Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes The Differentiated Construction of Landscapes

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RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft

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Springer VS

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Im Zuge des „spatial turns“ der Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften hat sich die Zahl der wissenschaftlichen Forschungen in diesem Bereich deutlich erhöht. Mit der Reihe „RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft“ wird Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern ein Forum angeboten, innovative Ansätze der Anthropogeographie und sozialwissenschaftlichen Raumforschung zu präsentieren. Die Reihe orientiert sich an grundsätzlichen Fragen des gesellschaftlichen Raumverständnisses. Dabei ist es das Ziel, unterschiedliche Theorieansätze der anthropogeographischen und sozialwissenschaftlichen Stadt- und Regionalforschung zu integrieren. Räumliche Bezüge sollen dabei insbesondere auf mikro- und mesoskaliger Ebene liegen. Die Reihe umfasst theoretische sowie theoriegeleitete empirische Arbeiten. Dazu gehören Monographien und Sammelbände, aber auch Einführungen in Teilaspekte der stadt- und regionalbezogenen geographischen und sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung. Ergänzend werden auch Tagungsbände und Qualifikationsarbeiten (Dissertationen, Habilitationsschriften) publiziert.

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RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft
ISBN 978-3-658-04283-7 ISBN 978-3-658-04284-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015936336

Springer VS

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer VS is a brand of Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden
Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden is part of Springer Science+Business Media
(www.springer.com)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The origins of this book lie in a conference exploring linkages between increasingly multi-cultural societies and landscape. Most of the chapters derive from contributions made at that conference. We, the editors, believe that the collective expertise and experience of the individual contributions outweighs the thoughts and analysis that we as editors can bring to this topic. Our aim has been to ensure that the individual contributions are clear in their description, analysis and discussion; and that the story told in this volume, as a whole, adds up to more than the sum of its individual parts.

We are grateful to the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) for their financial assistance for the conference on Multicultural Landscapes. Our greatest debt of gratitude is to the individuals who put much effort into writing and revising book chapters. Our thanks also go to Neville Williamson (Kassel) and Christina Göttel (Saarbrücken) for reviewing individual contributions, and for improving our use of the English language. For her support and enthusiasm for the project, and for assisting in giving birth to this book, we thank Franziska Bernstein ('Franzi'). All were a pleasure to work with.

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Diedrich Bruns is Full Professor and chair of 'Landscape Planning and Land Use' at Kassel University, Germany. He has 30 years of experience of planning practice and research. Current teaching and research interest are in participatory planning methods, particularly with respect to inclusiveness and early public involvement.

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Dr. **Antje Schönwald** works as a scientific employee on the institute of geography at the Saarland University in Saarbrücken. Research priorities: (Biographical construction of) Landscape and Wilderness, Identity, Hybridity, Demographic Change.

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Prof. Dr. Em. **Marc Antrop** is geographer at the Department of Geography, research unit Landscape Research, University of Ghent (Belgium) and member of the National Committee of Geography (Academy of Sciences), vice-president of the Royal Committee for Protection of Monuments and Landscapes in Flanders and member of the Belgian Scientific Committee of ICOMOS-IFLA. In 2003 he received the Distinguished Scholarship Award of the International Association for Landscape Ecology (IALE) and was proclaimed in 2007 doctor honoris causa at the University of Tartu (Estonia). His research focuses on landscapes and is holistic, integrating landscape typology and evaluation, landscape ecology, historical geography, landscape perception and landscape architecture.

Benedetta Castiglioni is Associate Professor at the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World of University of Padova (Italy). She is lecturer of Geography in the degree course of Planning and Management of Cultural Tourism. Her approach to landscape focuses on analysis and evaluation methods and on the relationship between people and landscape (social perceptions, participation, education, evaluation, Landscape Observatories), following the national and international debate which has developed after the European Landscape Convention entered into force. She coordinated the research project LINK (Landscape and Immigrants: Networks, Knowledge, 2009-2011). She is member of the Regional Landscape Observatory's Scientific Committee.

Gianpiero Dalla-Zuanna is Full Professor of Demography and Statistics in the Department of Statistical Sciences of the University of Padova (Italy). For many years he has studied foreign immigrations to Italy, with particular attention to the analysis of the destinies of second generations. His major works in this field are: Nuovi italiani. I giovani immigrati cambieranno il nostro paese? – New Italians. Are young immigrants changing our country? (with Patrizia Farina and Salvatore Strozza), il Mulino, 2009, the first national sampling survey on the children of foreign people living in Italy; Just a matter of time? The ways children of immigrants become similar (or not) to Italians (with Giuseppe Gabrielli and Anna Paterno), Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 2013. Since March 2013, he is senator of the Italian Republic.

Alessia De Nardi is Junior Research Fellow at the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World of University of Padua (Italy). In 2010 she earned a PhD degree in "Uomo e Ambiente" ("Human and Environment"; XXII cycle) at the Geography Department of University of Padua. Her main research interests concern the role of landscape as a "mediator" between people and place, with particular attention to how migrants develop sense of belonging to places. Among her publication there is "Il paesaggio come strumento per l'educazione interculturale" ("Landscape as a tool for intercultural education"; 2013), a text which explores the potentialities of landscape in intercultural educational activities.

Professor Dr. **Robert William Dixon-Gough**, retired in 2009 as a Lecturer and Researcher from the University of East London. His principal research activity since 1980 has been in the general field of Land Management, which encompasses a holistic view of the land and all the actions and activities, past and present, that potentially influence the sustainability of this finite resource. His particular interest is in cultural landscapes and land drainage. His research activities have principally been funded through external grants and he has been an active collaborator in a number of European Research Projects and has close links with many European universities.

One of the recent activities was his role as the UK representative of the Management Committee of the EU-COST/EFS Project, "Modelling Real Estate Transaction" http://costg9.plan.aau.dk/. He is also an active member of the European Academy of Land Use Development (Zurich) and was the originator and Editor-in-Chief and the Ashgate Publications Ltd. "International Land Management" book series. Since 1978, he has been the author of over 100 scientific publications on cartography, remote sensing, and land management and has written, co-written, edited and co-edited 15 books – the majority of which are in the field of sustainable land management.

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Furthermore, he is the author of more than 100 scientific publications on cultural landscapes and environment development as well as the editor and co-editor of several monographs on cultural landscapes protection, as well as a partner in several international research projects in this discipline.

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Dorothea Hokema is Associate Professor at the Technische Universität Berlin, Department of Landscape Planning and Development since 2007; Landscape planner in various planning consultancies for 12 years.

