Landscaping the Lake District	60
E. Challenges of the Changing Landscape	61

Table of Contents

1 Introduction	1
2 Research Background	2
3 Aims and Objectives	5
4 Settings	5
5 Research Design and Methodology	8
5.1 Pre-phases of the Research	9
5.2 Literature Study	9
5.3 Interviews	10
5.4 Observation.....	11
5.5 Validity, Reliability	12
5.6 Ethics	12
5.7 Analysis and Presentation of Data.....	13
6 Limitations	13
7 Results and Discussion	14
7.1 Results of the Literature Study	14
7.2 Interview Results	23
7.2.1 Relation to the Landscape.....	23
7.2.2 The Icon of the Sheep.....	32
7.2.3 Scene.....	37
7.2.3.1 Composition of the Landscape	37
7.2.3.2 Challenges of the Changing Landscape.....	41
7.3 Linking Study to a More Sustainable Future for the Uplands	42
8 Reflection on the Research	46
9 Conclusion	47
List of References	48
Appendix	55

“You own nothing. You were a visitor, time after time. Climbing the hill, planting the flag, proclaiming. We never belonged to you. You never found us. It was always the other way round.”

Taken from the poem: *The Moment* by Margaret Atwood

1 Introduction

In his weekly column in the British daily newspaper, ‘The Guardian’, environmental activist George Monbiot has drawn attention to the issue of hill farming in the English Lake District. By fuelling a debate about the impact of traditional sheep farming on the biodiversity of the Lakeland, which is according to him, “thoroughly sheep-wrecked” and “one of the most depressing landscapes in Europe” (Monbiot, 2013, para. 2), the article suggests a renewed interest for issues of sustainable landscape management in particular relevance to agroecological approaches. The trigger event of the dispute was the campaign to nominate the Lake District for the 2016 World Heritage inscription. On 1st March 2016, the application procedure was completed and is, at present, being reviewed and adjudicated by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee until 31st July 2017 (Lake District World Heritage Bid, 2017a). Monbiot, however, is critical of glorifying this landscape and accuses the sheep of constantly keeping the hills uncovered and generating floods by compacting the soil (Monbiot, 2013). To break with tradition, the above-mentioned article challenges the main purpose of the Lake District National Park as to preserve the beauty of the cultural landscape, where public access for outdoor recreation is ensured and traditional agro-pastoral farming practices together with a more resilient natural environment can be promoted (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2016a). It raises the question of why the contradiction between fostering sheep farming and preserving the ecosystem are not recognized by the bid and points out that the clash between ecological restoration and present farming system must not be solved for the benefit of the latter. One of the contrary perspectives is that the “Lake District has not been „wrecked” by sheep and farmers, it has been created by them, through generations of hard work and often with very little reward” (Meanwell, 2015, para. 8). Sheep farming, therefore, has had an inevitable role in landscaping the Lake District as it looks today, which attracts so many visitors. Even though the key role of Lake District farmers in delivering ecosystem services seems to become acknowledged (Darlington, 2013), Monbiot (2013) is cautious in the admiration of a largely romanticized farming system which is unproductive and stands in need of subsidies.

It is not within the scope of this study to resolve the dispute as such, but this is where this paper begins. Even so an attempt is being made to look behind the scenes in order to develop a better understanding of the conflict over the Lakeland grazing landscape. Furthermore, this paper also sets out to explore people-place relationships and thereby, a possible way forward for sustainable landscape management. The results may bring us one step closer to grasp the bigger picture of the problems as well as to take a deliberate approach to the cure.

2 Research Background

With rapidly growing human population on earth, which has already exceeded 7 billion (United States Census Bureau, 2017), one of the main challenges to face today is food security. Increasing demands have led to agricultural intensification and the dissipation of the world's resources. Taking up about 37 percent of the global land area, agriculture is to bear the blame of transforming a significant amount of land surface on the planet (European Bioplastics, 2015). On the one hand, it is a threat for life-support systems, on the other hand, agricultural landscape, as a supplier of ecosystem services could offer great opportunities to preserve global biodiversity (Gliessman, 2015). In short supply of agricultural land, there is an emerging need for reconsidering global land use patterns and the efficiency of present agricultural practices (Lambin and Meyfroidt, 2011). Loss of biodiversity and cultural elements of the agricultural landscape are some of the negative outcomes of land use changes and main concerns for future research at both a local and global level. Foley (2011) identifies 3 main potential targets to set by humankind: feeding the population adequately, duplicate food production in the next 40 years, and achieving both targets in an environmentally sustainable way. It may, therefore, be achievable to enhance agricultural resilience, although it requires carefully planned management methods that employ local ecosystem services (Björklund et al., 2012). As noted by Gliessman (2015), agroecosystem is a central concept to deal with anthropogenic modifications of the earth surface caused by agricultural activities. An agroecosystem can be defined as a "site or integrated region of agricultural production—a farm for example—understood as an ecosystem" (Gliessman, 2015 p.21). At the landscape level, agroecosystems are very closely banded together with natural ecosystems through the complexity of interactions. This mutual relationship can only be sustained through the reincorporation of diversity into agricultural landscapes. If managed effectively, diversity will help to conserve biodiversity in natural ecosystems, so landscape-level management is a key factor to achieve sustainability (Ibid.). Transformation in agriculture, however, cannot be implemented without parallel changes in the social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions (Altieri and Nicholls, 2005).

The Lake District National Park is the largest national park in England, it is a popular holiday destination, and its value is on the way to becoming internationally recognized. Even though sheep farming has always had an important role in the history of English landscape management, the value and necessity of livestock grazing on the fells can still be challenged. Upland agriculture has been co-evolving with local conditions over the course of time and it relies heavily on the symbiotic relationship with the environment. As the main criteria determining the right balance between over-, and underexploitation of the land (Mansfield, 2011), this relationship must be understood. Having regard to the marginal character of upland farming, it is particularly important how this interdependence is handled by policy makers because in satisfying social, economic, and environmental goals, management decisions that are not planned and implemented with a respect for regional aspects can easily throw the whole system out of balance (Altieri, 1994). Mansfield (2011) discusses this fragile balance which has been of primary concern recently. Encouragement of the socio-economic side of the scale can put the environmental component at a disadvantage on account of overgrazing, whereas supporting the environmental factor, if not implemented appropriately, can generate financial problems in the farming community and eventually can result in undergrazing. In the process of understanding the complex structure of this agro-environmental system, collaboration becomes crucial (Denyer 2016, Palmer, 2010) and involves a heterogeneous group of individuals: residents and visitors who have 'adopted' the land, have become a part of it, and are willing to corporate social responsibility for changes.

Strolling around the Lakes, exploring much of the fells of the Lake District National Park, one may wonder how this landscape has been shaped and maintained throughout the centuries and what the future may bring for its communities. The interrelation between land and people is manifold. Inspired by Picturesque movements, it has been a “spiritual heartland” (Denyer, 2016. p. 3) for many, as well as a stage for political innovations and a conservation battlefield. It is the encounter between human culture and the natural world that this landscape represents and as Hinton (2012. p. xiii) describes, “to walk through a landscape is to walk through a culture, for it is culture that determines both what we are and what a landscape is for us”. According to a definition provided by The European Landscape Convention (2000, para. 1), the landscape is, “part of the land, as perceived by local people or visitors, which evolves through time as a result of being acted upon by natural forces and human beings”. On the one hand, landscape can be considered as a ‘tangible product’ of the people as a result of shaping the environment by their actions. On the other hand, shared meanings and values are part of an ‘intangible process’ (Makhzoumi, 2009). In the light of this mutual relationship between humans and their surroundings it is becoming extremely difficult to ignore the existence of the perceptual dimensions of the landscape, which is at the heart of our understanding of many aspects of this relationship. The meaning of landscape (Figure 1) embraces the interaction of cultural and natural elements of the environment, but ultimately it is the perception of the people that “turns land into the concept of landscape” (Swanwick and Land Use Consultants, 2002. p.2). Everyone has a part to play in maintaining a quality environment that is multifunctional and sustainable. To successfully achieve this, however, knowledge of community perception and recognizing how the landscape is interpreted by them are instrumental in order to gain a deeper understanding of attitudes. In addition, the way and extent to which the landscape values of communities are recognized is fundamental in uniquely contributing to local management decisions (Swaffield and Foster, 2000).

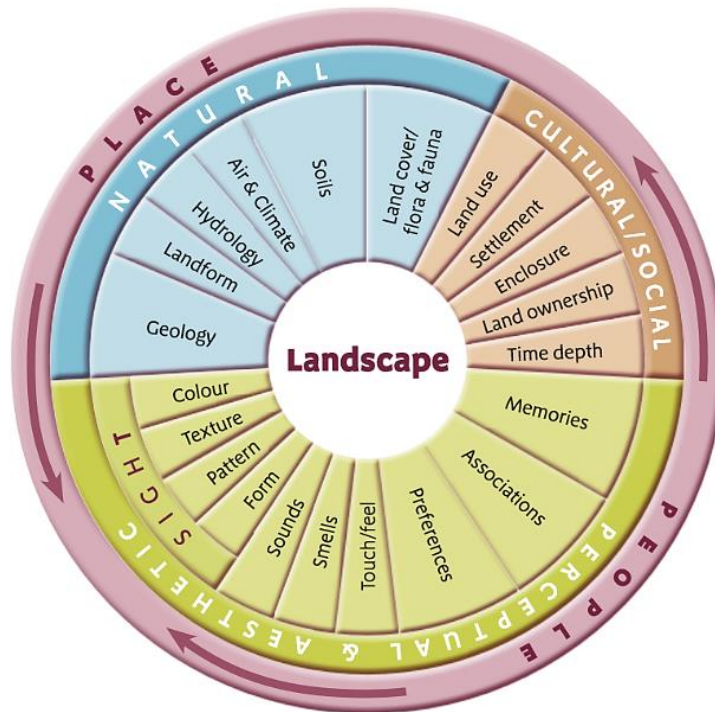


Figure 1. The meaning of landscape. Embracing natural, cultural/social, perceptual, and aesthetic dimensions. Source: Tudor (2014). Copyright of Natural England (with permission)

Current research is based on the assumption that landscape is a symbolic creation, reflecting self-definitions of people, deeply rooted in culture (Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Abrahamsson, 1999). Physical environments thereby can be related to multiple interpretations and thus, have capacity for many co-existent landscapes (Arnesen, 2008). The idea of landscape as social construction of nature is, furthermore, central to this research because different self-definitions mean different attitudes towards landscape changes and eventually entail different human aftermath of environmental change (Greider and Garkovich, 1994). Seeing the landscapes through the lens of symbols and meanings is a tool to understanding people-place relationships, therefore, it is the major pillar on which this thesis is designed to be built. The bilateral nature of this relationship at this point is highly emphasized. The symbolic dialogue between person and place is about give and take whereby the experience of a particular place blends in with what a person delivers to it, creating sense of place (Steele, 1981). It is, in effect, to understand the ‘character’ of the place by linking it with other places experienced in the past and can be demonstrated as layers of many co-existent senses of place (Massey, 1994). Points of vertical continuity in these layers may represent similar or shared perceptions of certain characteristics (Corsane and Bowers, 2012). Following this line of thought and considering results of a qualitative interview study conducted in a Swiss Alpine village by Kianicka et al. (2006) there will be an attempt in the pages that follow to explore residents’ and visitors’ senses of place. Concentrating on group differences, their research provides new insight into the contents and conditions of sense of place, contributing to sustainable landscape management. Similarly, this is a focal point of this study as well, but investigation of people-place relationships is placed into the context of upland agriculture, in the form of a case study of Troutbeck Valley in the English Lake District. It has been given rise to controversy whether the different goals set by the Lake District National Park Authority, such as to promote traditional farming practices, to preserve the scenic beauty of the landscape, and to restore the ecosystem can be equally achieved in the current circumstances. This problem is an initiating factor for this thesis which addresses the issue from an agroecological perspective (Figure 2). The thesis is driven by the supposition that conflicts over landscape management issues can be better understood by becoming acquainted with underlying people-place relationships. It is assumed that there are differences in the way the landscape is constructed by ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ and basic principles they share can be associated with possible future characteristics of the grazing landscape.

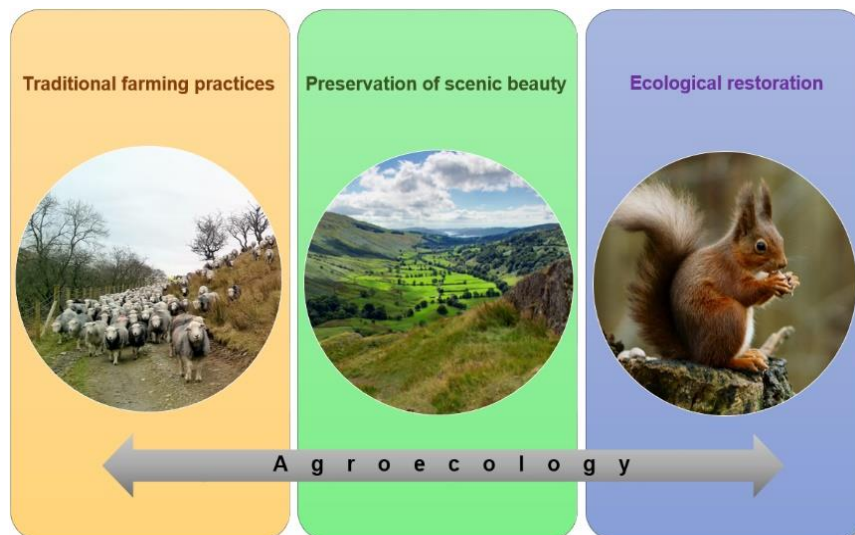


Figure 2. Goals of the Lake District National Park addressed from an agroecological perspective
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3 Aims and Objectives

Overall aims of this research are to:

1. Develop a general understanding of residents' and visitors' senses of place within the study area
2. Discover ways in which the knowledge of senses of place can be utilized and successfully contribute to local management decisions in order to create and maintain sustainability and multi-functionality

Sense of place, as the result of the interaction between people and settings, requires an information-receiving process (perception) through which reception of signals from the settings takes place and organisation to give them meanings (Steele, 1981). There are many ways of selecting and interpreting signals and it shapes the overall experience about the setting and the individual within (Ibid.). To explore sense of place, therefore, perceptions and values of the landscape are currently the main focus of attention.

Primary objectives of this thesis, therefore, are to:

1. Investigate and give a general outline of residents' and visitors' perceptions of the landscape
2. Identify differences and similarities between residents' and visitors' landscape meanings and values
3. Explore how the results can be used for achieving a sustainable future for the upland landscape

Addressing the interaction between humans and their environment, primary questions of this research emerge as follows:

- What are the main differences and similarities between residents' and visitors' senses of place?
- In what ways the knowledge of senses of place can contribute to landscape management decisions?

4 Settings

The research was carried out in Troutbeck Valley, which is located in the Lake District National Park, a region of lakes and mountains found in North West England, in the county of Cumbria (Figure 3).

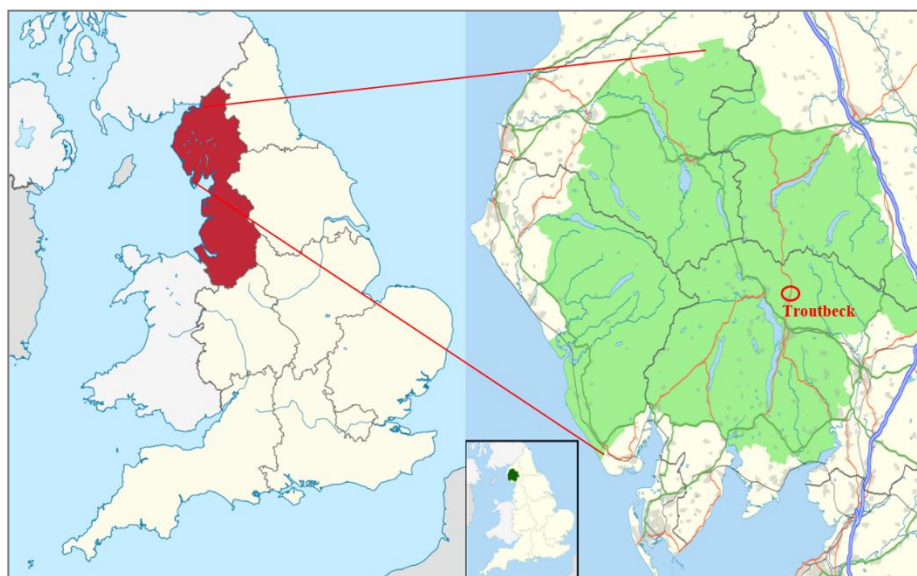


Figure 3. Location of Troutbeck: Lake District National Park, North West England
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North West England gives home to a vast array of landscape types within a relatively small area and can be characterized by its marginality in multiple dimensions: cultural, political, physical, as well as in the upland periphery (Winchester and Crosby, 2006). It is an important region, considering its population of approximately 6.9 million to be the third largest among the regions of England, despite being the fourth smallest in size with its 14,100-square kilometer land area (Young and Sly, 2011). 18 per cent of the North West is covered by the Lake District National Park (Coordinates: 54°30' 0" N, 3° 10' 0" W), contains 6 km of the Heritage Coast and 11 percent of English land that lies within the Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (Ibid.). Regional variability introduces colder weather and significantly more rain in the north-western parts, in general. Due to the range of topography and altitude, the climate in the North West shows a great variety and some of the wettest and coldest places can be found in the region because of its exposure to westerly maritime air masses and the high presence of upland areas (Met Office, 2016a). Rainfall is abundant in the Lake District, yearly average in the higher parts often exceeds 3200 mm of rain. This often leads to flooding in the region in the winter months and early spring. As a result of excessive rainfall and short growing season with favorable temperature for crop growth, grazing is the main agricultural use of land. The Lake District National Park Landscape Character Assessment and Guidelines (Chris Blandford Associates, 2008) recognizes the diversity of the landscape in the Lake District National Park and the characters that has been formed by both the combination of visible (physical and spatial) and non-visible (sense of tranquility, wilderness, and cultural) elements, providing distinctive features to each area with a gradual transition between landscape character units. 71 Areas of Distinctive Character have been identified within the National Park which are defined as “discrete geographical areas with a distinct and recognizable pattern of elements that occur consistently throughout the area” (Chris Blandford Associates, 2008, p.4). Within Area 40 in the list of these areas, Troutbeck Valley is predominantly characterized by very strong sense of tranquillity, its cultural heritage, and the scenic aspects of the landscape (Figure 4).



