

Extractive Geographies, immersive lives: performative explorations of labour and materialities in the southern Peak District

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On this early winter morning, the constant murmur of machinery is heard from the road and the thick morning fog does not seem likely to let up, hindering our drive to the quarry site from the administrative office.¹ Along the way, grey stone dust masks the surrounding woodland, including the shoulders of the road, creating a grey-white ribbon through the narrow dale. I am accompanied by Rick, the quarry manager, who will take me on a guided tour of the Longcliffe Quarries on the edge of Bonsall Moor. Nearing the site, I see the machinery ahead—four pairs of massive steel cylindrical tanks towering over the lorries. The thick fog slowly fades out to reveal an expansive opening, a vast and wide chasm, with vertical edges over twenty metres high. The multi-coloured upper strata change into layers of cream, followed by golden hues of orange with hints of deep red iron oxides. We are at the heart of the quarry, with the earth as its supplier. Noise emanates from all around us: the clank of diesel engines from lorries charging along the sides of the quarry banks, their tyres clipping the muddy road; chains rattle and conveyor belts hum as rock is carried from the floor of the quarry into giant hoppers and crushers; the sound of crushing and falling stone is heard throughout, echoing off the walls. The cream-coloured exposed rock displays the compressed eras of the ancient seabed that the region once was, millions of years ago. Thousands of fossils are embedded within the rock layers, each piece of calcium chemically combining to form the rock removed for transformation into the items of our modern life.

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'Alternate tellings'

As I am taken through this quarry, I realise that the southern Peak District is more than the romantic travel posters or nineteenth century paintings which so commonly portray this region. This quarry tour presents me with an alternate 'way of seeing' the landscape that moves beyond the Romantic spectacle of the landscape towards a more enacted one (Berger,

1972) — ‘one whose being is constituted in the unfolding practices that surround it’ (Rose, 2002). The landscape is alive with activity of humans at work, but also the activity of farm animals, trees, machines, and minerals from the earth. To understand it, I will need a different way to approach it, and argue that this rural landscape is enacted through socio-technical entanglements (T. Mitchell, 2004) between the practices of human labour and the agency of human and more-than-human materialities (DeSilvey, 2006). These entanglements are presented through the laborious practices of extracting, walling, milking, and transporting that make and remake the landscape, holding it together and tearing it apart (Swanton, 2013). Therefore, the landscape is constructed, not only as a final product, but also as flowing through a constantly ‘becoming’ landscape. I am able to identify the difficult and considerable labour required to ‘hold together’ (Swanton, 2013) the landscape, by ‘attuning’ (Stewart, 2011) myself to these practices with the aim of recovering the actions describing how a landscape is performed (Butler 2010). In turn, I argue that these entangled practices holding the landscape together expose a political economy of power, exclusion, and exploitation (Matless, 1997). Such relationships are exemplified by rural gentrification where extractive industries are removed for middle class recreational industries, the exploitative nature of agri-business on farm animals, and the loss of social housing and services (Howkins 2003).

I focus on three common practices of this landscape, quarrying, milking, and walling, exploring its material and human entanglements to understand the ‘alternate tellings’ that go beyond the rural idyll commonly portrayed through art as well as through the preservation policies and practises of local councils and heritage agencies (Peak Park, 2005, 2015; Drennig, 2013). In my ethnographic study of the region, I gathered stories from villagers and from my own experiences within the landscape; an ‘alternate telling’ of these stories is presented in this chapter, divided between theoretical sections and my empirical narratives of quarrying, milking and walling. Each narrative explores a theme of materialities and external relations of stone in the quarry, human-animal power entanglements in milking, and the continued exclusionary practices of land ownership in walling. I go about these ‘alternate tellings’ by approaching the historic mining landscape as an assemblage of practices and materials, rather than as a mere entity or set of representations.