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Jala Makhzoumi: architect, ecological landscape planning. In research and teaching, Jala adopts a holistic approach that mediates community needs with ecosystem health, biodiversity protection and landscape heritage conservation. In practice, she applies a landscape development framework to rural development, postwar recovery, and sustainable urban greening. Jala is affiliate faculty at the American University of Beirut. Her publications include Ecological Landscape Design and Planning: the Mediterranean context, co-author Pungetti (Spon, 1999) and The Right to Landscape, contesting landscape and human rights, co-editors Egoz and Pungetti (Ashgate, 2012) and Horizon 101 (Dar Qonboz, 2010) a reflective collection of paintings and prose on landscape and identity.

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Maria Gabriella Trovato is Assistant Professor in the LDEM Department. Her most recent research focuses on Urban and Peri-urban landscape in the Middle East and North Africa exploring approaches to understand the transitions taking place and their multiple drivers and impacts in order to design strategies of interventions using the landscape as a medium to interpret and propose innovative approaches to the design of urban spaces.

She has worked in a number of countries including Italy, Morocco, Tunisia and Canada, and was lead partner in EU-research programs.Actually she is Principal Investigator for AUB in the ENPI CBCMED grant 'Development of Landscape Character Assessment as a tool for effective conservation of natural heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean- MEDSCAPES, 2013/2015, and in the AUB grant 'Landscape Atlas for Lebanon'.

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Na Xiu, BAgr and MAgr in Landscape Architecture in Northwest University of Agriculture and Forestry, PhD student in Landscape Architecture in Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.

PhD project is developing green networks in urban area and the comparison between Scandinavian and Chinese green network for sustainable solutions. Green network is a concept that will be introduced and developed considering connectivity of cityland from network analysis perspective. I am also interested in landscape architecture history in China and European countries especially how sustainable city learn from landscape history.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Introduction, content of this book, research perspectives, previous work

1.1

Diedrich Bruns, Olaf Kühne, Antje Schönwald and Simone Theile

1.1.1 Understanding landscapes multi-culturally: An emerging field of study

Landscape dimensions of cultural exchange and mixing are complex; and they are in a continual state of flux. Migration is at the basis, for example, where ever cities develop a multi-cultural ambience and identity. Migration may also result in tensions and clashes of cultures, for example between different ethnic communities, between old-timers and newcomers, between different life-styles during neighbourhood gentrification, and so on. Different cultures develop different ideas of what is a good environment and what people like and dislike in their surroundings. For example, some people like natural areas and desire wild places, while others regard such places with horror or detestation (Buijs et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2011). Researchers and practitioners must address questions how people from different cultures perceive and value their surroundings, and how people's surroundings have potentials to meet the varied needs of different cultural groups. The next challenge is for landscape designers and managers to respond to research findings: material landscapes and built environments are physically fixed and, "as a witness to and embodiment of a society, invariably lag(s) behind the more fleeting gauges of cultural norms" (Rishbeth, 2004: 312). Perceived landscapes are "always changing carrying forward the threads of the past and weaving them into the future" (Stephenson, 2008:135).

Until recently, research that investigates relations between people's surroundings, people's appreciation and perception of their surroundings, as well as migration and society has been scarce and fragmented. Regional research traditions and sectoral approaches vary considerably, reflecting, for example, different conceptualisations of migration, space and landscape (Kloek et al., 2013). Integrated, trans-disciplinary and multi-cultural landscape research is a developing field. Apart from some singularly relevant references (such as the seminal work of Tuan, 1974) only a few evidence-based studies on culturally specific landscape concepts (Olwig 2002; Gehring 2006; Küchler/Wang 2009; Taylor 2009; Drexler 2013) and on landscape values exist. Some researchers have made attempts to link spatial and landscape preferences to cultural specifics (Zube/Pitt 1981; Wypijewski 1999; Makhzoumi

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_1, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

2002; Rishbeth 2004; Dömek et al. 2006; Ueda 2013). Multi-cultural research appears to have been triggered mainly by the need to solve practical problems, problems that arise when policy makers and planners are called to consider culturally specific spatial needs. Examples include the design and management of public space (Rishbeth 2001; Gobster 2002; Özgüner 2011) and the integrative-catalytic role public space and parks may play (Shinew 2004, Müller 2009, Seeland et al. 2009, Peters et al. 2010). A relatively strong research field has developed around ethnicity, leisure and recreation. Reviewing five major leisure studies journals Floyd et al. (2008) found that 5 thematic relevant contributions appeared during the 1970s, 23 pertinent papers were published during the 1980s and 66 during the 1990s, and numbers continue to grow. Additional review papers have been published as well, for example by Stodolska (2000), Stodolska/Livengood (2006), Gómez (2006), by Goossen et al. (2010) and by Kühne (2013) as well as by Bruns/Kühne (2013).

Just a hand full of cross-culturally versed scholars has gone beyond answering practical landscape management questions and to develop a theory basis. Some researchers have, for example, been interested to learn whether people from different cultures share place preferences and a preference for certain features that exist in their every-day surroundings (Newell 1997). Such fundamental landscape knowledge would be informative regarding the way people from different cultures value different areas and environments (Deng et al. 2005). In this context it would be important to learn which landscape values guide people when exhibiting cultural specifics while engaging in every-day activities (such as walking, bicycling, and so on). Cultural specifics may relate to what "one does" and what "one does not" in public, and these specifics also relate to the degree of individualism and collectivism that any given social context affords. For example, for adults to collectively engage in dancing in public is considered a "thing to do" in Argentinian and Chinese cities, and the places where this happens are socially valued. As people and ideas migrate, landscape values may gradually filter into other areas of the world, and it would be important to know what they are and what they include.

1.1.2 Content of this book

In this book an international group of scholars and practitioners is offering entries into cross-cultural understandings of landscapes. In 2013 the members of this group took part in an international conference in Kassel, Germany. Hoping to better understand thoughts that are currently being developed on relations between different usage of space, landscape preferences and the perceptions of everyday environments this conference brought researchers from several culturally diverse regions and from different areas of knowledge together. The conference aim was to *review research approaches and methods pertinent to understanding links between space, society and cultural background*. Scholars examined different landscape concepts and a collection of cases from around the world, and they made suggestions for research in the emerging field of multi-cultural landscape studies. The following chapters include contributions made during the Kassel conference, addressing inter-cultural landscape changes as well as cultural trans-formations that authors observe to occur in different urban and rural landscapes. Concepts and theories of landscape are the subject of this introduction and of chapters 1 and 2. Chapters 3 and 4 offer insights into a variety of multi-cultural settings where researchers have identified culturally specific landscape uses, and different forms of inter-acculturation (for example, when members of one cultural group start adopting particular beliefs and behaviours of other groups). In chapter 5 authors are comparing landscape perceptions and preferences of migrants and non-migrants in multi-cultural environments. Authors of chapters 6 and 7 are discussing ideas and perspectives on education and research.