Tranquility

"The sense of tranquility is due to a perceived sense of naturalness and relative absence of dwellings away from the settlements"

(Chris Blandford Associates, 2008 p. 150)



Aesthetic/Scenery

- Gradual transition from valley to open mountain landscape
- Dispersed and relatively isolated farmsteads
- Lower part of the valley is well wooded
- Immediately recognisable enclosure pattern
- A mixture of improved meadows and pasture by Trout Beck
- Spectacular views from the higher end of the valley
- Exceptionally distinctive linear valley



Cultural heritage

- Ancient stone walls
- Town End House and Troutbeck Park Farm
- 17th century vernacular architecture
- Roman Road 'High Street'

Figure 4. Main distinctive characteristics of Troutbeck Valley: tranquillity, aesthetic/scenery, and cultural heritage.

Source of data: Chris Blandford Associates (2008)

Photos: 1. author, 2. Elizabeth Oldham (with permission), 3. Janine John (with permission)

A further important point emphasized in the report is the relatively isolated and rural character of the area, which makes it vulnerable to the introduction of new developments and to the lack of management in certain areas of woodland, parkland and wood pasture. Embraced by the magnificent slopes of Applethwaite Common and Wansfell, Troutbeck Valley is situated in South Lakeland between the nearest towns of Windermere and Ambleside. The scene at the head of the valley is dominated by the peaks of Yoke (706 m/ 2316 ft), Ill Bell (757 m/ 2484 ft), Froswick (720 m/ 2360 ft), and Thornthwaite Crag (784 m/ 2572 ft) as they emerge on the ridge between the valleys of Kentmere and Troutbeck. Further in the distance Troutbeck Tongue (364 m/ 1194 ft) rises just beyond Troutbeck Park Farm which sets in its own to the north of Troutbeck village with Trout Beck River to the left, flowing all the way down to Lake Windermere (Figure 5 and 6).



Figure 5. Troutbeck Tongue
Photo: Elizabeth Oldham (with permission)



Figure 6. Down Troutbeck Valley to Windermere
Photo: Elizabeth Oldham (with permission)

Troutbeck village (Coordinates: 54° 25' 4.8" N, 2° 54' 46.8" W) lies on the west side of Troutbeck Valley between Troutbeck Bridge and Kirkstone Pass. Most of the village is designated as a conservation area since 5th May 1981 because of its “special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance” (Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act, 1990, Ch. 9, pg. 42). One particular interest to the Troutbeck Conservation Area lies in its picturesque setting. Nestling on the border of the Southern Lakeland and the Central Lake District, the village offers both the scenery extending southwardly to low-lying pasture and northwardly to dramatic upland (Lake District National Park Authority, 2014). The village does not have an obvious centre, it rather appears as assemblages of small hamlets and farmhouses gathering around the old roadside wells along the main narrow road in an approximately north-south direction (Figure 7). Importantly, the general impression created by the view is the “sense of contrast and sequential variety within the conservation area, whereby enclosed and intimate spaces between buildings suddenly open up to long views to the surrounding fells” (Figure 8) pointed out by the Lake District National Park Authority (2014. pg. 22).



Figure 7. The linear setting of the village in north-south direction. Photo: Andrew Graham (with permission)



Figure 8. View to the surrounding fells from Troutbeck
Photo: author

Architectural and historic significance of the conservation area is also highlighted, considering the mixture of vernacular and Victorian buildings found in the village dating back to the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries (including 28 listed buildings) and the fact that most of the building material used for walling, roof slates and stone walls was locally quarried. In addition, building details such as cylindrical chimney stacks or crow steps for instance, together with many specific local details and trees in the village are all important contributors to the sense of place. Most of the area is covered by grazing farmlands and is truly connected historically with yeomen families (Figure 9). Agriculture and farm buildings therefore are important factors to be added to the character and appearance of Troutbeck Village, particularly regarding bank barns as typical regional elements of the upland landscape in the Lake District (Ibid.) (Figure 10).



Figure 9. Old farmhouse at Town End
Photo: Mike Peel (via CC BY-SA 4.0)
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Figure 10. Traditional barn at Town End
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Visible signs of the tourism industry, furthermore, are clearly presented in the form of several property accommodating short-term visitors. An interconnected network of footpaths and bridleways can be found on both sides of the valley reaching as far as the church which stands alone further down. There is however no official car park, street lighting, and all year direct bus service running through the village itself. Approximately 260 properties were reported to be within Troutbeck ward, of which 105 houses belonging to the main village (Troutbeck Ward Plan, 2005). This included 42 second-homes or holiday cottages and 63 full-time residences during the survey for the Lakes Parish Council, in addition to the 15 long-term rental homes and 6 tenant farms in Troutbeck Valley (Ibid.). Watson (1988) draws attention to the problem of astronomical house prices in most of the villages in the region which are beyond the reach of local people and this tendency seems to be heading the same way since. Increasing numbers of second homes and the decline in the number of young families settling down in the village are also some of the main concerns the village must tackle (Troutbeck Village Association, n. d.). Community life in Troutbeck is largely connected to the Village Institute where plenty of social events are organized for locals and ‘offcomers’. This helps maintain a strong sense of village identity and community cohesion based on shared values and conservation of the countryside (Ibid.).

5 Research Design and Methodology

Choosing the right methodology is a keystone in research, as it influences how the phenomenon is understood. Accordingly, through the guidance of individual theoretical perspectives the same question could be answered in many ways (Bernard, 2006). Methods, on the one hand, need to be designed to fit the research question, on the other hand, suit the type of data intend to be looked for (Gillham, 2005). Several methods and approaches are available for perception study, but adequate resources, such as time, funding, and the number of people involved in the process were some of the limiting factors of this research.

Framed within an overall constructivist perspective, qualitative methods were chosen, where interaction between the researcher and the subjects is an underlying principal. Qualitative research methods are designed to capture everyday life situations and to offer a deeper understanding of human perspectives (Taylor, 2005). The major advantage of these methods is that they provide rich data and are often guided by broad research questions, which could be revisited in a later phase of the research process. A similar research conducted by Kianicka et al (2006), in addition, was fully inspiring and results were compared. To answer the research questions of this thesis, literature review, interviews, and observations were chosen. The motivation and description for these choices will be presented in the following sections.

5.1 Pre-phases of the Research

Prior to conducting the research, planning, pre-fieldwork, and preparation phases took place. To begin this process, it was necessary to decide what is relevant to the study and to clarify criteria. The area of study was chosen principally for its setting with diverse views ranging from low-lying pasture to dramatic upland. Scenic aspects of the landscape, its rich cultural heritage, and agricultural background, by which Troutbeck Valley can be strongly characterised, offered further advantages and attributed values when investigating the landscape. Vulnerability of the area to the introduction of new developments also made the village suitable for studies dealing with landscape management issues, as did the obvious presence of tourism industry and cohesive local community presumably willing to participate in the research. Being familiarized with the area and gathering information were the first steps to identify the key issues from which later key questions emerged. During this process it was kept in mind how the data will be analysed later. The Mortal Man Inn was pre-selected as a potential research site through exploratory visits prior to 2016 by examining its social environment, particularly regarding the nature of customer-staff interaction. Becoming a member of staff aimed to facilitate entry into the community and to build trust. It was also needed to identify stakeholders, to think about sampling strategies, to formulate assumptions, and to set up boundaries based on the themes created to define what the respondents are expected to tell about. The next step was to decide the order of interview themes, to work out relevant questions and prompts, and to create a covering letter. Getting in touch with potential interviewees and arranging interviews was following this procedure in accordance to a proper time schedule.

5.2 Literature Study

Comprehensive literature searches are considered to be integral parts of a research process because "research shouldn't take place in a vacuum: you need to know what's known-and pick up clues that you could pursue productively" (Gillham, 2005. pg. 19). From the very first step in the development of the thesis, therefore, desk based research was carried out in order to gather information from a variety of sources already available in print, or published on the internet. Web search engines, a range of databases, and library catalogues were used to find and access literature, which centred around the following main themes: Lake District Word Heritage Site, Landscape-related concepts, Upland agriculture, and Ecological restoration. In particular, this involved the review of landscaping history of the Lake District, tourism, main characteristics and challenges of upland farming, landscape-related key concepts, sense of place, place identity, and other relevant subjects of perception studies.

Selected themes of conservation grazing and 'rewilding' as a fairly new scientific approach in the context of habitat restoration was also included as supplemental reading by which new light was intended to be thrown upon the topic. Information about Troutbeck Village and landscape evaluation of the area provided further information for the Settings section. Additional readings were required for designing research and methodology. Results from desk research were finally combined and analysed with input from interviews. In addition, suggestions from knowledgeable and experienced supervisors in the related fields were received throughout the research process.

5.3 Interviews

Qualitative research interviews generate knowledge through the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee and help to discover the world through another's point of view (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Due to the interactive relationship between the participants, flexibility and a certain level of correction (clarification, exploration) becomes possible (Gillham, 2005). The focus was on creating individual, qualitative interviews that consist of structured, unstructured and semi-structured elements. For the latter, a simple guide was made with sub-themes and a list of prompts were included to facilitate the unhindered flow of dialogues. The same questions were asked from every participant; however, a process of development was allowed for the kind and form of questions to go through in order to keep their focus on the topic (Gillham, 2005). Some of the interview questions and prompts were borrowed from previous landscape perception studies investigating similar topics (question a and b: Kianicka et al. 2006; from question c, e, f, g, h, j, and k: Fyfe, 2011). Interviews were held from 29th January to 14th March 2016. The interviews themselves were based on themes as to (1) Relation to the Landscape, (2) Icon of the Sheep, (3) Scene, and (4) General Demographic Questions (for related questions, prompts, and photographs see Appendix A). Questions of the first theme were designed to reveal the main peculiarities of the area, emotional responses to the landscape, and attributed landscape values. In the second theme the value of the sheep was investigated, in terms of the role they fill as part of the landscape. In the third theme two photographs were used representing different angles of views on Troutbeck Valley to explore preferences to typical characteristics of the area and how the overall composition of the landscape is perceived. The second part of this theme was a verbally administered questionnaire, the structured element of the interview where a list of adjectives helped the respondents describe the landscape on a scale of 1 to 5. Wished and experienced changes of the landscape were also asked within this theme. General demographic questions were included to provide data about the main characteristics of the sample population (for the overview of the responses see Appendix B and C). The Mortal Man Inn, (Figure 11) in which a quiet place with tea making facilities was always made available during the interviews, is situated in the north side of Troutbeck



Figure 11. The Mortal Man Inn in Troutbeck. An opportunity to gain access to potential interviewees
Photo: author

by the main village road. This traditional Lake District Inn adds up as one of the main attractions in the village and its importance as a social hub for villagers and visitors was relevant to my studies. Becoming a member of staff in the Mortal Man Inn was an opportunity to mingle in this milieu which made it possible to easily interact with colleagues and guests. The proprietors of the Mortal Man Inn, furthermore, were considered to be the major gatekeepers to the research willing to introduce me to a diverse range of customers and giving further ideas of where and how to find new participants for the interviews.

Some of the informants and staff also helped to recruit new interviewees by offering their advice or by spreading the word about the interviews. Another way of creating new recruits was placing invitation letters in some of the most popular places in the area likely to be visited by people. 28 people were chosen as key informants according to their "expected significance" to the study (Swaffield and Foster, 2000, p. 18). Primary inclusion criteria for the two heterogeneous (in gender, age, occupation, and residential status) groups of participants was that they were either visitor or resident of Troutbeck Valley, the latter implying anyone who had lived there for at least a whole year or was born there and still have had a regular connection with the place since. Potential respondents were contacted personally, or by email to set up a convenient time for an interview as well as were informed about the purpose of the study and base concepts were clearly explained. Average interview time was approximately 1 hour. Starting questions were created to initially build up trust and to make the interviewees more comfortable with the situation. The first section of the interviews included expressing gratitude for attending, presenting the identity of the researcher, and explaining what is required from the respondents. A short introduction to the purpose of the study also took place in order to assess the interviewee's level of familiarization with the subject. During the whole process leading questions were avoided as much as possible. After summarizing the main outcomes, concluding questions ended the interview. At this stage, an opportunity was given to the interviewees to add further comments, share opinions about the interview, and to raise questions. Silent Probe was employed and was found to be very helpful in stimulating more detailed answers from the respondent as well as the Echo Probe to encourage someone to speak more (Bernard, 2006). It was, in addition, kept in mind that the interviewees themselves and the process of seeking knowledge should be prioritized and less time spent with thinking about interview techniques (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Achieving this certainly requires lots of experience.

5.4 Observations

Taking the type of research questions into consideration, a limited number of observation as a data collection method was also integrated into the research design. This was, however, mainly accomplished in an unobtrusive way, where 'eyes and camera' were used to gather information on traces or events in the field. Observations, in this sense, were focused mainly on the landscape and village life, in general. Respondents, in addition, were also passively observed during the interviews in order to get a better feel for their feelings in relation to the subject. This helped to decide whether it was time to listen or ask questions and, in general, to better capture the essence of what was said. Most of the time observations were based on the theoretical stance of the complete observer, in which case observation in action was entirely hidden from the public, according to Gold's (1958) Typology of Participant Observer Roles. Participant observation has a beneficial role in building rapport within a community and in the familiarization of the researcher with social organization and setting, which thereby eases the research process (Bernard, 1994). DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) claim that participant observations can be used to improve validity, to facilitate a more holistic understanding of the context, and to answer descriptive research questions. Furthermore, observations can also help to develop specific questions that later will be used during the interviews (Schensul et al., 1999; Bernard, 1994). Some of the challenges of observation were timing and being explicit about what to observe. Decisions about the subject of observations were guided by the information learnt from interviews, making this method similar to the process what Werner and Schoepfle (1987) call 'focused observation'.

5.5 Validity, Reliability

The outcome of a qualitative research is largely effected by the researcher's perspective and competence, but there are methods and techniques to improve validity and reliability of data sources of this kind (Taylor, 2005). Carefully kept notes and recordings (stored on voice recorder, computer, and external USB drive) were fundamental in reporting what was observed and said. Building trust was another aspect to be highlighted as it provides higher validity of data by reducing the reactivity of the respondents (Bernard, 2006). In relation to rapport, reciprocating trust is also considered as one of the responsibilities of the researcher aiming to obtain information in exchange for gifts, time or results of the research, which make the researcher welcome (Kawulich, 2005). This mainly involved invitation for a drink in some cases. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasize the importance of prolonged engagement in the research process to establish credibility. The sufficient time spent in the site allows more opportunities to be in the community and understand the phenomenon of interest. Validity is furthermore believed to be stronger when a variety of strategies are used together throughout the research process (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002). Gillham (2005, p. 134) claims that "...'objectivity' lies in making explicit the criteria for the judgement; but the process remains a matter of interpretation and opinion to a greater or lesser degree, and particularly in relation to human behavior, feelings, opinions, and the like". The interviewer furthermore can be considered as the research instrument of the interview which requires the development of a naive eye and awareness of unexpected findings or meanings. This skill, however, is a product of a learning process, which would create a degree of self-attachment and alertness of preconceptions throughout the research. It is a necessity, regarding that in a sense, new knowledge can actually be understood only in terms of the old. (Ibid.).

5.6 Ethics

The main ethical consideration of the above-mentioned methods is related to the assurance of the informants that their identities and answers will be kept strictly confidential. Interviewees were initially contacted in order to set up a convenient time for the interview and to explain the purpose of the study. It was, furthermore, always clearly stated that participating in the interview is voluntarily, greatly appreciated, and important in the learning process of the researcher. In addition, contact name and address was provided and an opportunity was always given for asking further questions. Another way to protect the source of information was to respect privacy and always ask permission for making recordings or taking photographs. It is fundamental to set an appropriate tone in the research interview somewhere between friendly and confined (Gillham, 2005). Some of the tools to achieve this were used including the presentation of myself as the researcher, the explanation of what the research was about, how long it was expected to take, and what was required from the interviewees. In an attempt to gradually develop a closer relationship with staff and customers, time was given to everyone for the adjustment to the situation and to develop different types of roles, in which mine was the researcher trying to become a part of the social outlet through conveying the impression of being hardworking and trustworthy. Another ethical issue concerned throughout the research process is associated with the degree of overtness and covertness. Even though my intention of conducting interviews was revealed from the beginning to staff and the proprietors, traces of concealment occurred from time to time reflecting the social context accordingly. It is, though, believed that absolute overtness is not perfectly achievable (Lugosi, 2006; Smith and Komblum, 1996; Grills, 1998). Finally, it is the responsibility of the researcher to make the right decisions and to tackle any conflicts emerging when trying to fulfill the requirements of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

5.7 Analysis and Presentation of Data

Data analysis started and proceeded during field work. It involved the management of a research diary and transferring notes to a computer regularly. Additional treatment of the data required transcribing interviews and analyzing their content. Based entirely on the interview results, it involved the organization and thematic categorization of data to find patterns and to understand the findings in relation to the research question. Main steps of the preparation were according to the procedure used by Gillham (2005) as follows:

1. Prior to analyzing the interview data, the transcripts were checked to make their format more available for further work
2. Substantive statements were identified by reading the transcripts through repeatedly and appraise their content
3. While reading the statements from one transcript to another, categories and their definitions for each question were constructed
4. Two parallel spreadsheets/analysis grids were made for each question, one for qualitative (meaning) analysis, where highlighted statements were inserted for each category and another for frequency analysis to indicate to which interviewee the categorized answers were related.

Some of the qualitative data were later quantified and aimed to be presented in a quantitative form as in diagrams or charts for example. A clear explanation of how distinction was made within the data is presented together with the results.

6 Limitations

Indeed, there can be several sources for error throughout the research process that need to be acknowledged and evaluated. A brief description of limiting factors, therefore, is given in the following to explore hidden barriers and uncertainties which, on the one hand, were considered as part of the learning process, on the other hand, the way forward in making suggestions for further research in the Reflection Chapter of the thesis. One major source of emerging uncertainties was related to the limitations of the researcher, as briefly outlined below.

- **Lack of Experience**

A potential source of bias considered in the research process lied in the inadequate use of interview techniques by the inexpert. As it has already been mentioned earlier in relation to validity and reliability issues (p. 12), acquiring interviewing skills involves the cyclical development of thinking, a process of self-analytic practice, and the ability to focus on the main purpose, which evolves over time through discovery (Gillham, 2005). Similarly, data analysis requires experience and the development of necessary skills, otherwise mistakes can be committed unintentionally, influencing the integrity of research data or other aspects of the research process (Faculty Development and Instructional Design Center, n. d.).

- **Time**

Being one of the full-time staff members in the Mortal Man Inn limited the time available for activities such as recruiting research participants, organizing interviews and thus, the number of interviews conducted during the days. Nevertheless, applying for the job was regarded as necessary because it provided an opportunity to gain access to potential interviewees: customers and staff.

- **Funding**

Amount of money available for the research limited the number of people who could be involved in helping the research process. This was a determining factor when possible methods were taken into account.

- **Language and Cultural Background**

While English as a second language can create hidden barriers in communication and understanding (Gillham, 2005), it did not present considerable difficulties during the interviews. However, potential respondents might be reluctant to expose themselves to foreign accented speech which is deemed to be perceived less credible (Lev-Ari and Keysar, 2010). This may have an influence on the actual efficiency in building rapport with potential informants and, eventually, could further limit the sample size and the time available for interviewing.