Assemblage

Assemblage concerns the rethinking of relations between parts and their whole, understood as an emergent system in a state of ‘becoming’ that emphasises multiplicity and exteriority and connects a vast array of socio-spatial ‘components’ (Anderson et al., 2012; Dittmer, 2014).² In societal terms, it reconceptualises society from an ‘organismic’ totality to a ‘rhizomal’

collection of components that focuses on emergence, gathering, and dispersal (DeLanda, 2006) through their relations of exteriority, meaning that ‘component parts of a whole cannot be reduced to their function within that whole, and indeed they can be parts of multiple wholes at any given moment’ (Dittmer 2014). Therefore, the important aspects of assemblage are the *capacities* of components rather than their *properties* (Dittmer, 2014) because of the infinite possibilities of relationships made, not just by people, but from materials, events, ideas, words, and signs. This theoretical device is useful in that it emphasises the emergent nature of the relational exteriority and the relative autonomy of each part (Anderson et al., 2012), allowing each component to connect with a variety of other components. Assemblage in landscapes is an on-going study (Stewart 2014) that liberates the viewer/object relationship and opens the understanding of landscapes to an emphasis on processes of practices, actions, materials and ideas, rather than the landscape as the ultimate achievement.

Assemblage allows the landscape to be explored, not by *what* it is, but by *how* it is, focusing my thinking of landscape as a process and practice, constituted through the interacting ‘forces’ of things and the labour required to hold these forces in sympathy. Rather than viewing a laboured landscape as the outcome of work, assemblage sees it as the ‘effects of socio-material processes’ (Swanton, 2013). Therefore, assemblage thinking blurs the distinction between object and viewer that is present in the ‘spectacle’ of the landscape, exploring elements like provenance, gentrification, capital, and labour which are brought into being through the practices and materials of the landscape (Mules, 2008). This performative approach to the landscape allows it to be experienced corporeally through the actions of its dwellers and material interactions with the things we make, held in tension and ‘created in the face of all those working to transform it’ (Mitchell, 2003a). These attunements to landscape making (Stewart, 2011) are explored through an *unforgetting* of landscape in the relationships between narratives, materialities, and practices. I will demonstrate how these gazed upon and restored landscapes are constantly made, manipulated and altered, acknowledging the ‘workings’ of their past and present assemblages without a nostalgic view of that past, but rather by exploring the power and material relations created in the making of landscapes (Mitchell, 2008) where a different kind of remembering is performed.

Quarrying

The Longcliffe Quarry remains one of the last family-run quarries within the region. It forms part of the major holdings of Longcliffe Calcium Carbonates Limited, employing about 150 people from the local region. Founded by the Shields family of Isley Walton, it opened in 1920 as a small quarry in what then would have been the hamlet of Grangemill and is currently co-directed by Robert John Gillies Shields, whose grandfather operated the initial

opening and whose family now resides in Parwich Hall. The quarry is roughly triangular in plan, with the eastern end of the site plunging into the Via Gellia valley below, and sits on the immediate edge of the Peak District National Park, across the road from a caravan park.³

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

Tap tap tap tap tap tap tap....thump. TAP tap tap tap TAP tap tap tap....thump. Rumble. TAP tap tap tap tap tap tap....thump.....hum.

The stone is crushed, monitored, sorted, weighed, and chemically analysed for use in variety of products, including aggregate for road building, industrial mastics and fillers, animal feed, fertilisers for fields, and countless others. The influence of the stone from this one hillside is everywhere; at the same time, the land is being extracted of its physical creation. The millions of years that it took to create the rock, its solid form, is instantly decimated into a fine powder for our consumption.⁴

An air raid siren wails and is followed by a pause, announcing the imminent blasting of the rock. The blast goes off, yet nothing is immediately felt, as modern blasting is so controlled that most of the energy goes into splitting the rock and not much else; the siren, and its call, is thus only sound warning of the danger and destruction about to happen. Once the second set of sirens resonates, production continues in a ceaseless cycle. Although the quarry workers work only in daytime to remove the rock, the processors work non-stop at crushing and sorting, monitoring and analysing. The quarry is a living assemblage, continuous and ever changing, where the stone, conveyor belt, and weather can affect the way the quarry functions from one moment to the next. Today, the caller from the main office requests a half tonne of stone for construction; tomorrow, perhaps a need for limestone fertiliser will emerge. The quarry feeds the land and the people who work it. It is not just an assemblage enclosed within, but open to the systems of regional and national economies.