In **chapter 2** Olaf Kühne summarises understandings of landscape found in German linguistic areas. By providing an overview of interacting cultural, psychological and geographical factors of landscape preference, Marc Antrop, introduces international concepts of landscapes and a pertinent theory basis. In **chapter 3** authors present regionally specific landscape concepts. Dorothea Hokema discusses US-American layperson's constructions of the term landscape that appear to be determined more by a specifically North-American history of ideas and less by particular physical environments. With no direct translation for the term 'landscape' available in the Japanese language, Hisako Koura, points at the importance of "Landscape Literacy" as a foundation for the operationalization of the concept of "Good Landscape" that was recently introduced into Japanese legislation. She also discusses some of the difficulties for people to reach a common understanding of what a "Good Landscape" is and how limits of acceptable landscape changes might be established, for examples by way of good governance. Cuttaleeya Jiraprasertkun discusses Thai conceptualizations of 'space', 'place', and 'landscape', and illustrates how Thai people, lacking the term 'landscape' in their language (as all of the Asian cultures do), use several common-language words to signify the many social dimensions in the formation of Thai space and place. She raises several critical questions regarding the applicability of Western concepts and design theory in Non-Western landscape practice. "Borrowed or rooted" is also the question with which Jala Makhzoumi introduces her discourse of 'landscape' in the Arab Middle East. She identifies differences in urban cultures, where 'borrowed' (since colonial times) conceptions of landscape may exist, and, on the other hand, rural cultures where a more 'rooted' conception of landscape prevails. Makhzoumi explains the spatially explicit and linguistically layered conception of the 'rooted' village and house/garden landscapes which, in contrast to 'borrowed' concepts, is engaging socially and also environmentally sustainable. A culturally rooted conception of landscape can inform and inspire the perceptions of architects, urban designers, planners and administrators.

Since migration processes contribute to changing environments and their perceived values, it is important to try and understand how migrants and non-migrants appreciate existing and newly encountered surroundings. It might also be important to discuss how long established segments of societies perceive and cherish landscapes that are being altered through migration and immigration (physically, symbolically, in meaning, etc.). Authors of **chapter 4** are studying existing environments and their use by immigrant communities. Anna Höglhammer, Andreas Muhar and Thomas Schauppenlehner present the 'Wienerwald Biosphere Park' in Austria as an example of how to study different aspects of immigrant's outdoor recreation. It appears as if a number of distinct socio-economic factors (including leisure time available, mobility constraints, etc.) are causing barriers to outdoor recreation that Turkish people consider to be more relevant to their every-day environmental experience than ethnic-cultural differences. Tracing landscape values back to cultural-historic roots, Fatma Aycim Turer Baskaya (Istanbul) discusses different open space activities of immigrant communities. She compares how Turkish migrants use and perceive urban open space in Kassel, Germany and Istanbul, Turkey.

Inter-acculturation in multi-cultural settings, and in territories in transition, is the subject of **chapter 5**. Using Beirut as a case example, Maria Gabriella Trovato explores how people with different cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds contribute to transforming the space they are using. While creating new landscapes that become expressions of their culture, different communities are contributing to the fragmentation of a city-scape that (due to unrest and war) lost much of its former collective identity. Tourism may change landscapes and landscape values as well. Tourism is a particular form of temporary migration and in many instances, as in the Mediterranean region, tourism is a significant economic factor. Aikaterini Gkoltsiou explores how tourism, in addition to forest fires and urbanisation (and other developments), has been a driving force for Greek people to develop a new landscape consciousness, one that is at least partly based on a kind of reconstructing of Greek landscape nostalgia. Since tourists' perceptions rely heavily on media, literature and advertising, mentally constructed Greek and tourist concepts of Greek landscapes differ greatly. Tal Alon-Mozes presents examples of National Parks that have, with the emergence of a multicultural society, changed their role from nation building to community building. Individual park sections maintain complex relationships of competition, compliance and indifference and they are designed and managed in order to address the needs of various communities that belong to different cultural groups. Using Poland as an example Józef Hernik, Robert William, Dixon-Gough and Michał Uruszczak (Kraków) are exploring how migration is leaving spatial imprints and, in the course of history, each new culture contributes to shaping existing cultures while immigrant cultures are integrated at the same time, thereby adding value to resident communities.

Migrants' and non-migrants' perception and preferences are the subjects of **chapter 6.** Na Xiu conducts a study based on European-Asian cultural cross-referencing. Using examples from Sweden, she explores perceptions of Buddhist landscape elements in an otherwise non-Buddhist environment and she discusses interconnections between landscape values, religion and culture. In an explorative study in the Veneto region (Northeast Italy), Benedetta Castiglioni et al. have started to identify integrative-catalytic qualities of landscape, linking physical characteristics of places and meanings attributed to them. From their research the authors understand landscape as reference in the processes of building individual and community identity. Introducing the term "ethnic landscape", Johannes Gnädinger at al. are investigating perceptions of cultural landscapes by different ethnic groups, and also by visitors (tourists) in Romania. Awareness of cultural and landscape diversity might be raised, even by conducting such studies, and regional identities strengthened.

In chapter 7 Kristin Faurest and Ellen Fetzer are offering an approach to multi-cultural education. To develop a deep understanding of the differences in concepts and perceptions of landscapes that exist between different cultures, is considered an essential professional asset. For landscape experts it is important to be sensitive regarding such cultural variations. Based on a number of teaching exercises, the authors are offering an overview of landscape concepts. They are explaining the structure, learning objectives and learning tools of a university programme.

Taking processes of cultural hybridization as a starting point, Antje Schönwald discusses research needs and strategies. In **chapter 8**, she explains how research may, in the past, have been limited by a narrow nation-fixed scope, and how the dynamic nature of landscape changing perceptions may become more apparent when cultural progresses are conceptualised and their landscape relations studied. She offers thoughts on how to develop multi-cultural research into hybridity oriented research. Future landscape research should incorporate current concepts of hybridization.