- **Unexpected Events**

One main challenge was coping with disastrous events in an early period of the fieldwork which entailed schedule amendment and consequently, the loss of valuable time available for research. Such extreme events were heavy rainfalls resulting severe flooding in the area. November 2015 is reported to be the second wettest November in north-west England since 1910, producing more than twice the monthly average rainfall (Met Office, 2016b). Additional record-breaking amount of rainfall was associated with Storm Desmond causing exceptionally strong gales gusted at speeds of up to 81mph at the beginning of December (NASA Goddard Space Flight Center, 2015). Another issue confronting while conducting field research was a fire broke out on 2nd March 2016 starting at the living room area of the staff accommodation in the Mortal Man Inn (Cumbria Fire and Rescue Service, n. d.). This caused smoke damage and the loss of some of the research notes and time available for conducting interviews.

7 Results and Discussion

7.1 Results of the Literature Study

This section attempts to provide a brief overview of the literature relating to the Lake District landscape in order to place the case study into a larger context. Results of the literature study are organized according to the guiding concept of the identified research problem. It begins by describing key concepts, then goes on to explore some of the most influential historical factors in shaping the Lake District landscape. Several aspects of upland agriculture and conservation issues are also presented shortly.

Landscape-related Thoughts and Key Concepts

As it was pointed out in the introductory section of this paper, landscape and sense of place are fundamental parts of this study. In this context, it is now necessary to provide a brief overview of definitions and thoughts to establish the framework in which further discussions may take place. It begins by the term ‘*place*’, which can be defined in a great variety of ways. Relph (1976) highlights the importance of place in manifesting human involvement in the world and claims that a deepened knowledge of the nature of place is beneficial for the sustenance of existing and the creation of new places. For Relph, in essence, it is the “particular experiences of the particularity of places” (Relph, 2015, para 4) on which the concept of place is based, referring to particular pieces of the world and hence, their arbitrary interpretations. His view as to see place as a centre of action and intention is supported by Tuan (1979, p. 411), who suggests that a place is “a compelling focus of a field: it is a small world, the node at which activities converge”. Places, after all, have a broad spectrum of identities and are indeed “open and porous networks of social relations” (Massey, 1994 p. 121), whereby through interactions social identities are created. Without users, however, places are only considered to be settings (Steele, 1981). There is need for enrichment of places and for using them more effectively which in fact, requires an understanding of the characteristics of potential users and key values to be established. Getting to know more about sense of place can further facilitate this enrichment (Ibid.). Tuan (1979) explains that places can have ‘*personality*’, while ‘*sense of place*’ can only be demonstrated by humans, who are capable of moral and aesthetic discernment of sites and locations. Two meanings of sense are distinguished in this context. First, the aesthetic/visual sense of places that brings in their meaning through the eye. Secondly, knowing a place from within, in the subconscious, we can have a sense of place that is much intense in effect and is developed through experiences in an extended period of time. After Wild (1963, p. 47, cited in Tuan, 1979, p. 412), Tuan calls these two different groups of places “public symbols” and “fields of care”, which in fact, can both be attributed to a variety of places at various levels. Cross (2001) brings out two main aspects of the concept sense of place: relationship to place, such as the fundamental ways or bonds people relate to places and community attachment, which represents the intensity and types of attachments to one particular place, each type being characterized by the level of attachment, identification, involvement with the community, valuation of the place, experiences, and expectations. Cross (2001) points out that it is possible to have more than one relationship with a single place and it may change in the course of time. Furthermore, feelings towards one place are necessarily influenced by the relationship with other places. Sense of place, in addition, can be also described as the combination of experience by the setting and all those things people deliver to it unconsciously to eventually becoming creators of their own place (Steele, 1981). This experiential connection or the ‘phenomenological bridge between the self and world’ is created by the sense of place itself (Relph, 2015.). The complexity of sense of place is, therefore, highly underlined, just as the interrelatedness of human-place relations which both needs to be explored in their complexity. In this thesis, the concept of sense of place is used in its broadest sense to refer to both descriptive (physical) and emotional (psychological) aspects. The identity of places is fundamentally composed of physical setting, activities, and meanings, and it is multi-faceted in nature reflecting the many different forms of experiences and attitudes (Relph, 1976). It is, however, not only the identity of a place that needs to be recognized, but importantly, the identity that individuals or groups can have with that place. This can be seen as a process whereby people adopt the place as an essential component of their worlds (Seamon, 2014). A number of theorists (Tuan 1980; Relph 1976; Buttimer 1980) assumed that by developing a sense of belonging and purpose through personal attachments to places, people experience meanings in their lives. Even though the intuitive awareness of these affective bonds and their importance is widely acknowledged, a generally accepted definition of ‘*place attachment*’ is still

lacking (Giuliani, 2003). One component of it is, although, recognized to be '*place-identity*', defined by Proshansky et al. (1983. p. 59) as:

...a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being

While sense of place may contain cognitive elements (Stedman, 2002), place attachment is rather associated with emotional processes. More complex attachment to the landscape by locals is expected because of their extended day-to-day experiences, compared to visitors who are rather engaged with the visual dimensions of the landscape (Jones et al. 2000). Strong and detailed connectedness of locals towards the landscape is moreover often found to be accompanied with a sense of possession (Hawkins and Backman, 1998). This may cause conflicts in decision making processes. The term '*landscape*' has come to be used to refer to a symbolic environment, as an expression of the self through culture. Accordingly, "when attempting to identify and understand the potential human consequences of changes in the natural environment, it is imperative that these consequences are understood from the many cultural definitions that create landscape" (Greider and Garkovich, 1994 p. 2). This being so, multiple interpretations may create many co-existent landscapes. With a different manner, Arnesen (2008) loosely describes landscape as to be about the various aspects of an area and the relationship between an area and an aspect, which provides the substance of its meaning. Observing the landscape through the lens of symbols, Arnesen (2008) uses the semiotic approach to grasp the essence of landscape as to be a 'sign'. This sort of understanding of landscape is based on the triadic nature of Peircean semiotics, encompassing object, sign, and interpretant (sign user). The landscape appears in this triad as "the object as represented to an interpretant (community) in a certain respect or capacity", or in other words, it is a "meaningful representation to an interpretant (community) of an object that is a physical unit (Arnesen, 2008 p. 3). Nonetheless, the vital question of how perceptions can be associated with lifestyles and how to gain access to them may emerge from this definition in consideration of the landscape seen as the representation of an object (Ibid.). '*Landscape identity*' is another widely used, multi-faceted concept in the absence of a clear definition in scientific consensus. Stobbelar and Pedroli (2011) point out that even though attributed identity clearly relates to the observer and the area, the concept is not limited to certain perceptions of people and characteristics of the area. Another methodological challenge is how to access a landscape, referring to the sense we need to rely on when conducting research: an abstract form of entering, being there, and sharing it (Arnesen, 2008). Assuming that landscape is a sign and using a non-reductionist approach, to access the area where a particular landscape exists does not mean to automatically have access to that particular landscape, as the same physical unit can be attributed to a large variety of existing landscapes. Therefore, to hold a mental representation of the landscape is the key to get access to it (Ibid.). Looking for patterns in landscapes, being also based on experiences, is crucial in finding order in the world (Bell, 2012). In the transactional systems of human beings and their environments, perceptions serve as a medium, through which information is received, then organized and transformed in accordance with previous experiences (Steele, 1981). This accustomed way of seeing landscapes may causes differences between residents and visitors, in terms of what is perceived and expected. Considering landscapes as part of the environment, grasped by our perception at a given time, existing knowledge of landscapes are continuously refreshed by new experiences, therefore, as it is pointed out by Bell (2012. p 67), "we should not think of the landscape and its quality as an optional extra to our normal living environment, nor solely as a place to visit on special occasions. The space we occupy this way becomes 'a place'".

Landscaping the Lake District

Among the 13 national parks, the Lake District National Park stands out as the largest and the second most populated one (Office for National Statistics, 2013). In 2015, Cumbria and the Lake District attracted almost 43 million visitors, created tourism-related livelihood opportunities locally, and provided a major boost to economy by bringing about £2.62 billion into the region (Cumbria Tourism, 2017). The Lake District is a destination where "such an enormous range of people from such a wide variety of backgrounds have come to feel an affinity with the place, a sense of belonging, even a sense of possession" (Thomson, 2012, p. 14). The Lake District, furthermore, provides a diversity of views embraced within a relatively small area, where an impression is given by the mountains of being higher, through which the feeling of greater achievement is guaranteed (Ibid.). One might wonder how this landscape has been shaped throughout history and developed the form as we know it today. Denyer (2016) sets up 4 main groups of important events that seem to appear as milestones along the path of the Lake District landscaping: agro-pastoralism, the influence of the Picturesque, struggle for conservation, and policy innovations. These influencing factors and their effect on the Lake District landscape are presented briefly in the timeline (See Figure 35 in Appendix D). As it can be seen from the timeline, agricultural activities have had a fundamental driving role in the evolution of the Lake District landscape for a long period of time and this trend seems set to continue. Farming heritage considered to be a key component for the Lake District World Heritage Bid (2017b) in characterizing the area. For them, the dynamic interplay between the above mentioned historical events represents the cultural landscape as the "combined work of nature and of man" (UNESCO, 2012, p.14). Cultural landscapes are, furthermore, "illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (Ibid.). The Lake District is believed to be a source of inspiration for many, including poets and artists of the Romantic period. The mountainous country landscape and 'wild' land in the pre-Romantic era, however, was rather seen in a negative, disparaging way. Nash (2014) argues that this switch in attitude came with the association made between God and wilderness. During this time (around the mid-18th century) the workers of the industrial north also lacked recreational opportunity and the Lake District landscape was their chance to get away from the treadmill of life (Thomson, 2012). The 'Picturesque approach' toward mountainous scenery originated from the European Romanticism and was connected directly to the Lake District landscape by William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, founders of the Romantic movement in England (Ibid.). A significant outcome of this historical fact was the recognition of moral value in deepening relationship between human beings and the natural world and its importance in well-being, which carries the responsibility to care for and protect (Lake District National Park Partnership, 2016b). Farmers' knowledge and the idyllic model of pastoral life, in this context, meant a real concern for this fragile harmony in human-nature relationships.

Upland Agriculture in the Lake District

As it was pointed out in the previous section, pastoral agriculture has a long history and has been centrally involved in landscape changes in the English Lake District. Inspection of land use on commercial agricultural holdings (Figure 12) reveals that about 50 percent of the total agricultural area in England is covered by temporary or permanent grassland, showing the importance of this sector (DEFRA, 2016). In the region of North West, to which a big part of the Lake District National Park belongs, 57 percent of farmed area is predominantly grazing livestock, contributing 20 percent to the total sheep and 18 percent to the total cattle production in England (DEFRA, 2015). Considering the upland regions of the Lake District, the dominant type of enterprises are sheep and beef cattle (DEFRA, 2012).

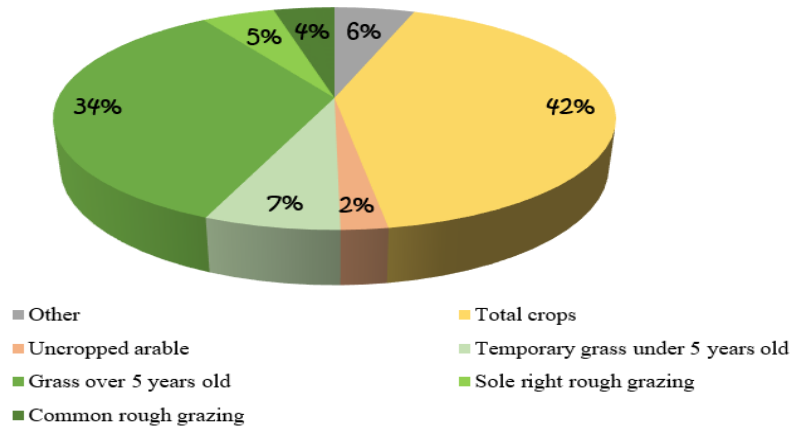


Figure 12. Land use on commercial agricultural holdings
Based on data June 2016, England (DEFRA, 2016)

Agricultural practices in hill and upland areas had to adjust to the challenging environmental conditions, resulting in very distinctive farming systems, by which available resources are uniquely utilized for extensive livestock production (Mansfield, 2008). Uplands, furthermore, are generally classified by the EU as Less Favoured Areas because of reduced agricultural potential; however, there is no consensus regarding the designation being truly univocal (Mansfield, 2011). In general, sheep production in the UK is based on a rotation system of permanent pastures and sown-grass leys while the valley bottom may be used by hill and upland farmers to support ewes and lambs before being sold or introduced to rough grazing in the fells (Hopkins, 2008). Even though the core structure of an upland farm is relatively universal (farmstead, inbye, intake and open fell), the variety of land types and their diverse combinations eventuated in the development of three main farm systems (dairy, upland and hill farms) and a mixture of different types of livestock production (Mansfield, 2011). Upland farms, in this sense, can be more flexible in terms of managing lambs for a second year or even to choose mixed enterprises (Ibid.). Many aspects of the social, environmental, and economic values of hill and upland farming have been revealed as well as some of the issues that can cause unsustainability in farming systems. These are overgrazing, low profitability, dependence on subsidies, land abandonment, and struggles with farm inheritance for future generation (Waller, 2008). In summarizing the main factors that may cause unsustainability in upland farming, financial hardship is a core problem (Figure 13). The physical environment, in this context, appears to be the main control on upland farms, determining management practices and enterprise choice to a very large extent (Mansfield, 2011). Climatic conditions and remoteness are considerable circumstances influencing agricultural activities and the overall cost of animal feed, bedding and transport (Palmer, 2010). Decreasing prices of marketable products might, furthermore, convey a message to the farmers that their work is undervalued (Cave, 2014). Dependence on subsidy payments is another key component of this complex network of issues, contributing to declining farm businesses because of the shift from a system based on the numbers of animals towards land-based payments (Shepherd, 2013). This facilitates a decrease in the number of sheep in favour of environmentally more sensitive management. As a result, reduced workforce will cause farming families further worse off and it has an influence on the next generation willing to take up farming. Pressure on the hefting system, which is based on territorial animal instinct allowing the flock grazing throughout unfenced areas, is also a source of concern because if sufficient number of ewes and neighbour hefts are not available, established hefts may move from areas where they were originally restricted by themselves (Davies et al, 2008).

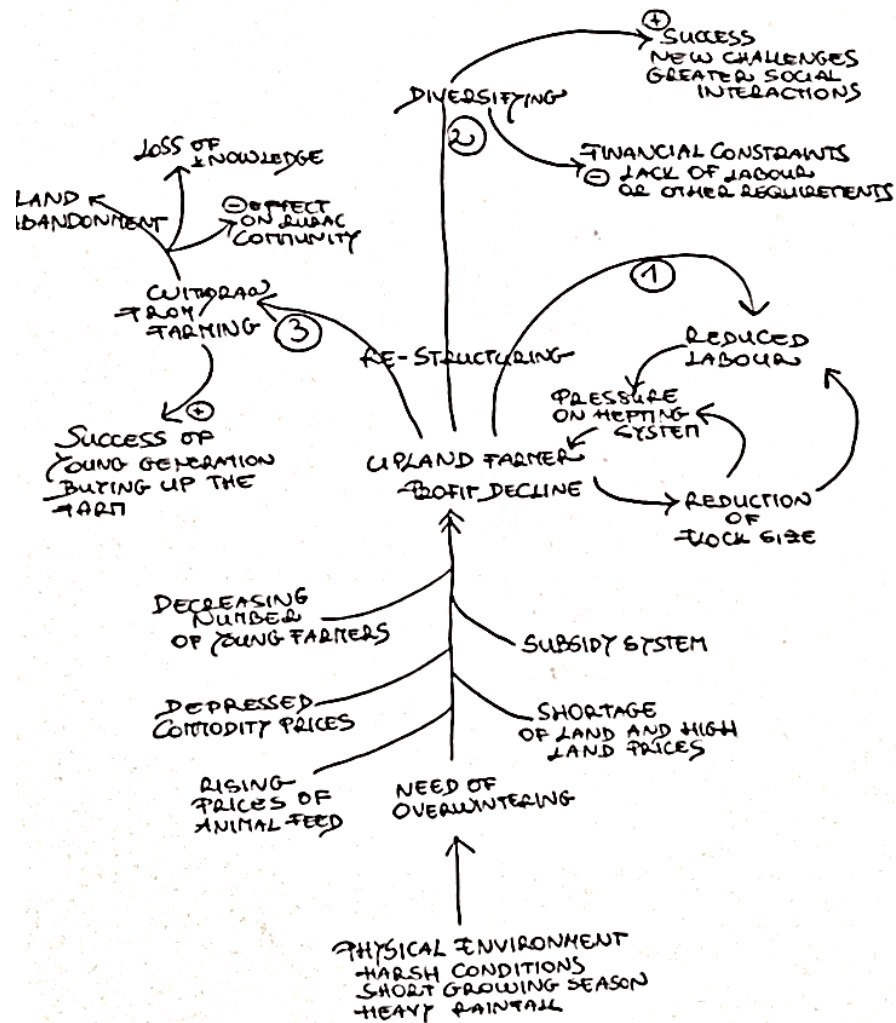


Figure 13. Network of issues associated with concerns for the sustainability of upland farms. Flow diagram based on information from Mansfield (2008), Palmer (2010), and Shepherd (2013)

This can lead to the expansion of areas for shepherding and increased labour requirement at gathering time. Likely options for the farmer to continue operation are to keep up with reduced workforce, to diversify, or quit farming, all with the possibility to create further problems (Mansfield, 2008). Regarding the option of part time farming, this kind of challenge might be seen as a way to enhance quality of life (Palmer, 2010); limiting factors, however, may emerge. According to a study, a significant number of upland farmers think that opportunities for upland farms for diversification are fewer than for lowland farms (DEFRA, 2012). In the case of withdrawal, the loss of farmer’s knowledge and its effect on the whole farming community is hugely emphasized. It is due to the Local Knowledge System (Figure 14), unique to upland farms in terms of certain features of the interrelated structure of natural, human, and social capital (Mansfield, 2011). This includes the specific role the farmers play in choosing the right farm management practices, the hefting system and associated co-operative working methods, and the desired upland landscape as an output of the agricultural system (Ibid.).