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The 'material' landscape

In this, the first of three stories, I focused on the entanglement of the machine, humans, and stone in how the extraction processes not only alter the landscape, but how the landscape enacts upon the population. This 'vital materialism' recognises that all types of things exert a kind of agency in the world (Butler, 2009). Used here, agency is more than the idea of free-will or the socially-determined capability to act and make a difference (Barker, 2003, p. 435); rather, it is 'the property of complex hybrids comprised of various strands of human and non-human materials (McMaster and Wastell, 2005; p. 175). Things are not just dead matter, but

engage in the world where the ‘materiality of things’ is an exercise in agency, matter, signifiers, and the philosophical applications of what make things, ‘things’.

Vital materialism sees things as actants with a differential agency towards each other (Bennet, 2010). They are active constituents in an assemblage where people, electricity, animals, rivers, wooden posts, and love come together to make the landscape (Bennett, 2010). This ‘vital materialism’ is key to understanding how materials are concerned with processes rather than with only the inert object. DeSilvey (2013) has explored this concept through her work on the ‘thingness’ of things, suggesting that objects embody our labour and the efforts of their places and understanding artefacts as a process rather than as stable entities (DeSilvey, 2006). This is exemplified by the deserted Montana homestead where remaining artefacts are as much engaged in a type of making as they were when in use by the people who left them behind.

This approach to materialities thus acknowledges that the landscape is a verb rather than a noun, and is much more than an aesthetic or visual representation but is instead a performance of materials and humans. In this exploration of things, I can reconstruct how the landscape is made; how materials, be they stone, milk, or cows, create the assemblage of landscape; form discrete assemblages within it, like a quarry; or form larger regional assemblages of human-animal-mineral entanglements. The landscape is such that these components engage one another to create a dynamic and living landscape; it calls out the way that the people of the rural landscape truly are a ‘people of things’, more about an insistence of the material basis of economic activities that shape landscape. They create the things for living, for making and engaging life. Through my exploration of things, I encounter how they slip from a final material to a raw material and to a new thing, or become waste moving through the land. Therefore, things are performing components within a landscape assemblage. In the following section, I explore a more intimate role of how mineral components become transformed within animals and milk.

Milking

I don my boiler suit, ready to take on the beasts, and approach the newly constructed milking shed, manure-spattered on the outside but clean within. A small anteroom, separated from the milking area by a sliding door, holds a sink and a large stainless steel tank of approximately 10,000 litres. Stepping into the space, an acrid mixture of bleach, manure, and milk permeates the crisp dark December afternoon air. Down the centre of a long concrete shed, with fluorescent lights overhead runs a large depressed floor, approximately half a metre below

the main level of the room. Overhead, a metal structure of pipes holds a network of tubes and hoses waits to come to life, reminiscent of a science-fiction scene. Ten milking stations in a row have their dangling udders at the ready. The room is empty; a faint sound of cows mooing comes from the back. The farmer and his daughter come in, wearing identical boiler suits that fit them easily and well. At once, the farmer begins to input a series of numbers into a control panel and a loud tumbling sound like pouring rice reverberates through the large pipes and into the hoppers below. At the same time, the herd—each one a sentient beast—appears at the far end of the room, their breaths as white puffs quickly warming up the space.⁵

Every day of the year, the dairy farmer must wake up and milk his herd. Every afternoon, he must do the same thing. There can be no rest, no holiday, and no time out. If a cow is not milked, she instinctively halts her production of milk until she delivers another calf, thereby, halting the farmer's livelihood until she gives birth. Our desire for milk places these animals, people, feed, and gates into a milk assemblage.