1.1.3 Research perspectives

The authors of this book discussed perspectives for future multi-cultural landscape research. During their meeting they were asking which the most urgent and the most relevant questions might be that need answering, and which methodological lessons could be learned from the contributions made to the Kassel conference. First of all, in order to adequately re-construct and model culturally diverse life-worlds[1], **multi-cultural research should and must be trans- and interdisciplinary**. Discipline specific logic and patterns of explanation ('déformation professionelle') may be explored, critically reflected and put into relation with one another. The theoretical foundations for future research in multi-cultural landscape research are gradually growing, but much work needs to be done here as well (Kloek et al. 2013). In addition to the overarching concept of hybridisation (see below and Schönwald, in this book) spatially relevant ethnic and migration studies for example may, as a start, consider the concept of 'selective acculturation' (Keefe/Padilla 1987), a model that several scholars believe warrants further testing (Stodolska 2000, Stodolska/Livengood 2006, Arends-Tóth/van de Vijver 2007). It might also be profitable to relate culturally grounded landscape perception and value studies on a number of people-environment-models, such as 'place attachment', 'sense of place' and 'place identity' (Jorgensen/Stedman 2006).

Researchers are challenged not only by different culture and landscape concepts; they also have to try and overcome simplified and diffuse understandings of process of culture and cultural dynamics. In addition, researches must consider that physical and conceptu-

1 The world as immediately or directly experienced in the subjectivity of everyday life, as sharply distinguished from the objective "worlds" of the sciences. The life-world includes individual, social, perceptual, and practical experiences. (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/340330/life-world; 15/12/2014)

alised landscapes are changing while cultural (and general demographic) transformation is occurring at the same time, all influencing one another. In most landscapes, in cities in particular, we find **hybridisations of cultures while people and values are constantly mixing and exchanging** (for example, during gentrification of neighbourhoods). It is important, therefore, for researchers to focus on people's every-day lives and surroundings. By doing so one may find, for example, how outdoor places prompt migrant's cultural memories. A sense of 'personal fit' to places of residence can reflect trans-national identities and a sense of continuity over different life stages (Rishbeth & Powella, 2013; Tschernokoshewa 2005, Marjolein et al. 2012). Long-time residents might, on the other hand, experience a sense of loss as social and physical surroundings are changing while newcomers are settling in (introducing, for example, collectivistic lifestyles where individualism used to prevail). A question that needs answering is, for example, how processes of cultural hybridisation might be included into landscape research. Hybridization may also relate to disconnections of culture and territory, including linkages between land and landscape, how intangible and immaterial culture affects (landscape) artefacts. In urban and rural landscapes the main functions are different (urban: housing, industry, infrastructure, recreation; rural: land use, housing) different kinds of problems for and among multicultural groups might exist or arise.

The idea and suggestion is, for multi-cultural landscape research, to **take the socially constructed landscape concept as a starting point**. Landscape and culture are not simply essential and positivistic entities; landscape and culture evolve in social contexts. People who belong to different cultural groups will, to a certain degree, share group specific landscape preferences and values. Since people may belong to different cultural groups at the same time (ethnicity, age, life-style, etc.), a **careful social contextualisation of multi-cultural research** is all the more important. In addition to methods and tools that are commonly used in qualitative and quantitative social research (such as interviewing people), the authors of this book have developed ideas that might be employed in tackling hybrid and dynamic multi-cultural landscape studies, including author-based photography (e.g. Trovato), auto-photography (e.g. Castiglioni), tourist advertising material (e.g. Gkoltsiou; Alon-Mozes) and Concepts Maps (Faurest/Fetzer).

In many instances where mapping, sketching and photography are not sufficient language based communication is essential. However, when people are asked to communicate in non-native languages they might find it difficult to properly express beliefs and values, and to make any other but utilitarian judgments (Martin et al. 2013). Costa et al. (2014) suggests that such challenges stem from the "reduced emotional response elicited by the foreign language, consequently reducing the impact of intuitive emotional concerns". Researchers who are using languages must, when studying landscapes multi-culturally, try and overcome the increased psychological distance of people who are using a foreign language. Terms such as 'Landschaft' and 'landscape' provide additional communication challenges by being used with specific professional connotations (by landscape experts) that are lacking in every-day use of common languages.

Research questions that were discussed but go beyond the scope of the Kassel conference include the following:

1. **Western vs. non-Western[2] cultures[3]**: What are the diverging concepts, perceptions and preferences of landscape in different regions and cultures of the world? In this research field the idea is to investigate divergences between "Western" and "non-Western" concepts, perceptions and preferences, particularly including cultures that originally communicate (about "people's surroundings", "space", etc.) without using "landscape" words. "Colonial" processes of introducing "landscape" words and values may serve as starting point.
2. **Layperson vs. expert; insiders vs. outsiders:** How to achieve inclusiveness in planning and action that relates to or affects landscape (what people give value to in their surroundings, and what kind of values are these?). How might trans-cultural communication be achieved in planning and action that affect landscape, people's surrounding, space, etc.?
3. **Landscape as by-product vs. landscape by design:** What are the culturally specific understandings of landscape and landscape change? Are landscapes (people's surroundings, space, etc.) mainly thought of as by-products of (general and every-day) human action and interaction with existing artefacts and with nature, or are they thought of as resulting mainly from premeditated and deliberate intervention that follow people's design (Including, for example, agricultural land reforms, urban development, urban parks).
4. **Individual ownership vs. landscape as common good**: A field of tension exists – in different ways in different cultures – between personal ownership (of areas, real estates, etc.) on the one hand, and the common-property quality of landscape (people's surroundings, space, etc.) on the other hand. The roles the law and legal system play (in planning land use and landscape awareness raising and conservation) are different in different cultures.

There is a considerable knowledge gap that needs filling. This gap may best be described as the cultural construction of space and landscape, including the values that people from different cultures perceive in their every-day surroundings (also to be considered are values of expert-cultures in relation to every-day cultures). Wanting to fill this gap is not just a scholarly whim; it is of great political interest considering the strong attention that is being paid, by the media and the public in general, to the variety of spatial and landscape manifestation of migration and immigration in particular.

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2 Alternative suggestions include "Globalized vs. local culture" and "Western vs. regional culture". "Non-Western" was chosen as a term instead of "Regional", "Globalized", etc. Both "Western" and "Non-Western" cultures encompasses many different regional cultures, each with very different concepts of landscapes.

3 A distinction may be made between societies with and without [the concept of] landscape (see: Yves Luginbühl (2012) La mise en scène du monde: La construction du paysage européen. CNRS Éditions, Paris.