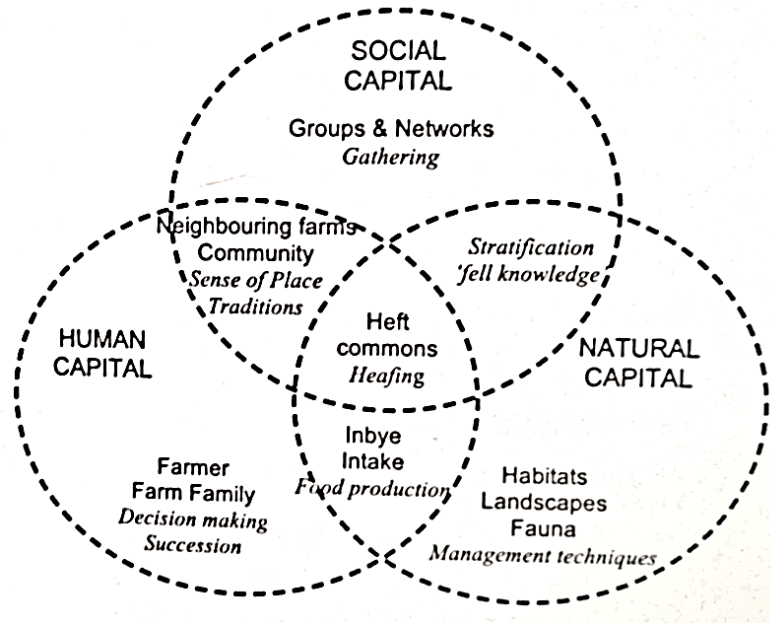


Figure 14. The Local Knowledge System of upland farming and their interrelated nature. Source: Mansfield (2011) with permission

Conservation in the Lake District

With regards to the uplands, the question is whether what to protect and how. From a Lake District National Park's perspective, several approaches exist: conservation of the landscape and all its components through ownership and regulations at the local, national, and international level (Lake District National Park, 2016c). Conservation value of the Lake District is primarily based on its unique character and beauty created by traditional farming. It has been a source of inspiration for literature, art, and ethical concerns, and a messenger to global and international landscape protection (Ibid.). Yet, the opportunity for the public to access and freely enjoy the landscape is in the centre. Palmer (2010) argues that upland landscapes can only be conserved in their unique way if farming industry is promoted at the same time. The diversity of the Lake District landscape, regarding both natural and cultural, is considered to be the main subject to protection by the National Trust (The National Trust Act, 1907) and enhancement of this diversity is a key to sustain this living landscape. Potential threats to the upland area include impacts from the physical environment (climate change, flooding and erosion), economic pressures on farm businesses, and diseases (Lake District National Park, 2016c). Traditional character of the buildings and archeological remnants are, moreover, subject to deterioration. Tourism and development can be a risk to tranquillity and the ability to enjoy spiritual refreshment, while inappropriate establishment of woodlands considered to be another danger (Ibid.). Conservation-lead land management initiatives are important contributors to environmental protection, like the 'Wild Ennerdale Project', which is an opportunity to discover the potential of low-input management in the long-term (Ibid.). The project attempts to find landscape-related options to improve severed areas in the field of recreation and conservation. Palmer (2010) claims that such projects can only result in unattractive, wasted lands without truly supporting wildlife. They are, though, believed to be important to be included in future management agendas with an attention to monitor the effects of land use change (Mansfield, 2015).

In the implementation process, concerns may emerge about possible effects integrated wild areas may have on farm businesses. Achieving multifunctionality in uplands requires collaboration and all existing perspectives to be taken into account (Ibid.). Organizations, for example the ‘Save our Squirrels’ and the ‘Flora of the Fells Project’, seek to raise awareness of landscape values and to encourage discussions about future changes (Lake District National Park, 2016c). Surveying and monitoring the efficiency of management and provisioning the condition of Sites of Special Scientific Interest and Ramsar Sites are also part of the agenda. In terms of tourism, the Lake District National Park aims to improve rights of way and recognizes uplands as source of recreation. Yet, finding balance with conservation objectives is of great importance (Ibid.). One way of handling tourism-related erosion problems lies in path restoration projects, such as the ‘Fix the Fells’, which involves volunteers. Involvement of the public into these projects aims to raise awareness and to contribute to the understanding of why the public is so important to have a say in landscape-issues (Ibid.). Visitors and their general experience about their much-loved landscape may suggest that cultural landscapes must be protected firstly, because this is what people care about. Rebanks, however, emphasizes that tourism creates imbalances with a much higher influx of visitors, in contrast to the number of those who actually live there (Worrall, 2015). Many of the common lands are subjects to protection because of their nature conservation value and their recognition to be Sites of Special Scientific Interest, in which case management practices are required to respect environmental values (Hopkins, 2008). Semi-natural, unenclosed lands generally are in the lights of conservation interest, however unimproved, enclosed areas can also be important because of their botanical richness and the provision of habitats for many birds (Fuller, 1996). Difficulties may emerge when applying land management policies because of the various patterns of sole occupancy (divided land with single ownership) and common land (shared through common rights) (Mansfield, 2011). Integrated permaculture-based approaches are a possible way to think ‘out of the box’, by which production systems can be enhanced at a small-scale level. Examples for this has been raised by Shepherd (2013), who introduced mixed hedgerows on field boundaries with an aim to encourage biodiversity, to improve shelter and to protect walls. Introducing a wide range of indigenous breeds, furthermore, helped to avoid overwintering. A mixture of different type of products were gained in this way and often changed in between the neighbours. Shared interest in permaculture, in general, strengthened community cohesion and the establishment of homegrown edible gardens. Johns (1998) reveals one of the most important aspect of the grazing issue which is, according to him, the variety of perceptions and opinions in the meaning of overgrazing. If grazing pressure is too high, vegetation removal and trampling occurs, erosion may emerge and there is a possibility that carrying capacity of the land becomes exceeded. This process is influenced by many things: type of vegetation, type of soil, climate, angle of slope, soil moisture content and type of breed for instance (Ibid.). The carrying capacity therefore, can be different from field to field. Johns (1998) points out that there is no sharp boundary between sustainable level of grazing and overgrazing. It can rather be imagined as a continuum where one can stand either side of the grazing spectrum, environmental or agricultural. This is, therefore, the difference in perceptions and opinions in the scale of the grazing problems, which is difficult to monitor and to identify the symptoms (Ibid.). Johns (1998), furthermore, highlights the importance of communication which can enhance quality and diversity of the landscape. Problems with the types of soil in the upland are challenges for agricultural productivity regarding infertility, erosion, poaching and poor drainage (Mansfield, 2011). Due to the harsh climatic conditions, vegetation is more vulnerable in the uplands than in its lowland counterpart (Johns, 1998). Other impacts of grazing may be extensive runoff, reduction of bankside vegetation, mass movements of bare soil and rock on slopes, and decline of biodiversity (Ibid.).

However grazing pressure does have an effect on bird communities in uplands (changes in vegetation, increased predation, habitat loss, and food reduction), the amount of literature on bird-habitat relationships in relation to upland areas are limited (Fuller, 1996). Other aspects of land management such as burning, bracken control, drainage, forestry and recreation can also lead to erosion and runoff; however, they are not a catchment wide issue like overgrazing (Ibid.). Intensive grazing and thus, increased runoff, erosion, and flooding through the associated river systems, therefore, can lead to much more extended consequences for aquatic invertebrates and riparian vegetation (Sanson, 1996). In line with high density of stocking, inappropriate pasture management can cause overgrazing and become a backlash against conservation (Al-Kaisi et al., 2004). Increased number of overwintered animals and reduced shepherding are some of the related issues causing uneven grazing of certain areas (Johns, 1998). Climatic conditions of the upland, in addition, can be attributed to both long-term impact of climate change and increased erosion, if vegetation cover on the soil is not adequate. On the other hand, many species require managed habitats. The Grazing Animals Project (GAP) is a project which works for the promotion of conservation grazing from which wildlife, landscape and cultural heritage all can benefit (The Rare Breeds Survival Trust, 2009). It is a type of grazing which shares philosophy with nature conservation. GAP considers extensive management techniques, takes areas with lower production level into account, and supports the use of appropriate types of livestock. Native breeds, in this sense, are especially encouraged. GAP, on the one hand, aims to conciliate different interests of wildlife and countryside while encouraging local community to thrive. (Ibid.). Some of the positive effects grazing animals have are underlined as to maintaining semi-natural habitats by slowing down, or by changing successional processes. From a more optimistic point of view, grazing can help reduce dominant plant species and create new habitats by trampling, which benefits other species. Bonn et al (2009) identifies one of the main challenges for upland conservation as to make sure their preferences and values of protecting the environment is echoed by public understanding of conservation. In addition, a more holistic ecosystem approach is offered for policy makers: to use the concept of ecosystem services as a tool to help recognizing what the uplands provide for people (Table 1). To boost the conservation process, land managers need to be promoted and their role in delivering sustainability needs to be clarified (Ibid.). There is a concern that uplands are undervalued in terms of environmental services they provide (RSPB, 2013).

Table 1. Ecosystem Services provided by the upland. Based on information from Bonn et al. (2009)

Ecosystem Services provided by the uplands	Provisioning	Food (livestock, crop) Fibre (timber, wood) Minerals (building stone, aggregates, lime) Energy (hydro-electric power, wind, fuel) Fresh water (70% of UK drinking water)
	Regulating	Climate (carbon storage, sequestration) Air quality (cooling and cleaning) Water quality Flood risk prevention (type of vegetation, land management) Wild fire risk prevention (habitat mosaics, high water tables)
	Cultural	Recreation, tourism, education (source of income and enjoyment) Field sport recreation/game management (grouse moors, deer shooting, fisheries) Landscape aesthetics (tranquillity, scenic beauty, sense of wilderness) Cultural heritage (sites of archaeological and vernacular interest, spiritual places, traditions, customs) Biodiversity (intrinsic and bequest value) Health benefits (physical and mental health, outdoor recreation, challenges)
	Supporting	Nutrient cycling, water cycling, soil formation Habitat provision for wildlife (unfragmented semi-natural habitats)

In this respect, it is inevitable and may be in the centre of the debate that a consensus will be needed concerning what primary roles the uplands should play and how the two important elements of upland areas, wildlife and farming, can both be kept in a sustainable way. As a starting point, this also means that priority is given to protect all the factors that are there to maintain this living landscape, such as soil, air and water (Write and Johnson, 2014). Reviewing the literature shows that many different views exist regarding the protection of the upland areas. The main concern for environmentalist is to bring more biodiversity into the system whereas farmers, even if respecting those ecological values, still want to be recognized as an integral part of the landscape they created. The main challenge is therefore lying in how to find the right balance in supporting both sheep farming and environment (Fraser, 2014).

7.2 Interview Results

As indicated previously, the organisation and categorisation of the research data were entirely based on the interview results. During the analysing process there was always an awareness of the huge intersecting patterns of the human perception and the fact that the great heterogeneity of the real world cannot be fully represented by the purposeful division on people of residents and visitors (Kianicka et al. 2006). Structure of the interview results follows the order of the interview questions and were grouped and handled together when deemed to be closely interlinked in reflecting the key responses appropriately. To fulfill the first research objective as to provide an overview of perceptions, both residents' and visitors' responses are presented jointly. Regarding the initially formulated second objective of the research, which was to identify differences and similarities in landscape meanings and values, research findings are also shown in charts and discussed in this chapter.

7.2.1 Relation to the Landscape

The first set of interview questions (See question a, b, and c in Appendix A) aimed to gain insight into the most distinctive features of the landscape through the lens of residents and visitors of Troutbeck Valley. To achieve this aim, respondents were asked to describe unique characteristics of the area, to explain their feelings in relation to the landscape, and to reflect on landscape values. During the process of analyzing these responses, six main categories emerged. These were Setting, Social Aspects, History, Leisure and Recreation, Economic Aspects, and Learning and Education, which were further divided into eight sub-categories, as it is illustrated below (Figure 15).

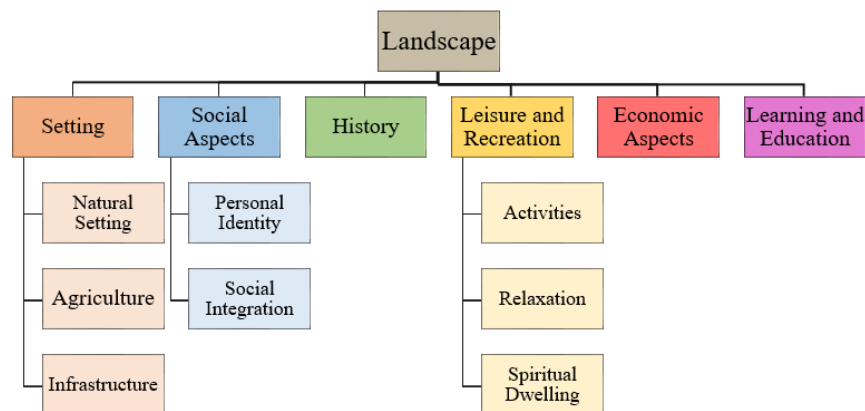


Figure 15.: Categories and sub-categories emerging when analyzing question a, b, and c

These categories were very similar to those Kianicka et. al (2006) found relevant to locals’ and visitors’ senses of place. With respect to the first theme, one relevant finding was the uniformity of the identified key categories and sub-categories for the sense of place experienced by residents and visitors. Their significance to the two groups, in some cases, however differed (Figure 16). This outcome seems to be consistent with the research mentioned above (Kianicka et al 2006). The following part of this paper now moves on to describe the key categories and their sub-categories in detail.

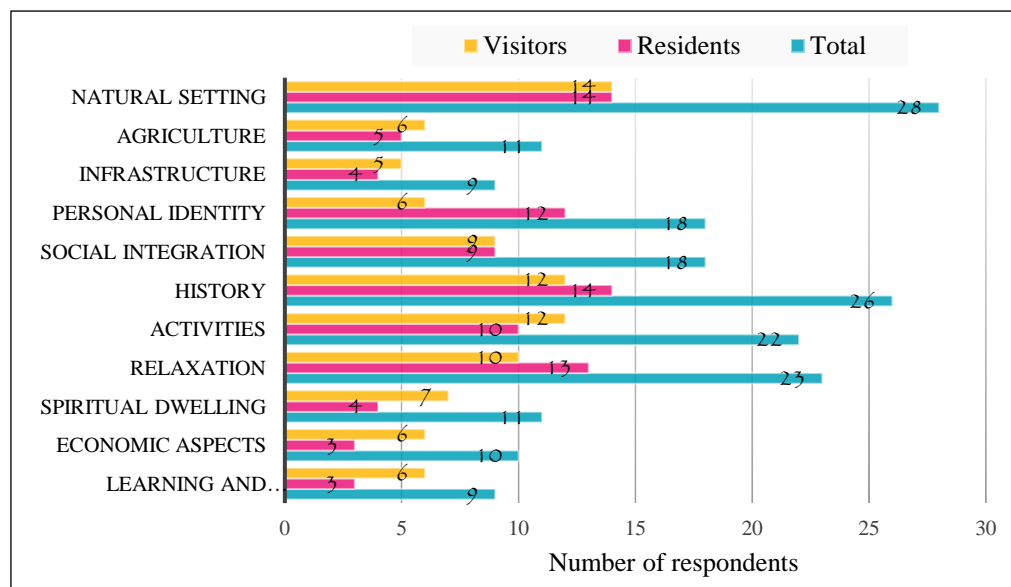


Figure 16. An overview of the results within the first theme. Identified categories are the same, but differences occur in their significance to residents and visitors

Category 1: Setting

The term 'Setting' refers here to the real-life context and environment in which Troutbeck is set. This encompasses the natural setting (geography, climate, and wildlife), agriculture (the presence of cultivation or farming environment), and infrastructure (the state of roads, built environment, and tourism-related services in general) which were, therefore, introduced as sub-categories within this category.

Sub-category 1.1: Natural Setting

In response to the first question, nearly all the participants expressed deep engagement with many of the natural attributes of the landscape, using a great number of adjectives when describing its beauty. Aesthetic/scenic aspects of the landscape were found to be primarily associated with Troutbeck by the most respondent, mainly in relation to the views it offers. The best scenic view was sometimes reported to be personally linked to a favourite spot, such as a favourite building for example. The 'typical Lake District scenery' was frequently mentioned as a reason for being attracted to the area because "all that the Lake District has is captivated in this valley" (male visitor). Some felt that this general fondness of the Lake District is due to its compactness: "...there are high mountains, there are lakes, and there is the moorland in a very small area. Everything is accessible in the Lakes" (male visitor), or to the contrast seen when moving from one part to another.

Finding this diversity/complexity in the landscape through the contrast seen between multi-scaled elements helps orientation and recognize beauty and sublime (Bell, 2012). One recurring point throughout the dataset was the holistic approach to see the landscape. This conveyed an impression that both agricultural and natural elements were often seen as equally integral parts of the landscape: “It has got a nice mixture of woodland, pasture, small fields, walls, and then behind them the hills.” (male visitor). Other comments included the detailed description of unique lights, colours, and their possible connection with certain weather conditions in Troutbeck. The sky was also frequently mentioned, where the stars can be seen more clearly because of reduced light pollution. A common view amongst some of those coming from towns or cities to visit, or to live in the countryside was also to appreciate the opportunity to see various aspects of the changing landscape, as the example shows below.

“Each day is different, so it gives you a different perspective which you don’t notice in the same way in a town, it is not that enhanced there somehow. You don’t see the whole landscape in a town, you just see row after row of houses and buildings. Whereas here you can look at the landscape and you can appreciate it. You can see more of it. Each house seems to be different. They are in different ages, different designs and they are all in different uses” (female resident)

Wildlife was reported as another quality of the area, as well as the natural-looking environment without any new developments. The rest of the comments found within this category were related to the location, pointing out the special half way up-position of the village on the hill side and remoteness in terms of not being developed upon to a point when the character is taken away by tourism. Emotional response to the beauty of the landscape was expressed along a continuum from impression to attachment and even an affection towards the view. A possible explanation for this may be the need to seek patterns in the environment and thus, developing basic assumptions into a logical view of the world by holding as much detail of the landscape as one can fully comprehend (Bell, 2012).

“You get to know each tree and you get to realize when a tree is falling down or when something is wrong. Because I have seen the view so much and I know it by heart in any condition I can tell a minor detail is missing, so I would say I have got connection” (male resident)

“I have always had an attachment to the hills and I remember my aunt had a picture of a waterfall on her wall. It always used to bring me into tears because I missed the Lake District, missed the mountains” (male visitor)

In essence, the chief value attributed to the area within this sub-category was the scenery of the countryside which allows a certain feeling of closeness to the natural environment. This is where the real geography can be directly experienced and landscape changes are important features to be seen. Further values considered were the fresh air and the unique setting of the village on the hillside regarding the range of wildlife it offers.