Ten at a time, the cows file into their stalls, rears facing the centre of the room and ready to be milked. Industrialisation and modernisation transformed the hand process into a mechanised hydraulic system of hoses and pumps. Once each teat of the cow's udder has been sterilised and prepped, a mechanical arm drops down with a tangle of hoses and four receiving cups. Approaching the beast from behind requires a certain type of finesse and composure. Too timid and the cow will not respect you, too forceful and she will resist. A certain gentle yet sturdy approach assures the cow of your intention, not to harm, but to extract her milk. And so, with the whooshing sound of a vacuum pump in the background, each cup is raised to its teat, and with a slight upward pull, latches on by suction. [INSERT FIGURE 2]

Thump, Thump, thump, Thump... the pumps suck on the cows' teats.

Milk begins to flow through the hoses up and over into the large holding tank in the anteroom. A constant pumping, sucking sound emanates from each machine attached to a cow, as if the entire shed has come alive—one milking giant. Each cow can provide from 8 to 11 litres of milk per milking. At two milkings a day, 365 days per year, that's about 7,500 litres per year, per cow. The process is repeated seventy times, ten cows at a time. Prep teats, attach, pump, and remove. One is constantly active, aware of the risk of excrement from the cows' rears or a kick from their hooves. As the final cow from the herd gets pushed through, the process does not end: the entire shed must be doused with water hoses to clean and prep for the next morning. This milking session lasted only an hour and a half; sometimes it's longer, sometimes shorter, depending on the size of the herd entering the shed. The action is

played out day after day, morning after morning. A natural process transformed into an ever-growing need for food and nutrition, animal turned into a machine for milk with its life altered to fit the needs of humans.

Dairy farming is an industry, like mining, or quarrying, although the perception of agriculture varies from pastoral to industrial. In the modern world, the industrialisation and mechanisation of farming creates a million pound industry with regulations, quotas, and subsidies. There are stresses in maintaining a farm: rearing animals, keeping them healthy, and maintaining the required product standards (Alpass et al., 2004). The farmer is a connector, a labourer, part of the landscape assemblage. Milking cows is one of many jobs here at the Slater Farm. There are fences and stone walls to be mended, fields to be tended and fertilised, a tractor to repair, and milk to deliver. Farmers face the hardships of modern life and struggle to maintain relevance in today's society. Either they are too small or too big. Rural groups are established to provide assistance by supporting the networks of agricultural activity. Farming creates a particular landscape, one of sheds, barns, and muddied pathways drives. The landscape assemblage is therefore maintained and held together by these everyday practices. They reinforce the actions of a proactive and highly maintained system, one that people expect but never see. The 'natural' placement of the cows is thus the outcome of a larger industrial process of milk.



A 'laboured' landscape

The idea of a socially-produced landscape, one that speaks to the groundwork of justice and labour (D. Mitchell, 2003) implies that a working landscape incorporates labour relations in its making and unmaking. I frame my argument of a laboured landscape through this understanding of social relationships and capitalist production, embedded within a cultural political economy (T. Mitchell, 2005). I propose that, with the assistance of assemblage thinking, I can bridge the social justice work of Don Mitchell with the cultural economic thinking of Tim Mitchell. Much of this stems from the work of Don Mitchell (1996, 2003, 2007) as well as other work on power and landscape (W.J.T. Mitchell, 2002) and political landscapes (Duncan, 1990), particularly the views of landscape and social justice, which are useful in uncovering hidden dimensions of labour within landscapes.⁶