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Results and Perspectives of the Conference "Landscapes: Theory, Practice and International Context"

1.2

Olaf Kühne

In February 2012 the conference "Landscapes: Theory, Practice and International Context"[1] was held in Otzenhausen, Germany. This was a precursor to the Kassel Conference of 2013. One aim of the Otzenhausen Conference was to reflect on current landscape concepts, and also to explore relationships that exist between landscape theory and practice.

Conference discussions mainly focused on social constructs of landscape. In many cases, it appeared, landscape research has a tendency to be conducted by ways of using discipline specific approaches. For example, soil, geomorphology, vegetation, visual appearance, settlement and land use patterns, and so forth, are usually examined by using mono-disciplinary approaches and they are also evaluated separately from one another. Such segmented landscape studies are diametrically opposed to the principle of conceiving landscape holistically. The segmented paradigm is specific to particular discourses and usually linked to specific cultural contexts (including disciplinary and regional research traditions). The segmented paradigm also corresponds to an evolution of thought that initially emerged in Western culture and later spread globally. However, holistic understandings of landscape may still be found, on the one hand in non-Western cultures, on the other hand in the world of non-landscape experts, even within Western societies. If and when ever the humanities and sciences are dissecting landscape, even though they are generally perceived as entireties, this must be considered as a fundamental dilemma, one that urgently needs addressing. It was suggested, during the conference, that it might be high time to start relaxing the hitherto mono-disciplinary discursive priority about landscape and also include more members of the so-called general public.

Conference discussions continued by pursuing ways of operationalizing landscape concepts that lead out of the landscape fragmentation dilemma. To start with, landscape planning approaches were analalysed that build on a model which claims to conceive landscape holistically but, at the same time, divides landscape thematically, representing each theme in so called "layers" (McHargh, 1969; Fabos and Caswell, 1977). This approach

1 Results of the conference were published in early 2013 in the eponymous book; the German title is "Landschaften: Theorie, Praxis und internationale Bezüge", edited by Diedrich Bruns and Olaf Kühne.

is thought of, by their authors and proponents, as a holistic kind of operationalizing landscape that is useful for planning purposes. The result is a, however, a selection of only those parts of landscape which are easily operationalized, while other parts are not, including most of the intangible aspects of landscape. If landscape is made available, to landscape planning, management and research, in such utterly reduced ways, only the selected and "useful" parts may be described and analyzed by employing seemingly 'objective', empirical methods (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). Epistemologically, this understanding of landscape as a physical object is based on the Cartesian invention of the dualism of mind and body. This notion is formative for Western thought and implies the belief in a world that exists independently and outside of the human mind; it is recognizable as an inter-subjective reality. This world is dominated by functions and structures which can be recognized as objective truth through scientific methods and uniquely described by a normalized language (Glasersfeld, 2001; Soja, 2005; Passoth, 2006): "We know some truth about the world, when what we know is in conformity with the nature of the world. This common-sense understanding of science can be found everywhere."

As mentioned above, the segmented understanding of landscape, and the approach associated with the dividing of landscape into thematic layers, have both spread globally (The McHargh textbooks are recommended to all landscape planning students everywhere around the world; all environmental assessment studies employ the layered model which also found its way into environmental legislation). The segmented landscape understanding and approach contrasts with traditional understandings of landscape, and with the way of how humans relate to space that surrounds them. For example, in Japan and China existed, before the time of Western thought entered their cultural realm, the notion of landscape in terms of an "overall impression of the world in its entirety" as well as "the perceived environment" (Ueda, 2013; Zhang, Zhao, Bruns, 2013). The practice of dividing and reducing landscape does, however, only allow for a patchy recognition of what planners and scientist understand as landscape. For example, in many Western countries, we possess extensive and accurate knowledge about plant and animal species and their habitats whereas we have relatively little knowledge about cultural or social contexts. Hence, landscape assessments are based mainly on selectable and seemingly clearly determinable structures and functions. Where intersubjective verifiability exists, mainly among experts, it is ultimately nothing more than what may be called a *déformation professionelle*, a subject-specific "expression of shared, collective belief systems" (in the sense of Ipsen, 2006). These rely on codified standards (policies, laws). These standards, in turn, are the result of expert specific discourses (see Kühne, 2008).

According to conference discussions the European Landscape Convention (ELC) may provide opportunities for returning to an everyday-world approach to landscape (Council of Europe, 2000). In Article 1a the ELC defines "landscape" as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors". Three dimensions are significant:

1. Landscape is defined as "area" and relates to a nameable spatial unit.
2. This unit has a specific character that results from interactions of natural and cultural factors.
3. An area is understood as a landscape when it is understood and valued by people as a landscape.

This understanding of landscape points far beyond reductionist interpretations. The character of a landscape can correspond with its perceived atmosphere (Kazig, 2013), its form (Prominski, 2013) and/or people's sense of belonging (Kühne, 2013a). Landscapes provide a variety of 'anchors' (Hartz, 2013) for regional and national identity (Mels, 2013). They also offer the possibility of constructing completely 'new' landscapes (Kost, 2013). In addition, landscapes offer resources of regional value (Hartz, 2013). These are examples for a paradigmatic change in landscape understanding, and this change relates to a new theoretical perspective. This change manifests itself in a shift from essentialist and positivist ideas towards constructionist ideas (Kühne, 2013b). Constructionist ideas refer not to "any intentional act, but a culturally mediated, preconscious process" (Kloock and Spahr, 2007). In the social construction of landscape, culturally-bound and socially mediated interpretations are referred to. Landscape becomes a cultural image. It is a pictorial way of representation through which people's environments are ultimately structured and symbolized (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988).

The relevance of cultural contexts regarding the construct of 'landscape' is evident in many ways, for example when appreciating the great variety that is found in Western, Northern and Central European landscape terms (Schenk, 2013; Drexler, 2013; Mels, 2013; Kost, 2013). While most Europeans may describe much of what they perceive in their environment as landscape, Chinese, Japanese and Thai people use, in order to convey similar meanings, a great number of different words with very specific content. Outside of the Germanic languages family the word 'Landscape' has hardly any every current day and secular equivalent. The term may therefore be useful only in jargon, but is thereby deprived of its rich semantic field (Hard, 1969). Even in Western culture, significantly more weight is placed, when using the word landscape, on the social than on the physical environment (Kühne and Spellerberg, 2010). People define space mainly based on its social characteristics (Bruns, 2013). This is reminiscent of early northern European landscape concepts (Schenk, 2013; Mels, 2013). Attempts to integrate social characteristics and human relationships into landscape-related planning do exist (Kucan, 1997; Swanwick, 2006), and a new mainstream me be developing. It remains to be seen whether it ultimately might be desirable to also attempt and start venture beyond the Western "technological" gaze (Hauser, 2013),one which is controlled by the central perspective, and to consider non-Western perspectives in landscape studies and practice. This open question provided one of the starting points of the Kassel Conference.