Sub-category 1.2: Agriculture

This sub-category was specifically created for the comments that bring on the presence of farming activities as one of the main peculiarities of the village. On the one hand, it is described as a direct visual experience of the maintained landscape and associated parts of the farming system:

“There is farming here and it has been here for many hundreds of years. Farming is the reason that the valley looks like it does, apart from the physical form, valley and the mountains. Everything else has been productive farming now and farming before” (male resident)

This was often accompanied with an understanding of the interconnectedness between the components:

“You have got the lambing, you watch the lambs grow and then eventually you see them being taken away, which is not very nice and they all seem to go too soon. The farmers have to feed the sheep, have to deal with the field, they have to manage the land, so than the sheep can survive here. It is all interconnected: the weather, the sheep, and the land” (female resident)

For some, on the other hand, Troutbeck was highly appreciated for its working farms (Figure 17) because of creating a sense of ‘real’ landscape by the presence of farming activities. The working landscape was often understood as a sign of traditional agriculture which has been sustained, even though sometimes was felt to be under tread.

“It seems special because it is one of the fewer places in England where they are still connected to the land, so you see farmers working on the land, you see farmers in the pub, and you see all the animals around. It seems like it is almost the majority of what is going on in terms of industry, so it is still very connected to the land for profit, for a lifestyle, for income” (female visitor)



Figure 17. Working farm in Troutbeck. Photo: author

Sub-category 1.3: Infrastructure

Infrastructure can be defined as “basic systems and services, such as transport and power supplies, that a country or organization uses in order to work effectively” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017). This could be extended to resident-, or tourism-related services, such as the Mountain Rescue Service, the Village Shop and Tea Room (Figure 18), and the interconnected system of footpaths mentioned in the interviews, in terms of the service they provide (life-saving, food, drink, and places of interest). The lack of a bus transportation system was another thing highlighted within this sub-category as one of the reasons for the elderly to move into places where more facilities are provided for them. This issue could be further linked to the social aspects of second home ownership and unaffordable housing (see Sub-category 2.2: Social Integration).



Figure 18. Village Shop and Tea Room in Troutbeck. Photo: author

Category 2: Social Aspects

Social aspects of the landscape recognized in the responses were further divided on the basis of what they reflected: profound individual involvement, community affiliation, or social conscience.

Sub-category 2.1: Personal Identity

One way of understanding the landscape was from a very individual perspective. By so doing, the landscape became special because of knowing it, finding roots in it, understanding it as home, or a place to belong. It was very often associated with childhood memories and family, or even a sense of possession. The sense of belonging to the area, however, can show a very complicated structure mingling with memories, origin, and the feeling of comfort:

“It’s an area that I’ve always known, even though I wasn’t born in the Lake District. My grandparents used to come around here. They used to travel to the Lake District every weekend to visit relatives, so this is one of those landscapes I used to and feel comfortable in” (male resident)

“I do feel like I belong to this area. I am a Cumbrian, I was born in Cumbria. I am always more comfortable in the countryside, even if I spent my teenage years in a city. I feel more like a country man” (male visitor)

Sub-category 2.2: Social Integration

Importantly, a range of responses was focusing on the Village Shop and Tea Room in Troutbeck, in the way of seeing it as an important place for socialization.

“I think it [the Village Shop and Tea Room] actually means that people stop in the village...I think it is important. They can say ‘Oh yeah, there is a Tea Room in Troutbeck, we like it there’. Sometimes people still want a coffee or something like that, or just go to the Tea Room because they might have a chat with somebody” (female resident)

“We are running the shop voluntarily at the moment. The amount of people who come and bake cakes, scones, tea cakes, you name it, without being asked! People in the village. It’s fantastic!” (male resident) (Figure 19)



Figure 19. Cakes made by the villagers for the Tea Room in Troutbeck.
Photo: author

Village events were also described to be special with a view to strengthening community cohesion. Similarly, the traditional pub in the Mortal Man Inn was included as a unique way to promote and maintain social relations in the village.

“I think it is the variety of events that is special, the fact that we have got so many different events and for different age groups. It is nice to have the children’s party, but we also have a party at the other end of the scale for the older people. Things like the bingo and quiz nights attract people from all ages and the same with the dominoes, which we have. We try to encourage visitors to come as well” (male resident)

The issue of unaffordable housing and the high proportion of second home and holiday home ownership was noticed and reported by many of those surveyed. These problems were rather seen social in causing imbalances which can compromise growth and Troutbeck to function as a ‘real’ village. National Trust owned properties available for lower rents were, however, mentioned as an existing way of attracting families to the area.

“It is an issue and I worry for my son if he wanted to move to the area, it would be very difficult for him. The landscape is multifaceted and one of the facets is the community. I think people should live in the area, send their children to the local school and get involved with the community. Because there are so many holiday homes and second homes I think that it destroys a little bit of the community” (male visitor)

“It is probably unique maybe in a negative way that it is not really a working village anymore...so in that respect it is probably not a real mirror of what a normal village would be like. A village is where people live and work. You maybe have a school, you maybe have more shops and it is a livelier village” (male resident)

Apart from social memories that made some residents and visitors feel as part of the community, attachment, responsibility, and commitment to the village were clearly expressed in some of the interviews: “Having come here as a visitor, so taken something from the environment, now I am feeling I am giving something back by helping the community” (male visitor). This could possibly have played a central role in becoming a member of the Village Association Committee, Mountain Rescue Team, or being the first responder with the ambulance service.

Category 3: History

A variety of perspectives was presented within this sub-category, including the recognition of cultural heritage, a curiosity to know more about an old way of life, or recalling memories about it.

“The whole history of the place really frustrates me because it is not complete at all...I wish I knew...I want to know what that crucifix is, I want to know what those drystone fisheries are. And other things confuse me like what used to be here” (male resident)

“The lady who used to live there she loved gardening and she would spend hours in the garden. The garden used to be lovely, a real cottage garden. It was superb and to me that was part of Troutbeck as well. I also think she was what I thought a resident of Troutbeck should be like. She was the daughter of a farmer, she married a farmer, and her daughter farms as well” (female resident)

Troutbeck was, furthermore, very often described as changing slowly and being largely unspoilt. Traditional building techniques as contribution to the typical Lakeland character of the village were mentioned a lot. It was, on the one hand, considered as a historic interest in Troutbeck due to the individual appearance of historic buildings with added value created by the people having added their own gist to them. On the other hand, it was also an understanding of the past through old crafts, traditions, and natural history.

In addition, historical value of the land regarding the impact it has on the valley and that it has remained relatively unchanged throughout countless generations, was another important point brought up by the respondents.

“There is definitely a Lakeland character to the buildings and I like the chimney pots. I don’t think I know another village with quite so many footpaths in such a small area. It’s incredible, which is mostly a reflection of the way people used to live here” (male visitor)

“What I particularly feel about this village is that there is a real sense of the age of the village. The houses have been here since the 17th century. You get the sense that people have been living on farming here for hundreds of years in very much the same way until recently” (male visitor)

Category 4: Leisure and Recreation

As it was so often the case, overlapping between the components of this category may occur, since there is a close connection between how a person is thought to be linked to the landscape through activities and the associated feelings or intrinsic values the activity itself can generate on a physical or spiritual level. Most of the time, however, it could be easily decided to which sub-category the main priority was given.

Sub-category 4.1: Activities

Within this sub-category popular outdoor activities meaningful to the interviewees are described. Some could be traced back to older times of an individual’s lifetime when they were practiced in the same ways and in the same area, so thus the admiration for the landscape became reconstructed.

“I would have come here with my father who would bring me here to this valley to walk. We would spend many hours, days here. This is one of the first places I came first, I have got early memories of coming here, so for many decades I used to visit here for walk the fells” (male visitor)

Another example is when the activity is part of work and it is truly interconnected with the landscape. To briefly summarize the emotional responses to the landscape from the activity perspective, it is first of all, described to be a leisure relationship by which you “get a real buzz from going out into the landscape” (male visitor). It is also commented to be peaceful and relaxing through the experience of being “in your own little world” (male resident). Walking, furthermore, usually comes together with a purpose and it is a “challenge to get up on the top of the mountain but also to value doing that” (male visitor).

Sub-category 4.2: Relaxation

Relaxation, peace, quiet, and quality time all tidied up together, allowing a relief from work, rest, solitude, or refreshment by the environment. It was, in general, believed that the landscape generates the feeling of calm and relaxed, the place where there is nothing hurried, and the pace of life is much slower. Associated parts of it were also infrastructural, like the lack of major roads, which can create a much better feeling to life because of the scale of it. By this, it becomes possible for the visitors to just switch off everything straight away and get away from everything because “the village has never worried about what was going on the rest of the world” (female visitor). For many, the landscape provides an escape from the city to get disconnected and spend more time with the family and less on the phone.” You have got a lot of quarry tracks here where you can go on. It is a very peaceful valley to live in. Because I live in such a busy place I don’t really want to see people when I am out on the fells” (female visitor)

Sub-category 4.3: Spiritual Dwelling

The term ‘spiritual’ does not necessarily refer to religion here, it may involve a connection to the spiritual side through personal growth or a change/affirmation of attitude towards life as whole. Spiritual values were found to be more related to the enjoyment of the landscape through relaxation, tranquility and peace. The beauty of the landscape, freedom, and to be in the open made the landscape unique, especially when going there after work which sort of “heals your spirit” (female visitor) and batteries are felt recharged.

“For me, in a spiritual sense, it reaffirms my place and my desire to protect nature in general. Spiritually it feels good for the soul just to be here” (female visitor)

“I often think that the fells are my church really, because when I am up there I feel quite spiritual” (male resident)

Category 5: Economic Aspects

Three distinct angles were taken on the economic aspects in relation to the landscape. The first one was described as a work or business relationship of the farmers, employees, or businessmen trying to make a living in Troutbeck. Secondly, there was the view of the area where less money is spent due to its remoteness. Thirdly, having the impression that the Lake District is critically dependent on tourism, the economic impact of being a tourist and staying in the area was also considered.

Category 6: Learning and Education

This category was made for the comments on learning about the countryside (weather patterns and wildlife) and history, driven by personal interest and the awareness of the risk what the mountains represent. Another perspective on education was the hosting of school groups coming to study the village every year.

Shared Meanings and Differences in Relation to the Landscape

In order to see the whole picture of shared meanings and differences in relation to the landscape, categories and attributed values were further visualized (Figure 20). What immediately stands out in the chart is that Natural Setting, History, Activities, and Relaxation were most frequently attributed to the landscape by both residents and visitors. According to the results, the importance of physical and spatial components of the landscape in constructing meanings is, furthermore, highly underlined. This is also in agreement with the previously mentioned study conducted by Kianicka et al. (2006). Social aspects were frequently associated with the landscape by both residents and visitors; however, the number of residents referring landscape to personal identity was twice as many as visitors. These findings suggest that residents and visitors may construct slightly different meanings to the landscape. The residents' sense of place seems to be primarily shaped by the natural setting, personal identity, history, and relaxation, in comparison with the visitors' sense of place predominantly favouring natural setting, history, activities, and relaxation. The same local landscape characteristics, therefore, contribute to the creation of sense of place which can be loosely described as principally 'recreational' by visitors and 'reassuring-comforting' by residents. Apart from the visual appearance of the landscape (physical, spatial), leisure and recreation seem to be one of the main reasons attracting visitors to the area. These, furthermore, are complemented by historical values, social aspects, learning, and the ability to spiritually dwell in the landscape and relax. At the same time, there is an understanding of the economic dependence of Troutbeck on tourism and vulnerability of farming businesses are also recognized. From the residents' point of view, the results are likely to be related to the need for reassurance of belonging and feeling at home. Visual dimensions of the landscape, traces of history found in the area, and community cohesion are all contributors to the feeling of comfort and relaxation in this sense. Interestingly, landscape was not often associated with the categories of Agriculture and Infrastructure in general, even though the historical value of the land was mostly acknowledged.

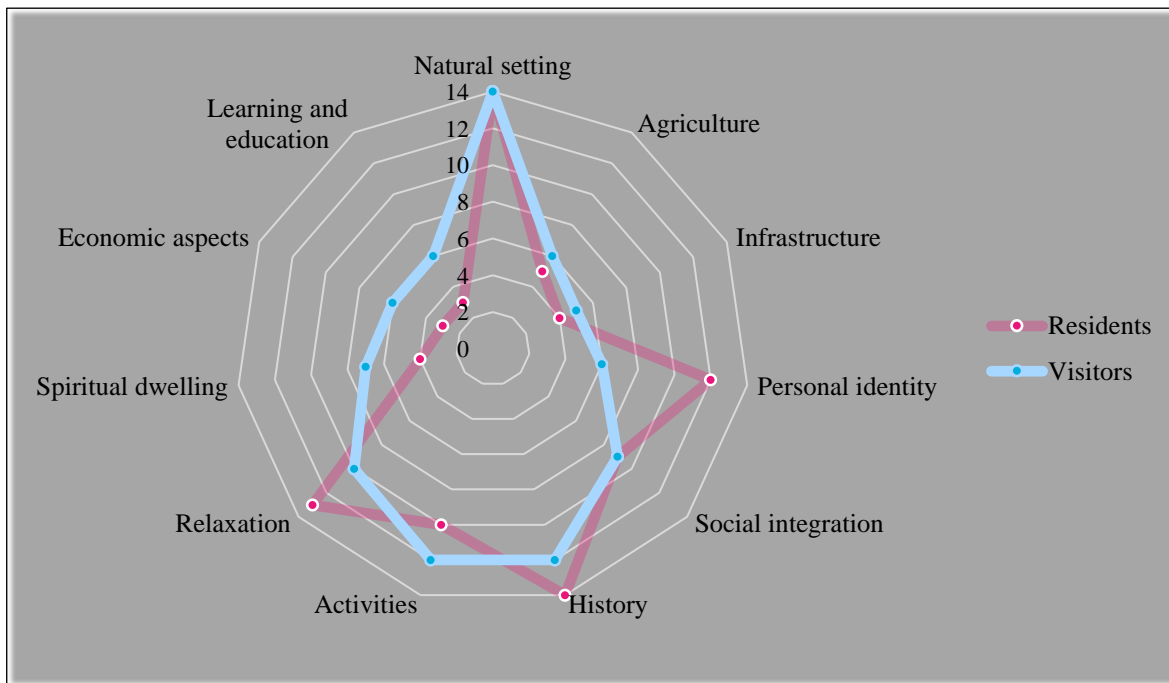


Figure 20. Categories and attributed values by residents and visitors in relation to the landscape
Scale in the chart refers to the number of respondents mentioning the category.

7.2.2 The Icon of the Sheep

Turning now to the next theme, attention will be drawn to the value of sheep in terms of the role they fill as part of the landscape. After analyzing the results from question d (see also related photograph Figure 31 in Appendix A) three discrete themes emerged and responses are presented and discussed accordingly, as it follows.

Are sheep valued as part of the landscape?

Analyzed responses in the second theme were divided into three main groups: valuing sheep in the landscape, valuing it with reservations, or accepting it as part of the landscape (Figure 21).

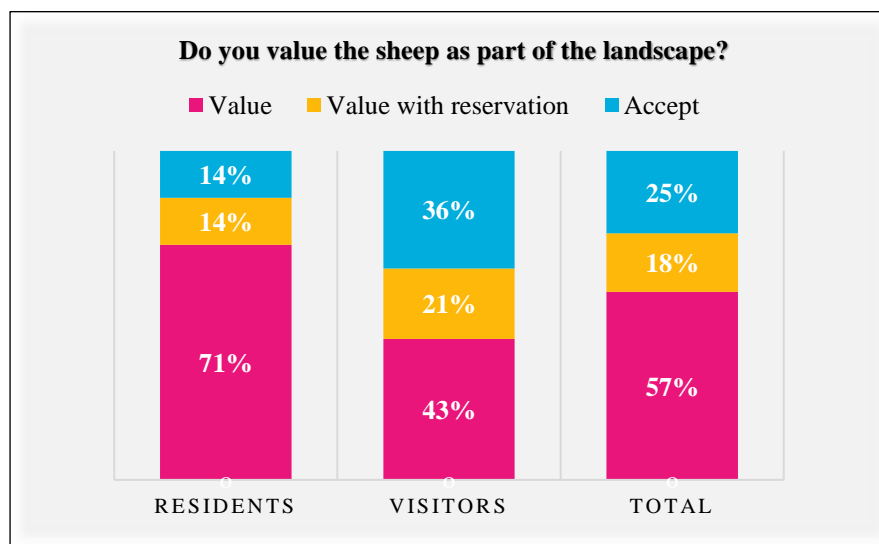


Figure 21. Value of sheep according to the respondents

For the ones who valued sheep with reservations sheep were on the one hand, not an obsess value. Instead of a maintained environment, a pristine landscape was sometimes more preferred, or sheep was just not necessarily thought to be an integral part of the landscape. On the other hand, the landscape with sheep has “always been here so it just feels natural” (male visitor). There was still, however, an appreciation towards sheep amongst the reserved ones and who is behind, the farmers. It was also described as an understanding of sheep as part of the landscape in order to keep the environment as it is now, given credit to the farmers who manage the land. Another reason for valuing sheep with reservations was the belief that they do have a place in the landscape, but with the right balance in number. For those who rather think of sheep as something to accept as part of the landscape, it was expected to be there because they were used to see them or it was “something you grow up with, have a particular liking to the kind of landscape, so become concerned about that you want it reserved” (male visitor). Yet, the respondents who belonged to this group could usually imagine the landscape without sheep but also understood its iconic role and that they are there for a reason. Even though a wooded valley may be preferred to a heavily managed landscape, by recognizing the presence of sheep as a benefit for them, it was often felt as a contradiction.

What sort of valuable services do sheep provide?

An overview of the categories identified in the responses is presented below (Figure 22).