According to D. Mitchell (2003, p. 245), landscapes are a 'social product, made and remade' by the people who live within them and the desire of other social actors to present them in their own view; therefore, a landscape is a social struggle between different actors who vie

over the way that it is produced and represented. This is exemplified by the Central Valley of California (Mitchell, 1996), which from afar, is a landscape of verdant agricultural cornucopia brimming with fruits and promise. Within the landscape, however, are migrant workers, trees, labour dealers, landowners, and their social struggles that created that verdant valley (D. Mitchell 1996). The landscape is therefore 'dead labour', representative of these relations as 'an outcome and the medium of social relations' (D. Mitchell, 2005), or the 'true' nature of the landscape where the landscape relations are typically 'a struggle, as well as one that impedes struggle' (D. Mitchell, 2003, p. 246). For example, landscapes produced through migrant movements not only are representative of a struggle (between worker and owner), but also conceal that struggle through technological innovations, agricultural subsidies, and labour supply from distant places. Therefore, a landscape of production is one where the processes of labour and power create the material objects of our modern world as well as the social relations of those processes, meaning who owns the means of that production, who sells and controls the prices of those materials, and what happens to surplus. Thus, what is useful about these socially contested relationships is that landscape represents the injustice in these systems and the recovery of the struggles within.

These relations of struggle and dominance between the people who make the landscape (proletariat) and the people who control it (bourgeoisie) express the power and control present throughout much of the capitalist landscape. This power, however, is not necessarily a dualistic idea of coercion and persuasion between a dominant and subordinate group. By engaging power and domination as 'working through novel methods of creating and recreating a world' (T. Mitchell, 1990, p. 573), power can be understood as a set of practices, complicating the struggles of capitalistic exploitation. This approach to power can be construed by 'enframing' (T. Mitchell, 1990), where a 'projectness' of capitalism is emphasised, represented by work that produces or stabilises particular capitalist social relations and evaluating how well they endure. Therefore, a capitalist society engages in a means of power and measures of administration to control efficiency and growth, transfer commodities, and support an ever-flowing network of goods, as well as those processes involved in power ensure exclusion and exploitation by physically creating topological barriers like walls and fences as well as politically creating abstract divisions within labour. Tension is inherent, not only what is produced, but in where it is produced, understanding forgotten or missed power relations. These can include the relations between builder and tool, familial structures, or the transformation of village dynamics.

Today, the landscape is contested and fought over by people who challenge, not only the existing extractive industries, but also the newer 'green' industries. A voice exists in the

community which strives to maintain a ‘dominant’ narrative within the landscape and is decidedly against the extraction of further minerals. Critics of the dairy industry cite its abusive use of animals as mere milk makers (Lund, 2006) by forcing cows to produce endless amounts of milk and raising calves to serve the same purpose. Fields are maintained for the sole purpose of feeding cattle and sheep, as the artificial nature of the fertilisation process keeps fields as mono-cultures and limits ecological diversity. These critics also view small farmsteads as antiquated and in need of efficiency and modernisation. Quarries are contested as they are too large and destructive to the overall landscape. Yet, over the last few pages, I have managed to show how interactively connected the quarries and the livelihoods of the farmers are to each other. Individual assemblages are linked through multi-scalar components, be it fertiliser from the quarry or the sustenance of milk to the quarry workers. In the following section, I explore a final narrative on walling to see how the stone not only becomes entangled within the human system, but plays a role in the practices of ownership and exclusion.

Walling

Stone walls are rarely rebuilt, but in the hill country— where it is known as a ‘farm for stones’— a stonewall is the physical embodiment of enclosure, the division of ownership and usefulness and physically represents the abstract lines of property that land owners create on their property deeds. Easier ways exist, however, of dividing a property, so many walls are nowadays in various states of ruin.⁷

The basic reconstruction of a wall is relatively straightforward. The existing wall is disassembled down to its foundation stones, which usually have moss on their surfaces, expressing the length of time that they’ve lain exposed. One side shows its age, whereas within the stone itself shows its creamy white limestone colour. In dry-stone walls, each stone is of a different size and shape, situated according to its place in the wall. No single stone is the same as another, and each takes a rough form: large ones, flat ones, round ones, jagged ones, and ones that need two people to lift. Each stone is representative of where it came from and how it got here, taken from the earth and placed with its brethren. Once sorted by type, however, each stone takes on a purpose in the assembly which creates the strength of the wall. Walls built without mortar are held together by the stones’ weight and friction, and a particular arrangement that locks the stones together in an intricate three-dimensional puzzle, running along the moor.