There is much work to be done. One challenge is that landscape experts and planners are caught up in dense networks of basic world views, in socio-cultural formations, and they are bonded to their profession and the discourses to which they somehow belong

(Kühne, 2008). The variety of specific understandings of landscape reflects the sectoral "systems of institutions" (Gailing, 2013) involved in spatial planning. Conventions prevail about what is desirable among experts. Such conventions appear as self-evident. Peers may deprive those of social recognition who move outside of them (Kühne, 2008). One particularly interesting case example is the current wilderness debate in Central Europe where no wilderness has existed for centuries (Schönwald, 2013).

The ELC offers one way of overcoming the dichotomy between the landscape construct of experts and the landscape appreciation of so called laypersons. If landscape is understood as an expression of what people associate meaning with and give value to in their spatial environment, planning must seek consistent explanations for area-bound value backgrounds. The conference discussions lead to recommend a turning away from positivist, expert-based planning. This turning away may be recommendable, on the one hand, because laypeople and experts construct landscape differently (Kühne, 2013), and on the other hand, because such approach would better respond to requirements of transparency of value systems used in planning (Gailing, 2013; Hartz, 2013). It is crucial, for research and for planning, to involve as many interpretations as possible into future developments in landscape research and planning. Approaches that are open to different interpretations would allow for far greater social legitimacy than those that currently prevail – and all too often to not find public acceptance (Sailer, 2013).

Another challenge relates to the question how to address idealizations of historic landscape images that interfere with forward-looking landscape management. Ideological idealizations are noticeable, among landscape researchers and planners, despite of the dismal conditions (poverty, hunger, war, high taxes, abuse by overlords) that prevailed during the times (18th and 19th centuries) when many historic environments evolved that now serve as reference for vision statements of, say, "diverse" and "rich" landscapes. Current landscapes and landscape development, such as sub-urbanized areas, post-montane and post-industrial areas, agro-industrial areas, 'energy landscapes', etc. offer little resemblance to images of "traditional cultural landscapes" (Hauser, 2013; Hartz, 2013). Most traces of historic environments have been eliminated and where they still exist, heritage stewardship and careful conservative management is needed (for a number of preservationist reasons). The ways through which legacies of long gone landscapes continue in constructing modern myths is astonishing. Alternatives to museumisation strategies might be called "permanent transformation" strategies (Kost, 2013 the example of the Netherlands). Such strategies were discussed during the conference, in order to raise awareness of when and how "new landscapes" evolve. In addition, planning for new landscapes can consistently be done, creating and taking advantage of ecological, economic and social win-win strategies. Conference attendance were aware, though, how seemingly insoluble the dilemma of sustainable development continues to be, when assumptions must be made about the needs and requirements of yet unknown future generations, while, in spatial and landscape planning, assumptions about the future of the human environment are based on knowledge of current trends and historical developments.

Another point of discussion was how the tendency of Western thought to construct dichotomies can be found in terms of landscape. This also relates to the dichotomous separation of culture and nature (Fuller, 1988). Nature implies the original and good, contrasting with the artificial and even the destructive that is associated with human society. However, nature is also considered the "wild and threatening, which is tamed for the protection of society" (Groß, 2006). Nature also has the meaning of offering a "counter experience to the sphere of cultural meaning" (Seel, 1996) and provides a balance to the sphere of culture (Seel, 1996). The scholarly constructs of the natural landscape and the cultural landscape are thus an expression of dichotomous thinking. From the perspective of nature conservation "an original harmonious natural landscape is being increasingly shaped by human intervention" (Sieferle, 1999). The justification of such a polarity can be difficult to make: No space constructed as landscape is unaffected by humans; for example anthropogenic carbon dioxide impacts even the remotest corners of earth. On the other hand, even objects that are views as being utterly man-made, such as nuclear power plants, are composed of elements of natural origin.

To take a constructivist landscape perspective, as was recommended during conference discussions, means identifying and deconstructing discursive dominance in landscape studies and planning. Constructivist perspectives also allow for taking ways that lead away from the ideologic idealization of historic environmental conditions (examples: Franke, 2013; Stakelbeck and Weber, 2013). Planning which is to follow constructionist considerations should operate with the following principles:

- Landscape has social importance and is characterized by every-day life references. People construct landscapes in every-day environments based on various social and cultural backgrounds.
- Elitist landscape discourses and the use of idealized landscape ideas as reference states must be overcome, mainly because of their unfortunate impact on landscape practice and also because of their culturally (Western European and North American) and socially (expert) limiting boundedness.
- Every-day aesthetics are to be taken seriously and made transparent.
- Social needs must not be considered of having less value than expert knowledge; specialist's activities in idealizing certain landscape images and, in doing so, receiving recognition from other experts must be made transparent (Franke, 2013).
- People who are dealing with landscape must become more sensitive of power issues. Discourses of and about landscape are power-related discourses. They are characterized by the struggle over discursive priority and the opportunity to manifest one's own needs in physical space (Kühne, 2013).
- Landscape must be open to redesigning images rather than constantly reproducing old ones.
- In dealing with landscape, contingencies must be considered, as the construction of landscape depends significantly on social and cultural variability. Landscape must maintain versatility in interpretation.

- Creative suggestions should provide the basis for design discussions (Prominski, 2013). Landscape and architectural designs should reflect the images that exist in the 'minds of people'.
- Landscape is a combination of different levels of scale. Local, regional, national and global developments influence each other. Therefore, different planning scales have to be integrated (Hartz, 2013).
- Plans and projects shall be assessed by making reference to emotion, atmosphere and a 'laypersons'' sense of beauty. Whereby the physical basis of landscape is mostly under private ownership, landscape as a synthesis is seen as a common good, constructed according to socialized patterns of interpretation (mostly influenced by aesthetic consideration; see also Gailing, 2013; Sailer, 2013). This relationship is associated with various conflicts.

From the discussions reported on above, glimpses become clearer as to where further research for a future approaches to studying and managing landscape might be found. A detailed work-up of activities set in interdisciplinary and cross-cultural contexts will be important. Such contexts become increasingly important in a world characterized by globalization and migration. Thus, it will be a particular challenge for culturally sensitive landscape research to consider cultures not as essential, but as in a continuous process. Cultural hybridizations multiply the already diverse patterns of landscape interpretation, so that the reflection of culturally differentiated constructions of landscape may not be limited to the construction of more or less uniform cultures. This is only the beginning of a new research process.