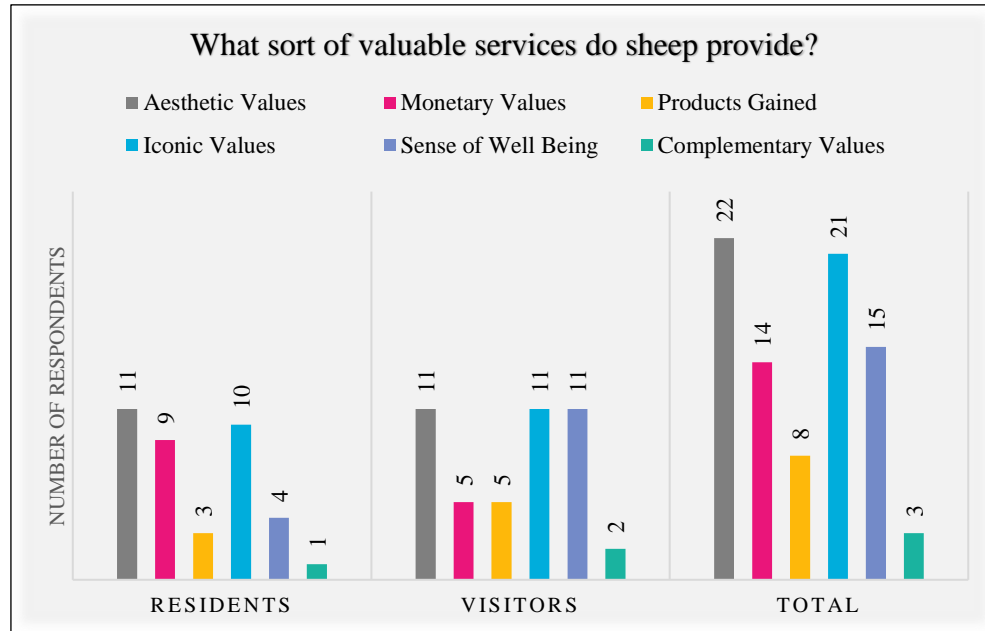


Figure 22. Services provided by sheep according to the respondents

Aesthetic Values

From an aesthetic perspective, sheep provide a valuable service, according to many of the respondents. They are thought to be an intensive part of the landscape by controlling overgrowth and keeping the grass short, green, and fresh looking. Grazing makes the landscape have the appearance that is very typical for the area, managed to an extent, and it seems to be hugely important for the image people have about the Lake District. With regard to picturesque, this can be highly valued, since the “part of the beauty in the Lake District is giving to us by the sheep because they cut the grass and make it look so manicured” (male resident). Keeping the trees down and the grass tidy, this maintenance by regular grazing opens the landscape up for views and provides the enjoyment of seeing the open, long distance. Another form of the beauty is reported to be the attractiveness of the divided land given by the contrast between the green-looking managed lands in the valley and the changing colours of the higher parts. Some of the interviewees furthermore alluded to the notion of the interrelatedness between the value of the picturesque and the purpose of the land, such as the distinctive shape created by the drystone walls as a result of farming activities. Some interviewees argued that sheep and animals, in general, bring the landscape alive, making more interest in the area. This view was echoed by other informants who appreciate watching the seasons with the lambs being born, the dogs herding sheep, or even use them as foregrounds in their photographs (Figure 23).



Figure 23. Troutbeck farmer moving flock of sheep
Photo: Val Corbett (with permission)

Monetary Values

Among the interviewees there was a recognition of the farming business behind sheep and also an understanding that it is a way of life for those who rely on sheep in the area. Even though it was not always clearly seen by the respondents how important sheep are economically in Troutbeck, a general impression was given that farming is marginal. Yet, there sometimes seemed to be a comprehensive perception of the past, present, and future agriculture, changing from a more remaining state for the economy, through struggling dairy farms, towards the sheep farmer who cannot stick with tradition but may contribute to a shift towards tourism or to a compromised agreement through subsidies and grants.

Products Gained

Some of the participants were fully aware of sheep being part of the landscape for the reason of what they produce, while others had never really given it a great deal of thought. While wool was known to be a natural quality product of England, meat was rarely mentioned. Another aspect was an understanding of our benefit from an animal which is, however, heavily managed by humans and eventually slaughtered, still has a comparatively acceptable life living outside on the field.

Iconic values

The majority of the interviewees felt that the British countryside is largely defined by sheep through tradition, culture, and history. Sheep were often associated with the Lake District, especially with the most iconic breed of the area, the Herdwick. It was generally seen as a national pride and sold in the Lake District as an icon in different forms of souvenirs (Figure 24 and 25). Sheep was felt to be historical because they have been seen on the fields for hundreds of years, their presence had become such a common sight that if they were gone, “you would think maybe something is wrong with the system. The sheep is like a symbol of stability, that this type of farming is able to continue, so it is a good sign” (male visitor). Nevertheless, a small number of those interviewed rejected the idea of the romanticized landscape, suggesting that sheep are not inherently in the culture and their presence on the hills is rather overstated. Sheep as an icon was also valued through the appreciation of the farmers and their methodology to maintain the landscape as it is seen today.



Figure 24. **The icon of the sheep 1.** found in a shop promoting British yarns in Keswick, the Lake District. Photo: author



Figure 25. **The icon of the sheep 2.** found in a shop inspired by the Herdwick sheep in Keswick, the Lake District. Photo: author

One has to wonder how the farmers actually work on a day-to-day basis and how difficult it must be. This way of life was considered to be unique in terms of the human factor it involves and it seems to have been operating in a fairly similar way since old times: “you see them going out in the tractors feeding the sheep, the sheep show people live there because they are managing the sheep, so you sort of feel there is a community there and that is what makes it attractive” (male visitor). Particularly regarding the community aspects of the iconic value, a minority of the informants indicated that transferring the family farms to the next generation is a constant source of concern for the youngsters, showing a lack of interest in farming as a way of life and in taking the commitment on. However, others stated that this situation does not necessarily apply to the farmers living in Troutbeck Valley.

Sense of Well Being

The category encompasses all the intrinsic values derived from sheep through the emotional enrichment of people. According to the interview results, this was on the one hand, expressed by the respondents as a peaceful and relaxed feeling seeing lambs during lambing time and there was a positive association of the mountains with the sound of sheep. On the other hand, the creation of an emotional bond with sheep could also be included in the list, as it was reported to happen during the Foot and Mouth Disease when lots of animals were felt to be a part of the family. Another aspect of looking at sheep from the hill walkers’ perspective, is to keep the grass relatively short and open. This makes the walking easier and can be seen as a way to facilitate health and happiness. Dog walkers, however, are warned to take extra care around sheep and walls, when not properly managed can be perceived by some of the visitors as an obstacle. These can generate problems with access to the hills and cause confrontations between farmers and walkers.

Complementary Values to the Nature

From a biodiversity perspective, only a very small proportion of the total respondents stated that the environment created by sheep is important and there would not be so much variety found without sheep. A comment added to this category suggested that having no grazing is not obviously beneficial for the nature, but it needs to be added to the system in the right balance, including possibly a mix of cattle and sheep.

What would the landscape be like without sheep?

Two main possible directions of future landscape changes were outlined by the respondents in this respect (Figure 26). Supposedly, the main question may be whether sheep would be entirely removed from the system, or would only be reduced in number. In the first case, changes in the vegetation, farming, and tourism industry were expected. Vegetational changes may include the unrestricted growth of grass and more trees to spring up. The regeneration process would possibly involve certain phases of landscape change eventually resulting in a less ordered, more natural looking environment. According to the interview results, the most visible elements of this imaginary process would be the changes of colours, most importantly caused by the loss of green grass and seasonal aspects of colours influenced by bracken. The landscape, furthermore, would rather look empty without sheep with a possible result in the loss of attractiveness and the typical 'Lake District look'. Even though a more 'wild' looking landscape was thought to be picturesque in a sort of way, high percentages of tree cover would not necessarily be preferred. Turning the landscape back into a more natural state in terms of rewilding would benefit wildlife by allowing more different species to flourish. In view of changes in farming, apart from losing all the visible components, such as the drystone walls, farm buildings, and the presence of the farmers themselves, removal of sheep was also thought to be a disaster for the area economically. Since the area is well known for its relatively poor quality of soil and harsh climatic conditions, an important point raised was whether what people would live on if sheep farming was removed from the system. In order to account for turning the land in some way, it was pointed out that another type of livestock with a more selective grazing habit could be introduced, or even a mixture of different types of livestock was suggested to be a considerable asset for the future upland landscape. Changes with the tourism industry, furthermore, were seen to be more influenced by how vegetation cover and diversity of wildlife change in relation to attractiveness, or access gained by reduced farming activities.

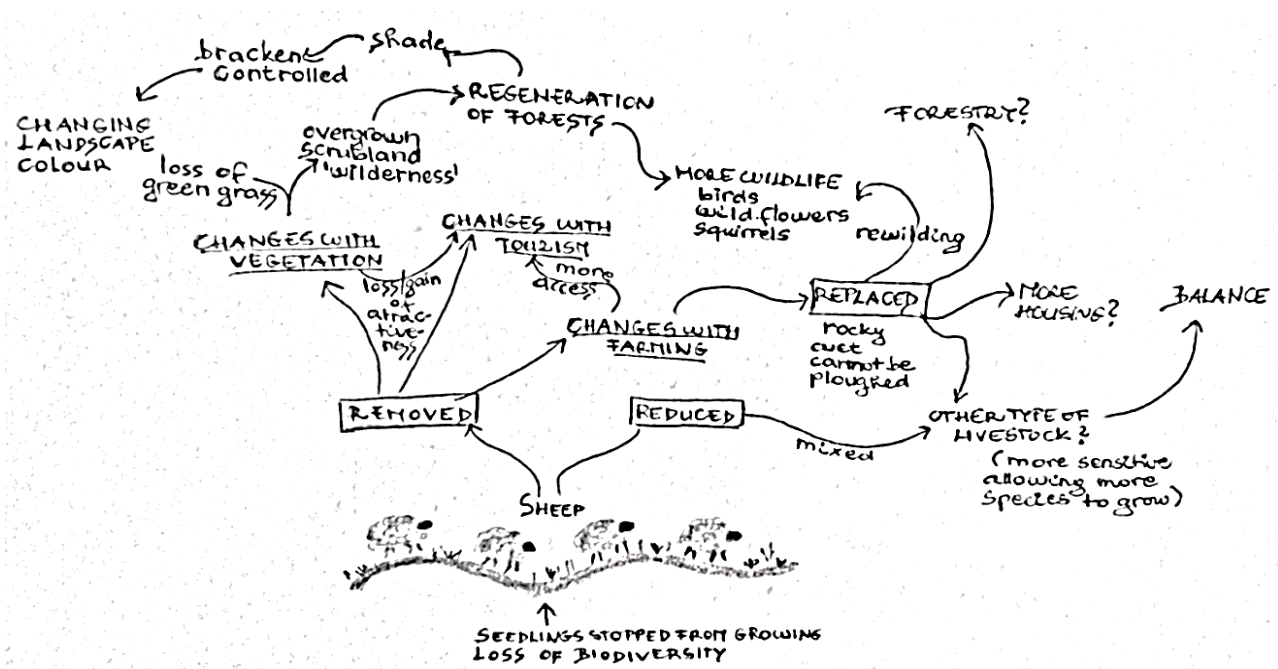


Figure 26. What would the Lake District be like without sheep? The network of issues associated with concerns for the future upland landscape. Flow diagram based on interview responses

What is the most striking about the figures in the first chart above (Figure 21, p. 32), is that while a significant number of residents (71%) clearly valued sheep as part of the landscape, it was only valued implicitly by less than the half of the visitors (43%). An explanation for this result could be the different angle taken by ‘outsiders’ primarily seeking opportunities for leisure and recreation in the landscape. In contrast, because of their more ‘reassuring-comforting’ type of constructed landscape, residents are perhaps, more receptive to all the familiar elements of their home in straightening roots of identity, or feeling of comfort. Similarly, the same reason can possibly be applied to the monetary values, which were more often associated with sheep by residents than visitors. Yet, more than half of the total number of respondents set a value on sheep in the Lake District landscape. Even by those with reservations or acceptance, iconic and aesthetic roles of sheep seemed to be generally understood. Close links between the results of the first and second themes can be recognized, considering the importance of natural setting and history in relation to the landscape. This corresponds clearly with the relatively high recognition for aesthetic and iconic values of sheep by both residents and visitors. The significant difference between residents and visitors regarding the sense of well-being that sheep provide, may be further linked to the primarily ‘recreational’ type of landscape constructed by visitors. Surprisingly, only a minority of interviewees paid particular attention to the products gained from sheep, apart from wool. This finding was unexpected and may suggest a certain level of weakness in promoting local Cumbrian farm products. However, economic vulnerability of the area, especially considering future landscape changes, seems to be recognized by the respondents. Awareness of the marginality of upland farming in the Lake District was observed when this issue together with possible consequences of aesthetic alterations of the landscape were brought up by the interviewees.

7.2.3 Scene

This chapter incorporates all the analysed responses belonging to question e, f, g, and h. In further investigating general perceptions of the landscape, interviewees were encouraged to describe what was seen in the two provided photographs (See Figure 32 and 33 in Appendix A). This was followed by rating the scene on a scale of 1 to 5, with the help of a list of adjectives offered in question f. Analysed comments on landscape changes in relation to question g and h are also included in this section.

7.2.3.1 Composition of the Landscape

First impression of the landscape seen in the photographs was referred to five discrete categories, namely Sense of Wilderness, Sense of Openness, Sense of Tranquility, Historic Value, and Scenic Quality. Comparison was made afterwards between the answers of residents and visitors (Figure 27).

Sense of Wilderness

As it can be seen from the chart below (Figure 27), the scene in the first photograph received the lowest ranking by both residents and visitors in relation to sense of wilderness, represented by higher mean values in the graph compared with the rest of the categories. In general, the mountain range in the distance distracted attention from the rest of the scene in the first photograph, causing a tendency to initially attribute a much wilder appearance to the whole landscape. A sense of wilderness was reported to be particularly conveyed by the physical form of the landscape: the mountains, the deep valley looking into the distance, the ruggedness of the land, patches of woodlands, wildlife, and the sense of freedom associated with them.

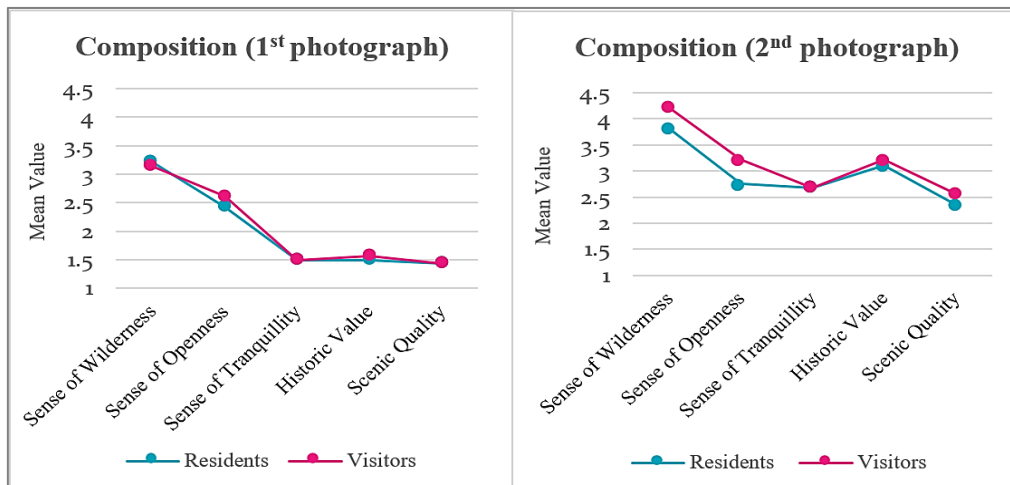


Figure 27. **First impression of the landscape referred to categories by residents and visitors.** Mean values represent averages of scores in responding to question f

Taking into account the high areas of mountains and the hillsides, which were usually seen as very picturesque, the actual geological form of the landscape was often felt relatively unchanged, making many of the interviewees perceive closeness to powerful nature. Yet, the appearance of the ‘wilder’ parts was understood not to be pristine and there was an awareness of management by the presence of drystone walls and sheep found high on the mountain tops. Considering the human factor, less obvious signs of human interference with the landscape, such as less traffic and remoteness of the countryside for example, may also involve certain degrees of wilderness. This was occasionally extended to manmade elements in the managed landscape such as old farm buildings and pathways, conveying in this sense the impression of ‘ordered wilderness’. Even though manmade structures were thought to have their own place in the landscape, they considered to be less attractive due to their straight lines thereby not relaxing enough on the eye. In contrast to the mountain range almost dominating the whole photograph from the background, in the foreground there was a clear impression of human presence in maintaining the landscape. The perception of the working landscape was promoted by seeing the sheep, green pasture, walls, shepherd’s hut, managed woodland, accompanied with properties nicely blended into the scene. On the one hand, this environment was accepted by the majority of the interviewees as being created for sheep farming to a large extent. On the other hand, the overmanaged nature of the landscape was not always seen so obvious, considering the stock left by the farmers to graze in the fells, reduced presence of crops, and less developments in the area.

Interestingly, a stronger sense of wilderness was experienced among residents than visitors when looking at the second photograph. However, the difference was not significant and the small sample size might not allow to draw a conclusion from this finding, further investigation regarding these differences would be worthwhile. Wild aspects of the landscape, in general, were thought to be reduced in the second photograph because of the decreased amount of view and the distant perspective of the peaks. This seems to be echoed in the graph. It felt to be more managed by noticing the village itself more clearly, a road going on, development taking place in the form of Lime Fitt Holiday Park, bringing the general impression of the place as a bit more accessible. However, it was considered to be a more immense landscape allowing to see further in the distance and pieces of wild elements, the mountain peaks, could be clearly recognized. Despite this, the whole landscape was still felt more ordered and organized because of the scenery of green fields and the straight lines of recently planted trees.

Sense of Openness

The scene in the first photograph was considered to be fairly open. According to the graph, visitors perceived the landscape less open; although this difference was not significant. Looking at the mountains, which were felt to be powerful and dominating, conveyed the feeling of openness, even if it was known that there could possibly be walls and sheep grazing up there. Wide, open parts of the landscape were also discovered throughout the valley into the distance. Another aspect of openness brought up during an interview was from the perspective of the free-range farm animals. Initially, a large part of the photograph, however, was rather seen reasonably enclosed because of being partitioned into individual fields by traditional drystone walls. This patchwork effect was frequently seen as charm of the landscape as well as a boundary of farming territory that needs to be crossed as a walker.

In the second photograph, the scene, in general, was perceived less open by both residents and visitors. The overall impression was the vastness of the landscape and the amount of space it covers. More walls and roads were reported to be seen compared to the first photograph, whereas the landscape became more open when the valley was not seen, focusing on the fells instead in the distance where it is less restricted. Enclosure effect of Lime Fitt Holiday Park was another factor mentioned because of the view of the buildings regimented in rows too close to each other (Figure 28). For the eye, it was usually taken in as a stark contrast from the ordinary houses dotted about in the valley for which it was often perceived as a blot on the landscape.

Sense of Tranquillity



Figure 28. Enclosure effect of Lime Fitt Holiday Park
Photo: author

Low mean values in the graph show that, in essence, the landscape in the first photograph was predominantly pictured by residents and visitors as a very peaceful, calming countryside without signs of industrialization. This finding can be connected to the results of the first two themes reinforcing the importance of relaxation/sense of well-being, what this landscape seems to represent for the majority of interviewees. This uninterrupted view on the one hand, was reassuring for some of the respondents about the place they live and it was seen largely unspoilt. On the other hand, tranquil would have meant a bit more dramatic environment for others, involving more native trees on the hill side and steeper slopes. Signs of civilization such as roads and houses, furthermore, prevented the landscape to be seen completely tranquil; however, the busy part of it were accepted as something to be able to get away from.

In the second photograph with a closer view of the valley and the village itself, made both residents and visitors move the mark towards busy. Lime Fitt Holiday Park in this context was seen as a commercial establishment conveying much less tranquility because of the increased sound, light pollution and litter going hand in hand with accommodating tourists.