The wall is about 60 cm at its base and 15 cm at the top. The battered form confers stability and extra reinforcing if animals or people collide with it. A wall can be built to almost 160 cm in height, although this one is no more than 92 cm tall. The stones are laid in an interlocking fashion, larger ones at the bottom and slowly diminishing in size towards the top. At particular intervals, the level and plumpness of the wall is evaluated. Misalignment can cause collapse or simply a deviation from its proper course. It is also maintained to minimise material use. After laying stones all day, the efficient and effective use of the stones allows for maximum hold with minimal material use. Slowly the wall takes shape, with each stone laid, moved, re-laid, shifted, and finally set in place. Even then, it is not set, since there is no mortar to permanently bind the stones together; you can, theoretically, reconstruct the wall into whatever new form is desired. Perfectionism is not required, the end result is what matters. The construction of stone walls is an ancient tradition and form, stemming from Neolithic times, although their prevalence did not come into full effect until the early medieval period when fields closest to villages were enclosed to keep cattle and other livestock contained. Over time, many of these walls ossified with the ridge and furrow system within, creating long and narrow fields near the village centres. Today, ancient and early modern walls are defining features of the landscape. Construction of dry stone walls is nowadays a labour intensive process, limited to a set of skilled craftspeople. Studies in the Yorkshire Dales show the influence of drystone wall repair on local industries, craft skills, and the conservation of the environment (Courtney et al., 2007).

These walls are significant structures, ruined, moss covered at one end, or bright white in colour and marching across fields; they tell of the physical pieces of the earth, of the human hands that manipulated it. Stone walling is normally not used as a modern technique of livestock control, having been replaced by wood posts and barbed wire fencing. Entire fields have edges of stone with a barbed wire fence enclosure within, providing the means to protect and keep the animals within their fields. The ruined nature of the walls shows that many are not used and are simply allowed to collapse under their own disrepair. Groups exist who restore and reconstruct many of the walls; however, in reconstructing the walls, the image of the landscape is retained but their purpose is lost. As walls have become redundant due to changes in agricultural policy, the enclosures no longer represent any abstract thought of land ownership, as several people own the land parcels, negating the need for a large number of walls. I am reminded of Robert Frost's (1914, p. 3) poem, *Mending Wall*, where two men on a Spring day set about repairing the wall that separates their properties. The narrator explains why walls (or fences) make good neighbours, adding further:

Before I built a wall I'd ask to know

What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offense.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That wants it down.

In reply, the neighbour, reiterates that 'Good fences make good neighbours' (Frost, 1914). If the wall is maintained, its use is maintained; yet, when restored for the sake of restoration, the wall is merely an artifice of the picturesque and pastoral image.



A new political economy of the landscape

The relationship between dairy farmer, quarry, and waller may not be apparent, but in reviewing the processes and practices involved in the making of these activities, a new political economy in the landscape is encountered. This new relational approach to the landscape affords me a way to understand the mining landscape beyond class struggle, economic quantities, and historical materialist thinking towards an inclusive social awareness and socio-technical system of landscape making. I have illustrated how D. Mitchell's work considers Marxist social relations of landscape, while Tim Mitchell's work addresses the socio-technical relations of its production. These authors attune me to the landscape by allowing me to see and recount particular stories while analysing the formation of landscapes through labour, production, and the collaboration of diverse actants/materialities.