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Chapter 2
Concepts of Landscape

Historical Developments

The Evolution of the Concept of Landscape in German Linguistic Areas

2.1

Olaf Kühne

2.1.1 Introduction

Symbolic worlds of meaning – including 'landscape' – can be understood according to Berger and Luckmann (1966) as products of society. These are connected with history. In the German-speaking world, landscape, as such a symbolic world of meaning, has a large "semantic court" (Hard, 1969) of "associations, emotions and evocations" (Hard, 2002) as a result of its more than thousand-year evolution (for details see Müller, 1977; Piepmeier, 1980; Eisel, 1982; Kirchhoff and Trepl, 2009; Schenk, 2013). Because of this long history, the social construct landscape has been greatly stereotyped (see Kühne, 2008). The development of the scope of landscape in the German linguistic areas has some parallels to developments in other European languages (especially English, French and Dutch). It is also influenced by peculiarities, which had significant impact on the subject of the scientific understanding of landscape, worldwide. In this paper, important moments in the development of the German concept of landscape are presented.

2.1.2 Etymological origin and political regionalization

The first part of the word 'Landschaft', 'Land', has four dimensions of meaning: 'Land' as a state or legal territory, as the buildable surface of the earth, as the mainland (as opposed to sea) and, in German, as a contrast to the city to mean countryside (Schenk, 2013). In the Germanic languages the word landscape is one of the derivatives of the '-skapjan' ('-scapes') words. These derivatives are characterized by a relatively uniform range of meanings. This includes the meanings of shape, form, texture, nature, condition and manner. The substantive '-scape-' derivations describe something that belongs together. These related things are created through human activity (German: 'schaffen', English, 'shape'; Haber, 2007).

The word 'Lantscaf' appeared in the early 9th Century (Gruenter, 1975). In Old High German, the word referred to something "that has the quality of a larger settlement area

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_2, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

in most cases" (Müller, 1977). As a designation of persons or groups of persons, it had a basic meaning of the usual behavior in an area and social norms of the residents living there. Landscape, however, was not defined by an exact delimitation or directly related to spatial units. In the following centuries, the meaning of the "social norms in one country" changed to the meaning of the "country where such norms are valid" (Müller, 1977). During the 12th century, this meaning was complemented by a political component. Landscape was conceived as a politically and legally defined space. This was a constitutive part of a larger political unit (Müller, 1977). In addition, the people of a region that had the right to political activity (not the farmers) were summarized as "representatives of the whole landscape" (Hard, 1977). In the High Middle Ages the concept of landscape included an area managed and controlled by a city (Müller, 1977). In the Late Middle Ages, the term 'landscape' referred to a precise expression of human laws and legal institutions (Olwig, 1996).

2.1.3 The constitution of the aesthetic landscape: from landscape painting to landscape as an aesthetic physical space

Artistic representation is an essential commonality of the European construction of landscape. However, the Western aesthetic construction of landscape was not a continuous development. The aesthetic design of spaces, as it was created in antiquity, was not continued in the Middle Ages: Instead of dealing with the mundane world, "the divine was to be expressed in works of visual art" (Büttner, 2006). Representations of spaces in paintings have, in this case, the function of the realization of the place of the action, such as water and riverbanks in Christopher representations (Erb, 1997). Also, the realm of eternal bliss was "not uncommon in the representation of a heavenly landscape" (Büttner, 2006). Paradise was often staged in front of a gold background. Not until the Renaissance was landscape painting developed as an independent discipline (Schenk, 2013). Thus, an essential form of social conception of the type of an ideal landscape was created, exemplified by the work of Claude Lorrain (Riedel, 1989).

In an effort to build on ancient traditions, "the trip to Italy became an integral part of the education of artists from north of the Alps" (Büttner, 2006). The landscapes, "patched-together in imaginary patterns in the studio" (Burckhardt, 2006), illustrate the creative process of "schaffen" (English: shaping; Olwig, 2008). Thus, the painting was the "pacemaker for our vision and our scenic experience" (Lehmann, 1968). The expectation induced by the painting was transferred to physical spaces. 'Landscapes' were 'discovered' in physical space as inspiration for landscape painting (Schenk, 2013). This meant the beginning of the reification of 'landscape'. Thus, the expression ascribed to Alexander von Humboldt that the "total character of a part of the earth" (Hard, 1970) exceeds the visual-aesthetic aspects of landscape. The imputed 'character' of an area is no longer restricted to the aesthetic appearance.

In the societies of Central and Western Europe, the Renaissance was similarly fundamental to the social construction of landscape. In contrast, the Romanticism era was particularly intense in Germany. This happened as a result of opposition to the forced industrialization and the Enlightenment, and in a longing for unity in politically fragmented Germany. The Middle Ages were especially romanticized. Following the thought of Novalis, the castle was a symbol of "the search for the lost time in the mirror of one's own childhood and that of the human race" (Safranski, 2007): a time, therefore, in which "faith and love had not yet been replaced by knowledge and possession" (Safranski, 2007). In the Romantic Era, landscape enjoyed "its highest appreciation" (Hohl, 1977). Mythological and historical content "extended the concept of 'landscape'" (Hohl, 1977, see also Piepmeier, 1980). For the Romantic painters – particularly Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) – painting was no longer merely a question of artistic practice, "but one of the inner, moral and religious constitution of the artist" (Büttner, 2006). At the same time a literature was developed, which described land and people (as Droste-Hülshoff; Freigrath and Schücking). This literature made a significant contribution to regional and national education processes (Behschnitt, 2006): One's own region or nation is described in terms of its natural and cultural characteristics, so that it becomes socially available as something diametrically opposed to other regions and nations (Lekan and Zeller, 2005). Thus the concept of landscape evolved into a medium of social criticism in the German Romantic and Biedermeier eras.