Historic Value

Perceived historic value of the scene in the first photograph was high for both residents and visitors, similarly to the results of the first two themes. One of the reasons why some of the interviewees found the first photograph attractive was the particular barn seen as an important part of the scenery. Apart from some minor representatives of modern technique, like new wood styles on drystone walls discovered in the photo, the overall impression of the landscape was predominantly historical. This kind of view on the landscape was first of all, due to the old buildings, drystone walls, and the type of architecture they represent. Secondly, the traditional skill making them was also highly appreciated in a way of imagining the daily life of the ordinary people in the past, looking at old walls and think about “the hand that actually placed that stone there” (male visitor). Farming as a traditional activity in Troutbeck was also pointed out and relatively unchanged nature of the landscape in this respect was emphasized. Appreciation was, furthermore, extended to the sheep as an important element of the farming history, the Roman Road going up to the top of the hills and diminishing traces of wood pasture.

The clear trend of increasing mean values seems to continue in the second photograph, which was commented to be highly influenced by the presence of Lime Fitt Holiday Park and the lodges tended to take it off being fully historical. It was, instead, seen as a commercial enterprise with modern looking buildings, recently planted trees, and roads nearby, contrasting strikingly with the historical village.

Scenic Quality

Considering scenic quality, the scene in the first photograph was well appreciated by residents and visitors and low mean values in the graph underpinned the relevance of aesthetic values attributed to the landscape. Considering the view, the landscape in the first photograph, being green and showing a lot of variety for the eye, was explained as a typical sort of Lake District scenery.

According to both residents and visitors, perceived scenic quality of the landscape decreased, mostly due to Lime Fitt Holiday Park coming into view in the second photograph. The unevenness of the fields was mentioned as a positive side of the scene. The appearance of Lime Fitt Holiday Park in the picture however, was a recurring factor detracting from high scenic quality. Many times the lodges were said to be not particularly attractive, standing out of the rest of the environment. Since scenic quality was often related to the natural environment for many of the respondents, Lime Fitt was rather considered as a visual impact. One of the reasons for this was the uniform shapes and sizes of the lodges, standing in straight lines in artificial colours which do not fit in with the traditional grey stone buildings that really belong to this valley. There was definitely something about Lime Fitt that attracted attention, making the majority of the interviewees feel that it is rather an intrusion on the landscape. The recognition that Lime Fitt Holiday Park is permanent strengthened the negative effect. There was also a fear of Lime Fitt already being overdeveloped or further expanded. From a different perspective, the Park is moved into the landscape now to an extent and it blends in reasonably, as long as it stays that size. The chalets are well camouflaged, there is a little bit of separation from the village, and over the years there has been restriction on the lighting at night.

In addition, the planting of native trees to make the lodges blend into the environment was seen by others as a positive sign of diversity, which may not have had happened if it was still a farmland. From a visitor point of view, it may be an opportunity to stay in the countryside and enjoy the lovely view of the village and the surroundings that Lime Fitt Holiday Park offers. From a local point of view, the lodges might not be preferred, especially considering the view the village gets by its position on the hillside looking down at Lime Fitt. In general, this was understood as a rather difficult balance. On the one hand, people who come to visit the area and stay in the Park by becoming part of it will appreciate it and care about it. It might also bring trade into the area contributing to local industry and local people. On the other hand, there is the dilemma of how much development is accepted and this, for many of the respondents, is very well illustrated through the case of Lime Fitt Holiday Park.

7.2.3.2 Challenges of the Changing Landscape

Five key categories were identified on which the respondents revolved in relation to the changing environment. These were Social Aspects, Built Environment, Natural Environment, Tourism and Farming (see Table 3 in Appendix E). Primary focus was on the social aspects, especially on the issue of unaffordable housing and the high percentage of second home and holiday home ownership. The number of permanent residents has been reduced massively and there was concern that this situation might worsen and the village will not be sustained. Built environment was another group of changes frequently mentioned during the interviews, particularly recent developments of Lime Fitt Holiday Park and the renovation, extension, or conversion of some of the local houses as well as the appearance of new buildings representing different styles. The most common changes noticed in the natural environment were climate-related, for example landslides caused by flooding (Figure 29), weather patterns, and seasonal changes of the landscape. Changes in vegetation and wildlife were also mentioned. An important issue brought up in this context was about the balance between tourism and local circumstances capturing the interest in how much the Lake District can sustain. There is thought to be a shift in the pattern of holiday making towards becoming more affluent, putting more pressure on the National Park in terms of the sheer number of visitors. This involves tourism-related worries about pollution, erosion, and traffic: “There is a limit in a National Park. It should be a resource for visitors to come and see something that is traditional and reliable” (male visitor).



Figure 29. Landslides caused by flooding in Troutbeck Tongue. Overgrazing may cause the movements of bare soil on the slopes. Photo: author

Considering the changes in the farming environment, number and type of sheep and modernization were concerned. The overall impression in relation to landscape changes, furthermore, was that changes happen at a very slow scale in Troutbeck and this is something to rely on and this particularly makes the area attractive. It is important to note in connection to changes and the future vision of Troutbeck Valley that the desired landscape of residents and visitors, in general, seems to contain elements of diversity. There is also a wish to preserve the landscape in present state in terms of its relative contentedness and undisturbed nature. An additional requirement is to find a balance by sensible limitations in the number of tourists, reduced level of development and rejuvenation of the village itself. These results correspond with earlier findings mentioned in the Setting section of this thesis (Chris Blandford Associates, 2008), such as the very strong sense of tranquillity, cultural heritage, and scenic aspects of the landscape by which Troutbeck Valley is characterized and which values are wanted to be preserved. Vulnerability to new developments as a drawback, destined to be prevented.

7.3 Linking Results to a More Sustainable Future for the Uplands

The long history of humans in transforming the natural environment has been shaping thoughts and created traditional ways of understanding the landscape (Butler, 2014). Especially in Europe where nature and culture are not clearly differentiated and cultural landscapes may be perceived fairly natural, it is well reflected (Bell, 2012). This sort of perceptual evolution in human minds also seems to be demonstrated in England. This case study shows that natural and historical elements of landscapes both are chief values, including traditional ways of land use. Iconic role of sheep in relation to this was, in general, acknowledged as well as the aesthetic services provided by these animals to maintain the ‘typical Lake District appearance’, which has been shaped throughout history. These findings suggest that historical past can contribute to the creation of landscape meanings. It is interesting how humans subconsciously distinguish the beauty from the sublime which is related to the extent the whole scene can actually be comprehended by the beholder (Bell, 2012). The more fully it is comprehended, the more likely the experience of the beauty, in which case finding order and diversity in the landscape is essential. In comparison, the sublime is related to the feeling of fear or being small and this comes with respectfulness for the uncomprehend (Ibid.). Diversity, therefore, is on the palette when seeking beauty in the landscape and a fragmented environment which contains a heterogenous mosaic of agricultural and semi-natural elements with a certain degree of diversity may be preferred. Enrichment of places is an important concern in this context and in the creation of more diverse landscapes it must be realized that enrichment frequently comes with providing pleasure (Steele, 1981). This study provides examples for the overall tendency to prefer diversity and to seek harmony between landscape elements. Some of these are the variety of categories found in relation to people-place relationships and the constantly mentioned ‘typical Lake District scenery’ encompassing sensed variety, contrast, and complexity that can further improve scenic quality. On the one hand, attractiveness of the divided agricultural land was often ascribed to the contrast between managed land and natural environment. On the other hand, harsh contrast between modern, artificial, or uniform parts and natural, or historic components of the landscape were rather undesirable. Desired future landscape, in addition, contains elements of diversity and thereby targeted by fundamental conservation objectives in terms of maintaining and enhancing the diversity of living landscapes (Wright and Johnson, 2014). It was, furthermore, not only a preference to diversity understood from the results, but also the approach to see the ingredients as parts of the whole landscape and an understanding of the interconnectedness between them.

Wilderness in this sense is also seen through the lens of experiences for which the very elemental foundations are provided by history. Primitivistic view on nature and the creation of an idealistic picture of it massively affects attitudes towards wilderness and towards landscapes (Bell, 2012). Although the concept of wilderness is rather inappropriate in Europe because of lacking extensive areas of land undisturbed by humans, notions of 'wild' are partly dependent on what wild land or wilderness actually mean for someone as well as the extent of human manipulations recognized in that particular landscape (Powell et al, 2004). It was, in essence, the relatively unchanged geological appearance of the landscape, wildlife and natural-looking environment primarily contributing to the sense of wilderness and freedom in most cases while manmade elements of the landscape, even though less attractive for the eyes, could create the sense of 'ordered wilderness'. The colourful frame built around the experience of the untouched and pristine, however, is suggested to have started in the cities where nature is in short supply (Nash, 2014). Aptitude to consider environment as an independent entity instead as part of the whole, including ourselves, is misleading. On the contrary, an integrated view on nature and human beings helps understand environment as to be something more tangible (Bell, 2012). By accepting this, more responsibility could be taken. According to the Biophilia Hypothesis, humans may have an inherent affinity to natural environment and other forms of life, in general (Kellert and Wilson, 1993). It is a genetically determined predisposition to become emotionally bonded with the natural world and this preference can be traced back to ancestors living in wild landscapes. Cronon (1996), similarly to Bell, rejects the dualistic view in connection with nature-human relations and claims that it is a setback to finding and truly understanding our place in nature. Through experiencing the 'wild', which reminds us of "the world we did not make" (Cronon, 1996, p.87), however we learn respect, self-awareness, and ways to set responsible limits to human beings. Cronon (1996, p.89) perfectly summarizes the importance of balance and appreciating the whole when studying and designing landscapes:

We need to embrace the full continuum of a natural landscape that is also cultural, in which the city, the suburb, the pastoral, and the wild each has its proper place, which we permit ourselves to celebrate without needlessly denigrating the others... In particular, we need to discover a common middle ground in which all of these things, from the city to the wilderness, can somehow be encompassed in the word "home"

Rewilding process in this sense is not about the re-creation of what was before, but to enhance diversity and sustainability (Bekoff 2014). It is also a mind set, a paradigm shift in how we understand our place in the world and it incorporates the idea of reconnecting with wildlife, which comes with a certain level of risk and uncertainty. The importance of our choices about what we choose to protect or mend is also stressed because it entails moral issues (Ibid.). It has been seen throughout this case study that landscape is much more than physical entity. Intriguing questions may emerge regarding the possible ways ancient values must be rethought and how the right balance between natural and cultural can be found. The pivotal role of perception studies like this one in essence, is that the colourful palette of interpretations of potential users and key values become recognized. Interpretations are manifold and the many possible co-existing landscapes represent different interpretant communities as part of their sign use (Figure 30) which may contrast strikingly and conflict (Arnesen, 2008). Deeper understanding of these interpretations is a key factor in gaining access to 'hidden aspects' of the landscape (Ibid.). This also makes a collective way of designing and the creation of new places possible. Yet, we must see that when landscape meanings are challenged it is the conceptions of the self what is changing by the re-establishment of new symbols and meanings (Greider and Garkovich, 1994).

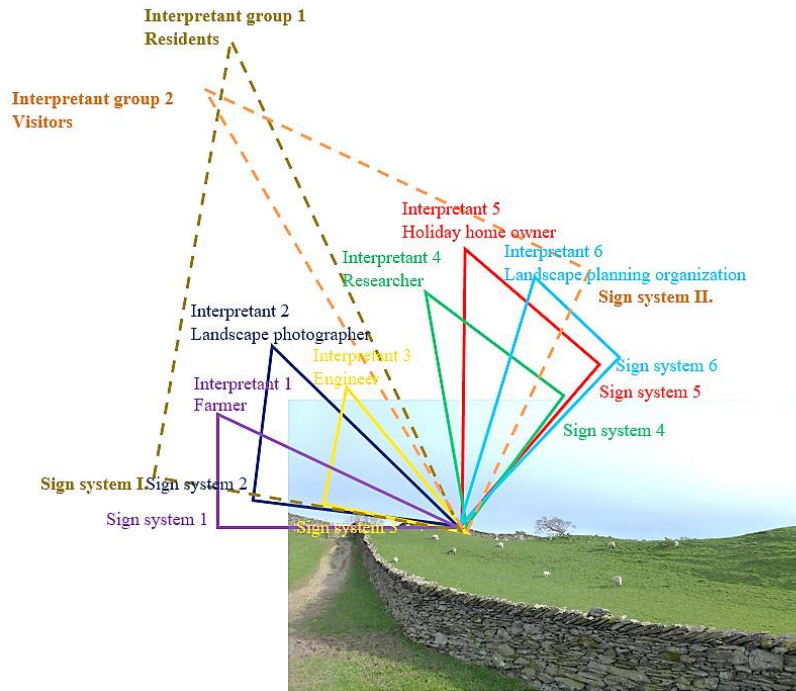


Figure 30. **The many co-existent landscapes represented by different interpretant communities.** Adopted and modified from Arnesen (2008)
Photo: author

Most importantly, the multiple meanings of environment are, in fact, symbols in reflecting people's definitions about themselves. Environmental changes will, therefore, entail this process, through which meanings of the self and people-place relationships will be renegotiated (Ibid.). Every agricultural landscape once has been redefined in terms of its function from the prior natural landscape and this can lead to conflicts between the two functions, natural and agricultural (Schumacher and Rickerl, 2004). Focusing on the relationship between agroecosystems and natural ecosystems, however, both can enjoy benefits (Gliessman, 2015). With sustainability in mind, natural environments (ecological processes) and biodiversity must be protected and agroecosystems that provide ecosystem services must be created and maintained (Ibid.). This requires a shift of perspective from the regional to the landscape level. Focusing on systems at the landscape level, this study has shown that landscape is a complex, interactive, dynamic entity, sensitive to human intervention (Francis et al, 2004). Landscape function (agricultural performance at the landscape level) is, furthermore, largely dependent on human choices and decisions taken at the community, regional and national levels. There is a difference between belonging to a landscape and being part of a landscape. This study has touched upon some points in relation to sense of belonging and place attachment through which the complexity of landscape-related emotional processes is revealed. Signs of attachment were found within the category Social Aspects in the form of responsibility and commitment towards community and the environment as well as memories in connection to the landscape. This, though, can be slightly different for residents and visitors. Residents, on the one hand, may need more reassurance of belonging and feeling at home, thereby are more receptive to familiar elements, like the sight of sheep in the landscape. Visitors, on the other hand, tend to focus on recreation. To study, understand and design agricultural systems, agroecology offers ecological principles and a multidimensional view based on an understanding of complexity (Rickerl and Francis, 2004). In fact, sustainable agroecosystems are based on interconnected ecological, economic, and social factors and processes (Gliessman, 2015). Agroecosystems inevitably rely on natural processes through which their productivity is maintained.

This support mechanism is due to the similarities between the two systems (Ibid.). Conservation must aim to employ sustainable management regimes by which agriculture is sustained as an important component of the landscape (Schumacher and Rickerl, 2004). It is vital to understand agricultural landscapes as an integrated whole, made up of nonfarmed and farmed areas, which can function as an integrated ecosystem and provide ecosystem services (Gliessman, 2015). Increasing agroecosystem diversity and allowing greater successional development are the key factors in creating this kind of agricultural landscape. By using ecologically founded management practices, agricultural sustainability is targeted (Ibid.). Even though landscape in this case study was rarely associated with the category Agriculture, the historical value of agricultural land was more widely recognized. Review of the literature, furthermore, confirms the importance of communication and the central role of organizations in ensuring greater public awareness of landscape values and ecosystem services. Another important point realized from literature study is that there are still many unanswered questions about wildlife-habitat relationships in relation to uplands, further research with more focus on the impacts of grazing on flora and fauna of the uplands are, therefore, suggested. To define sustainability, it is “the condition of being able to harvest biomass from a system in perpetuity because the ability of the system to renew itself or be renewed is not compromised” (Gliessman, 2015, p17). Yet, it is only possible to suggest if a management practice is moving away from sustainability. Agriculture may be considered to be sustainable if it has only minor negative impacts on the environment, can maintain healthy soil, gains resources from within the agroecosystem, value and preserve biodiversity, allows local control and uses water with a responsible manner (Ibid.). The main consequence delivered from this line of thoughts is that nowadays, when we talk about cultural landscapes, conservation efforts cannot be principally concentrated on remaining small areas of wild land (Ibid.). Instead, agricultural lands have a huge potential to support diversity, providing ecosystem services, and participate in global conservation. This is entirely based on management regimes. By reincorporating diversity, resource-use efficiency is enhanced and it reduces risk (Ibid.). This is an especially important aid in areas where unpredictable environmental conditions are common. In the upland areas, where the landscape is widely regarded as output, the maintenance of crop agriculture has difficulties, scarce resources are used by the animals, and vegetation is turned into harvestable animal product. Farmers are the caretakers of this system, with responsibilities for the grazing landscape by respecting carrying capacity and variations of resource availability as well as for the social dimension developed around these animals (Gliessman, 2015). Appreciation for working farms and working landscape was generally perceived during the interviews and sometimes sheep were even seen as symbol of stability; however, with the right balance in number. Whether to what extent it is possible to define balance, regarding the many different forms of opinions, this is a question that must be fully considered. One of the limitations may be to reach an agreement as to where the limit should be and develop appropriate pasture management regimes. Regarding the collaborative nature of this issue, it is a real concern. Appropriate methods to maintain biodiversity and preserve ecosystem services must be encouraged and it is something the society should compensate financially (Francis et al, 2004). Upland grazing systems with incorporated mixed livestock, cattle and sheep are reported to enhance productivity, decrease methane emissions and support wildlife habitats for bird and butterfly species (Fraser et. al, 2014). Farming is, on the other hand, livelihood for many who might be dependent on this source of income and the question must emerge what they can do instead. According to Palmer (2010), some farmers will need to re-structure their businesses and for them, encouragement and support is vital. Others will survive and manage to keep up with their performance and must adjust to a more environment friendly management willing to consider sustainable principles. Low input-medium output farming systems are more capable to belong to this category, which are traditionally adopted to local conditions and can use resources in the most efficient way delivering quality products (Ibid.).