Although D. Mitchell's work encourages a relational approach to landscape production (2008, p. 34), where networks of production (and their maintenance) require our analysis, much of Mitchell's work lies in an interpretation of landscape at a purely economic foundation, where the landscape is a thing (e.g., dead labour) rather than something in process. Furthermore, this essentialist approach recognises a 'real basis' to the landscape (Mitchell 2008), whereby uncovering the real relations of production and social allows one to ascertain the true reason behind the struggle. Yet, these assertions may not always ring true. As assemblage thinking is about the relational acts, it is not limited to a confined idealisation of 'networks', incorporating not only the products and relations of labour and social and spatial politics, but the political and socio-technical potential of economics (Mitchell, 2008) or an understanding of how the politics of power endure (McCann and Ward, 2011). Thus, assemblage affords political and social justice a tool to expose the political 'becomings' of labour relations geography.

Therefore, this landscape is produced through its flow of capital, labour relations, supply of sites and technological improvements that influence its social interactions and struggles. A landscape of labour is generated through the creation and commodification of materials and products, as well as through the social justice of the women and men within the landscape (Mitchell, 2003). These relationships are key to how and why a landscape functions. This is the strength of Mitchell's work, a radical way of approaching the landscape; by diving deeply into the gritty and ugly side of social history and landscape, it focuses on laying the groundwork for social justice. Therefore, by bridging these two ideas of thinking of the landscape through a socially aware and materially relational aspect of production and consumption, I can take into account the performative aspect of the people, the material interactions, and the assemblages created within a political economy (Swanton, 2013).⁸ I have described the farmer who tends to his cattle and milks them to supply milk to the market as well as the implications of subsidies, agricultural quotas, and animal welfare. There exist also the larger production assemblages, like quarry workers slowly removing the earth who supply the lorry drivers, who bring the stone to the builders, who build our homes. These assemblages engage in vast collective relationships producing commodities in a capitalist society. In the last of the three narratives, I explore the practice of dry-stone walling and the connections of the stone to the demarcation and further appropriation of land use and ownership.

'Unforgetting' landscapes

From stone to fertiliser and cattle, to a bottle of milk and a stone wall connected to enclosures and control, the regional landscape as assemblage affords the unpacking of relationships between things and people. I am reminded that the working landscape is fleeting, that the impermanence of labour is constantly pushed and contested. The landscape's labour is forced to reconcile with itself and the needs of a greater society. The landscape is an assemblage, a social entity growing and changing—heterogeneous pieces each, a composite to act upon it. Yet, these constant movements find their stable entities, performed in the everyday practices that create routine (Butler, 2010) and stabilise the landscape assemblage. As Mitchell (2003) has suggested, the landscape is not constantly in flux, it is trying to find its 'structured permanence', practised through the relationships of the landscape. The walling that is a type of *unforgetting* is now a part of the spectacle and making of the landscape. Customs and practices remain constant after hundreds of years, while certain ones die and others are introduced. The labour practices of extracting, taking and removing is now transformed to other practices of rebuilding, service, and recreation. The landscape actively seeks its balance. Things change, yet this structured permanence of places that remain the same are what makes

the landscape. Thus, we return to the assemblage of the landscape. This ever-working place, connected and being connected, strives for permanence yet does not quite reach it.

In this chapter, I explored the entanglements of human and animal labour, exclusion, through enclosures and walls, commodities, through milk, and production from quarrying. I have shown how stone can be transformed from a block in the earth to fertiliser for fields, to be fed to cows that are manipulated for their milk, that is used to drink and make foodstuffs—a constant connection made across the landscape. It is a landscape connected to a larger network of regional and national development. The landscape is an interconnected place where goods and products are transferred and the exclusionary actions of enclosures and the abstract concept of land ownership are represented in dry-laid stone walls, enduring through its practice. Each stone, unearthed from the ground, is placed, altered, and changed into a piece of power and control. It says, ‘Do not cross!’, and keeps the commodities of cattle and sheep from infringing upon the rights of others’ land., the same cattle who come every day to be milked in order to supply our desire for dairy products. Milk is used to make hundreds of products, yet keeps the cattle living a life where they are forced to produce every day and the farmers’ livelihood is threatened by development and ever-increasing regulation. The laws that maintain and manage the quarry are, at the same time, supplying the aggregate and fertiliser needed to maintain fields for the cows to feed on and produce milk for our consumption.

Each assemblage changes accordingly as regional places grow and shrink their connections across the landscape which transforms with them. Their paths or lines (Hodder, 2012) are engaging in different relations, at times ‘gathering’ in nodes (Ingold 2007) to pass the materials along, as is the case of the fields where the stone, cows, people, and fertiliser all are bound together in the practise of farming, walling, and lamping, making this particular landscape endure. This landscape works by showing how intricately connected seemingly separate thoughts and stories are to the functioning of society. It also demonstrates how a landscape works, and how its interconnectedness processes products from a block of stone to the builders, the quarry, and the manager. These players are constantly working to make the landscape.

There is the siren in the background, like a beacon in the distance, reminding me that the landscape is laboured and is not a sanitised pastoral place or spectacle to be viewed from afar. It signifies an active and destructive place—it is extraction at its purest form. The siren calls out in defiance against the rural idyll it must fight. As I have shown, the land is connected through the constant pressures of the spectacle and production at odds with each other. The

rural landscape is contested, and within this contested element there exists a desire to see it develop into one form or another. The working landscape also strives to remain permanent in an idealised set of agricultural processes, yet is altered to a modern service-based society. As I have shown, the landscape is vibrant and alive with the practice of landscape making; however, in that making, there exist growing tensions, exclusionary and exploitative practices in the commodification of materials, and social inequality. Through comprehension of how those tensions are held together, we can begin to seek the interconnected nature that labour and material practices have on the landscape with vastly different outcomes.

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¹ The sound of the works from the immediate vicinity is monitored, and the local caravan park maintains that it does not have any noise concerns, but on Bonsall Moor the workings can be heard

² Examples of assemblages include systems like power grids (Bennett, 2005), steel plants (Swanton, 2013), as well as abstract networks like neoliberalism (Collier, 2013) and geopolitics (Dittmer, 2014).

³ The many quarries of the region lie just outside the boundaries of the Peak Park, including the larger examples on the outskirts of Buxton. Many of these quarries, including Hope Quarry in Castleton and Birchover, were founded before the creation of the National Park. Their regulation is mired in a hazy assemblage of planning laws, ancient mining customs, land policies, and financial kickbacks.

⁴ The exploitation of the earth is expressed here, and assumed to be a part of the expected order of things. People want, and perhaps need, the stone to construct buildings, feed their cattle, and fertilise their fields; this is the best result and use of the land.

⁵ The cow is bred to constantly produce milk. To do so requires it to be in a reproductive state, or in a feeding state to its young. Her udder can contain a limited volume of milk and, since the calf is not there to suckle, it must be drained to make room for more milk. The cow is a component of a human-animal assemblage of breeding, killing, and feeding, set within a larger system of economic policy, agricultural subsidies, and traditional animal husbandry techniques (Yarwood & Evans, 2008).

⁶ His work on Johnstown (Mitchell 1992) was a critique of the sanitation of labour struggles via the creation of heritage museums, which in course has occluded much of the contestation of the town. His review, however, drew much critique from the heritage sector (Miner and Burkett, 1992).

⁷ Research on dry stone walling is limited, yet some ecological benefits to the surrounding environment by the niche that drystone wall creates have been demonstrated (Collier, 2013).

⁸ Swanton's work is inspired by the ethnographic work of Buraway (1989) in his *Lenin Steel Works of Hungary*.