Interrelatedness between farming systems, ecological, and social systems of the upland landscape is, therefore, underlined, as well as the continuous re-invention farmers need to establish in their life (Mansfield, 2011). Mansfield (2011) recognizes the advantages for upland farmers in marketing their products in tourism-related High Nature Value landscapes. The future of these farmers, first of all, should be promoted by enhancing economic basis for their products, by the establishment of fair market value, and by highly valued and rewarded regulating ecosystem services. Providing basic services for local communities is also an objective, in order to regenerate social dimension (Ibid.). Some of these were also mentioned during the interviews, for example the bus transportation system and the central issue of unaffordable housing and second homes. It is furthermore suggested (Mansfield, 2011) that allowance should be paid for starter farms and competent individuals with an expertise in biodiversity must be prepared in terms of knowing how farm businesses operate. Considering the production side of the bigger picture, present food system separates the farmer from the consumers and consumers do not always see the direct and indirect consequences of their choices on farming industry (Gliessman, 2015). The problem is also connected to changing diet habits and to the loss of regional food traditions and place-based identity. In line with this revelation, the results of this study also indicate the marginality and economic vulnerability of upland farming. Even though there is appreciation of the farming industry and of the farmers because of their unique lifestyle and the creation of Lake District landscape, estimates of its economic importance for the area may be uncertain. In addition, interest in gained products from sheep have rather fallen off, even though a general understanding of farm animals must be there for a reason. This can be considered as a certain level of weakness in promoting local Cumbrian farm products. Gliessman (2015) emphasises the importance of re-establishing this connection between producers and consumers by developing a 'culture' around farming, in order to become sustainable. The most important truth in this is that local food systems where these two actors of the food chain are the closest to each other has a major role in enhancing environmental, social, economic and cultural dimensions (Ibid.). Palmer (2010) believes that local upland farming products cannot get to a winning position considering food prices and that society need to recognize the value of goods the farmers provide. Premium price on local products can be a solution for this problem (Ibid.). If the Lake District National Park becomes ranked as World Heritage Cultural Landscape, economic and social dimensions are expected to become upgraded (Rebanks, 2013). This is considered as a way forward for farming, with the possibility to promote local traditional products to be better valued as well as the farmers themselves and their role in landscaping the Lake District (Ibid.). Changes are certainly expected considering the future upland landscape, which were also echoed in the findings in the form of concerns in social (population, tradition and amenities), natural (balance, diversity and climate) and economic (farming) dimensions.

8 Reflection on the Research

Conducting interviews seems far more complicated than it can be imagined by the non-expert. The conversation usually flows fast and sometimes it is difficult to keep it on track. However, a written list of prompts made it easier to direct the conversation. Even though interviewees were shortly introduced to the subject and to the purpose of the study, providing more background information would have further eased the interview process. The ability to decide when and how details of the research should be disclosed depends on the amount of experience of the researcher. Observing gestures and emotional expressions was found to be very useful because it allowed a much deeper understanding of the responses when analysing the results. The importance of understanding body language was recognized and used to make sure that interviewees feel comfortable and self-conscious throughout the whole process.

Another thing not too easy to deal with was sometimes to create open-ended, non-directive questions and to use probing techniques effectively, even if they are essential elements of successful interviewing (Pretty et al. 1995). Prolonged engagement in the research would have been fruitful in providing credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and in developing a more critical understanding of the whole research process and real-world contexts. In the case of a more extended and comprehensive study, a thematic coding system would have been included in the Methods section. A more persuasive study, furthermore, would definitely examine a larger, randomly selected sample of individuals from a wider age range. This research, moreover, may have been more relevant with a more rigorous inclusion criteria for the participants, especially considering the definition of resident, local and visitor. This would also make room for further investigations in relation to the intensity and types of attachments to the place. Questionnaires would have been also useful to be included in the pre-phases of the research process, in order to improve validity, reliability and to develop more effective questions for the interviews (Gillham, 2005).

9 Conclusion

Present case study was designed to gain a general understanding of residents' and visitors' sense of place within the study area. In this investigation one of the objectives was to provide an overview of perceptions and to identify differences and similarities in constructing landscape meanings and values. One of the most significant findings to emerge was the uniformity of the identified key categories and sub-categories for the sense of place constructed by residents and visitors. Although the research was based on a small sample of participants, 14 residents and 14 visitors, the findings support the prior assumption that there are differences between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in terms of landscape meanings and values. From the same local landscape characteristics residents and visitors create slightly different senses of place as to primarily 'recreational' by visitors, and predominantly 'reassuring-comforting' by the residents. This case study shows that natural and historical elements of the landscape are, in general, highly valued. Iconic role of sheep, in relation to this, is acknowledged as well as the aesthetic services they provide in order to maintain the traditional appearance of the Lake District landscape. This finding suggests that historical past can contribute to the creation of landscape meanings. The overall tendency of humans to prefer diversity and harmony in landscapes is, furthermore, another point touched upon in the study as well as the approach to understand interconnected landscape elements as parts of the whole. The relatively unchanged geological form and natural elements of the landscape were found to be important in contributing to the sense of wilderness and freedom whereas manmade structures could create the sense of 'ordered wilderness'. Another aim of the research was to discover ways in which the knowledge of senses of place could possibly contribute to local management decisions in order to create and maintain sustainability and multi-functionality. It was shown that there is much more behind the meaning of landscape than physical entity. It was also pointed out that interpretations and values are manifold and the complexity of landscape-related emotional processes must be recognized. Deeper understanding of these is a key factor in gaining access to 'hidden aspects' of the landscape (Arnesen, 2008). At this point, collaboration in problem solving is highlighted and it certainly requires public involvement in local landscape management issues. By accepting an integrated view on nature and human beings it might become possible to close the gap between natural and cultural and more responsibility could be taken (Bell, 2012). Public awareness of landscape values, wider recognition of ecosystem services, and the development of appropriate pasture management regimes supporting diversity may help this process. This study also identified weakness in promoting local Cumbrian farm products and, in line with literature results, stresses the importance of reconnecting producers and consumers.

Taken together, these results suggest a possibility to find new ways of redefining our relationship with the natural world and that rearrangements of local solutions may be extended to overcome global challenges. A key policy priority should, therefore, be to plan for the long-term care of the wellbeing of the natural environment and for a collective way of landscaping. The results indicate that deeper understanding of interpretations may help this process and by providing access to hidden dimensions of needs and requirements of the public. An implication of this is to embrace more diversity and strengthen linkage between natural and agricultural in open and participative ways. Although this thesis focuses on Troutbeck Valley in the Lake District National Park, the methods used for this study may be applied to similar villages in the area or elsewhere in the world. Finally, landscape changes in the near future are anticipated at the social, natural, and economic levels and this thesis, in this respect, raises many questions in need of further investigation.

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Appendix

A. Interview Themes, Questions, and Prompts

Theme 1: RELATION TO THE LANDSCAPE

The participants were asked to describe what comes to their mind when they think about Troutbeck (peculiarities of the area). Question a and b were borrowed from Kianicka et al (2006) and question c, including prompts, from Fyfe (2011).

a) What is special about this landscape?

Prompts:

- *Scenery*
- *People*
- *Buildings*
- *History*

The participants were asked to describe their feelings when they think about Troutbeck in order to identify their relation to the village (emotional response).

b) What is your relationship with this landscape?

Prompts:

- *Social (emotional)*
- *Economic (busy)*
- *Leisure (relaxed)*

The participants were asked to describe how they value the landscape regarding the services and benefits it provides.

c) What sort of values do you attribute to the landscape of this area?

Prompts:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| • <i>Aesthetic/Scenery</i> | • <i>Spiritual Values</i> |
| • <i>Identity/Being at home</i> | • <i>Learning and Education</i> |
| • <i>Cultural Heritage</i> | • <i>Leisure and Recreation</i> |
| • <i>Escapism/Getting Away</i> | • <i>Quality time</i> |
| • <i>Relaxation/Peace and Quiet</i> | |

Theme 2: ICON OF THE SHEEP

d) How do you value the sheep as part of the landscape?

The participants were encouraged to talk about the value of sheep in terms of the role they fill as part of the landscape. A photograph with sheep in the foreground of the Lake District landscape was, furthermore, showed the interviewees as to representing the type of landscape the interviewees were supposed to recall (Figure 31).



Figure 31. Photograph used for theme 2
Sheep grazing in the foreground of the Lake District Landscape.
Photo: author

Theme 3: SCENE

e) Describe the scene!

The participants were asked to describe the scene in two photographs (Figure 32 and 33) in order to gain insight into why some of the typical characteristics of the area are/are not preferred and to find out how interviewees respond to the composition of the landscape. The two photographs were used to investigate this theme representing different angles of views. From e to h questions were borrowed from Fyfe (2011).



Figure 32. Troutbeck village in the distance seen from Garburn path (1). Photograph used for encouraging respondents to talk about the scene. Photo: author



Figure 33. Troutbeck village in the distance seen from Garburn path (2). Photograph used for encouraging respondents to talk about the scene. Photo: Elizabeth Oldham (with permission)

f) Do you consider this scene to be?

The same photographs (Figure 32 and 33) and a list of adjectives were used to describe the landscape on a scale of 1 to 5 as it is seen below (borrowed from Fyfe, 2011). This is considered a verbally administered questionnaire, the structured element of the interview.

- a) WILD 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 MANAGED
- b) OPEN 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 ENCLOSED
- c) TRANQUIL 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 BUSY
- d) HISTORIC 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 MODERN
- e) HIGH SCENIC QUALITY 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 LOW SCENIC QUALITY

g) Have you noticed any changes in the landscape?

h) Are there any changes you would like to see?

Recurring visitors and residents were asked to talk about landscape changes they had experienced or would like to see in the area.

GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

An overview of the answers is shown in Figure 34 and Table 2 (See Appendix B and C).

i) Age range

- 20-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70 and above

j) Place of residence

- A. Within the Lake District National Park
- B. Just outside the Lake District National Park
- C. Further afield

k) Where did you grow up?

- A. In a city
- B. Town/suburb
- C. Countryside

l) Occupation sector

m) Gender

B An overview of the Responses to Question i, j, and k

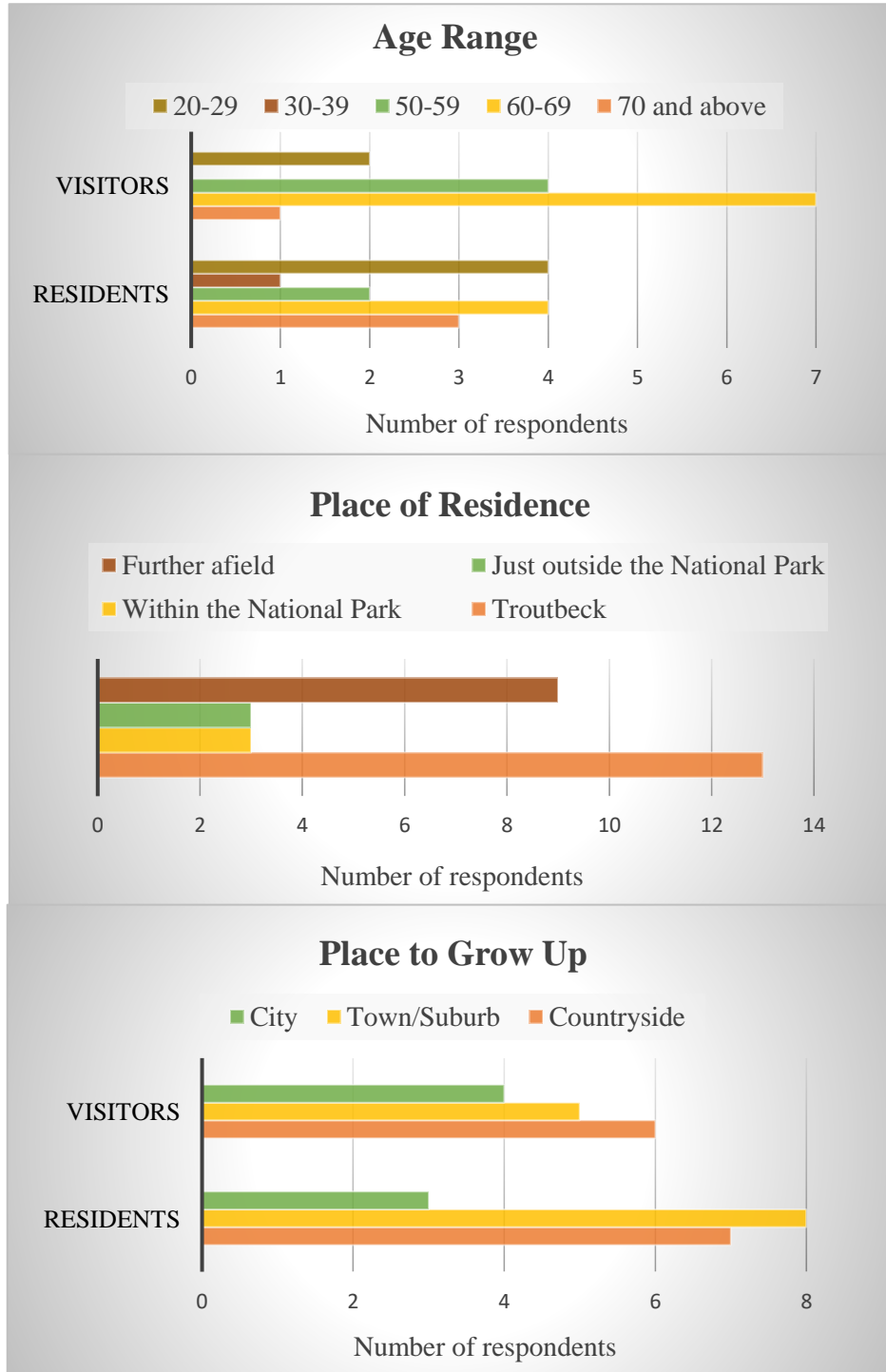


Figure 34: An overview of the responses to question i, j, and k

C Occupation Sector and Gender of the Interviewees

Table 2. Occupation sector and gender of the interviewees for question l and m

Occupation Sector and Gender of the Interviewees			
Residents	Gender	Visitors	Gender
Agriculture	M	Catering/Hospitality	M
Environmental volunteer	F	Construction (retired)	M
Agriculture	M	Administration (retired)	F
Catering/Hospitality	F	Education	M
Accountancy/Finance	M	Law (retired)	M
Catering/Hospitality	M	Civil Service (retired)	M
Catering/Hospitality	M	Catering/Hospitality	M
Catering/Hospitality	F	Education (retired)	M
Catering/Hospitality	M	Library (retired)	F
Photography	M	Environmental charity	F
Construction (retired)	M	Environmental	M
Sales (retired)	F	Computer	M
Catering/Hospitality	M	Civil Service (retired)	M
Education (retired)	F	Engineering	M

D Timeline of Landscaping the Lake District

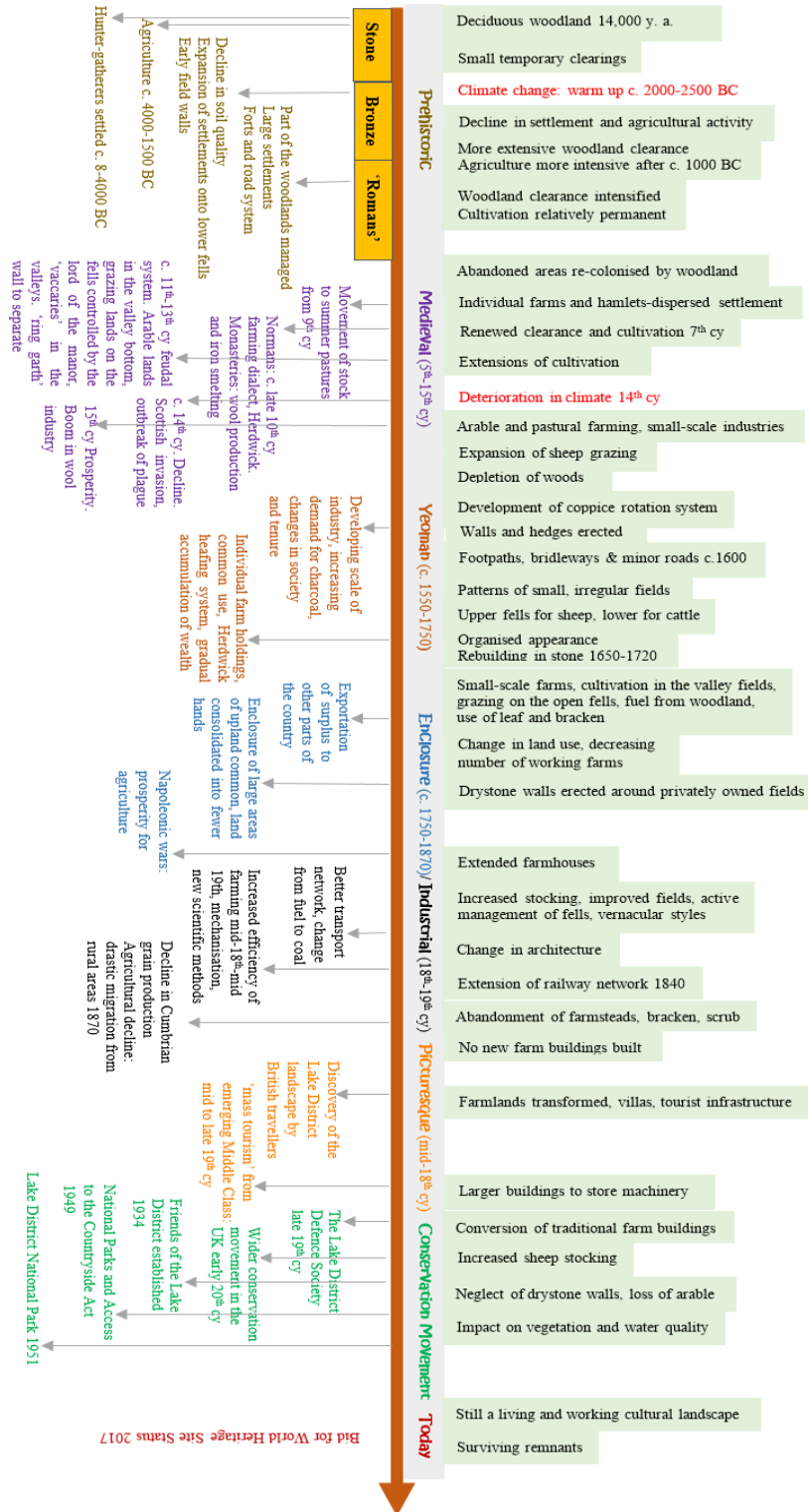


Figure 35. **Timeline.** Some of the most important historical events in landscaping the Lake District. Based on work undertaken by CBA in conjunction with J. Hodgson and J. Lund for the Outline Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Lake District Candidate World Heritage Site (2006). In: Chris Blandford Associates (2008) and Lake District National Park Partnership (2016b)

E Challenges of the Changing Landscape

Table 3. Changes and future vision of Troutbeck Valley mentioned by the respondents

Categories	Changes	Future Vision
Social Aspects	Reducing number of permanent residents Less working class people Less young families Less children Local school closed Diminishing dialect More holiday home/second home Unaffordable housing	Better range of ages Village to regrow Working village Encouraged housing Government action
Built Environment	Lime Fitt extension New houses Conversion/Renovation Changing style/character Grit footpaths	No new developments Post office Few more amenities Main drains Gas
Natural Environment	Seasonal changes Weather Patterns Flooding-landslides Trees planted Less red squirrel	More diverse landscape More wildlife Flood defenses
Tourism	More tourist Busier roads Pollution, erosion	Limitation
Farming	Number of sheep Type of sheep Less drystone wall More fences Diversification Technology	Balancing the number of sheep