2.1.4 The contrast between city and countryside

Aestheticized scenic views were developed in particular by educated, mainly urban-dwelling people, in Europe. These educated city dwellers had the necessary economic and social distance from the rural spaces, where they located landscape (among many: Ritter, 1996). This distancing of the citizenry was due to the emancipation of rural space as a place of daily work in the field and from the threat of crop failure. For the urban dwellers, constructed landscape received a compensatory significance: Due to the organization of everyday life in the urban context, the need arose for an immediate confrontation with what was considered as natural (Ritter, 1996). Bätzing (2000) links the view of landscape with the social differentiation of industrialization. The world of industrialization was characterized by increasingly complex work processes and the emergence of different professions. But the world remained "at least on Sunday, at leisure, a holistic experience in the form of the 'beautiful landscape'" (Bätzing, 2000). Landscape, understood as non-city, receives a connotation of freedom: "What drives the townspeople out of doors and into nature is merely to escape the social constraints, the social and spatial narrowness of the city" (Kaufmann, 2005). The romantic aestheticism and emotional attention to landscapes can be understood as a re-enchantment of nature, which was disenchanted by the Enlightenment. The aesthetically mediated construct of landscape beyond the city limits becomes the expression of good and true life in harmony with nature and the 'natural' social order. The idea of landscape was transferred into a conservative political program through this anti-democratic perspective of the counter-Enlightenment and Romanticism (Körner and Eisel, 2006).

2.1.5 The transfer of scenic norms: Landscaping

Landscape was not only seen in physical spaces. With the spread of the English or landscape garden, physical spaces were redesigned based on the principles developed in landscape painting, even in Germany (see Apolinarski, Gailing, Röhring, 2006; Spanier, 2008). The French garden can be seen as a symbol for the rigidly defined society of absolutism in its geometric structure. The English garden, however, is associated with the idea of freedom (Bender, 1982). The English Garden is – in the sense of the Enlightenment – the symbol of "a better future society" (Burckhardt, 2006). In this society, people free themselves from the shackles of the absolutist order. The people reclaim their inherent fundamental rights (Olwig, 1995). The North American plants, often associated with landscaped gardens, experienced a special appreciation (Küster, 2009): "That which came from America was seen as a metaphor of freedom, especially after the Declaration of Independence of the United States." The idealization of the English garden as an expression of the longing for harmony between man and nature (Spirn, 1998) is not devoid of irony: The nature of the English Garden is cultivated "in accordance with the vital needs of the people" (Seel, 1996). In Germany, the urge to transform physical space according to the ideas of an English landscape garden was implemented in the second half of the 18th Century by Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1764–1800) with great consequence. As a follower of the Enlightenment, he sought to achieve a unity of aesthetics and economy following the English model (Hirsch, 1995). With the goal of contributing to the ethical and aesthetic education of the population, he planned to convert his entire principality into a garden kingdom (Haber, 2005).

2.1.6 Cultural landscape as home and landscape as an ecosystem

An essential component of the 'semantic court' of the current concept of landscape is introduced by the concept of cultural landscape. This concept, originally developed in the mid-19th century, goes back to the conservative folklorists and social theorist Wilhelm Riehl (1854). This construct postulates an inextricable link between people and landscape (Eisel, 1982; Lekan and Zeller, 2005; Körner and Eisel, 2006). Ernst Rudorff (1994 [1897]) picked up on this concept of a strong linkage of nature and culture in a cultural landscape and developed it further to a modern critical approach to local cultural heritage conservation ('Heimatschutz'). Like the Romantics, he distanced himself from the abstract rational faith of the Enlightenment, the formal individualism of liberalism ('everyone is equal under the law') and the economic calculus of increasing efficiency in industry. He developed a historical and political philosophy "of concrete reason and qualitatively richer individuality" (Körner, 2006), which led to the idea of 'monadic places', scenic wholes of individual physical-material space (of the earth's surface) and cultures. The big city was the symbol of the loss of the cultural landscape rooted in the home. The city was considered a place of great egalitarianism, "in which people are jumbled together and there is no trace of nature" (Körner, 2006). He demanded testimonies of local history, in order to permanently root the people in their traditional cultural landscape. He also denounced the use of machinery in agriculture. Rudorff thereby founded an anti-modernist (and anti-urban) tradition (Knaut, 1993), which is characteristic for large parts of German nature conservation to this day. This concept of landscape can be described as essentialist. The basic idea of essentialism is the "assumption of the existence of essential and accidental properties of things" (Albert, 2005). The essence of the landscape is therefore essential, based on a regionally specific unit of culture and nature. Change, in the context of modernization, is regarded as accidental (see Kühne, 2013).

The comprehension of landscape as a concrete physical space with a separate nature as a result of a certain combination of culture and nature, typical for German landscape research, became a basic global understanding of landscape research. Therefore, it was Carl Otto Sauer who brought this understanding to Berkeley, from where it spread in the United States over Japan to China, where until now, traditional understandings of the relationship between man and space are being marginalized (Küchler and Wang, 2009; Ueda, 2013; Kühne, 2013).

With the unification of Social Darwinism and Nazism the cultural landscape ideal, originating from the local cultural heritage conservation ('Heimatschutz'), was modified and abused to an exclusivist ideology: The conservative idea of the 'unity of land and people' had been reinterpreted with the 'blood-and-soil' theory and racism and technological euphoria used to propagate the expansionist ambitions of Nazi Germany. From this perspective, the 'German cultural landscape' has been interpreted as a reflection of the 'superiority of the Nordic race' (Trepl, 2012). Here, dichotomies were constructed between "'German and fertile' and the Slavic 'desert' or 'wilderness'" (Blackbourn, 2007). This 'wasteland' concept was based on the idea that "these landscapes, created by Germans, had been neglected under Polish regime" (Fehn, 2007). Accordingly, the areas in the "wild east" were the subject of the fantasies of landscape architects, regional planners and politicians: Using technical superiority, these spaces should be transformed into 'German cultural landscapes' (Blackbourn, 2007; Fehn, 2007; Trepl 2012). "Undeniable affinities" (Blackbourn, 2007) about these excesses also existed between the local cultural heritage conservation ('Heimatschutz') in Germany and National Socialism. Both shared "an affect against big cities and 'cold' materialism, made unbridled liberal capitalism responsible for the threat to the beauty of the landscape and shared a whole series of spontaneous dislikes including being against concrete as a building material, which was declared as non-German, advertising posters, which blight the image of rural areas and the planting of alien trees and shrubs" (Blackbourn, 2007).

Even after the war, the conservative interpretation of patterns persisted in nature and heritage conservation movements. These were especially directed against Communism and lifestyles seen as American. However, this interpretation of landscape was in the 1950s and increasingly since the 1960s, in competition with a gradual greening and the rise of the importance of the natural scientific perspective (Blackbourn, 2007). The semantics of nature conservation has now been coined in place of protecting the homeland ('Heimat') by the protection of species, ecosystems and biological communities. The epistemological basis of the ecological approach is positivistic. Landscape is understood as an ecosystem-viewer-independent physical object with structures and functions, which can be captured through empirical methods and defined in a 'neutral' and 'objective' manner (King, 2002).

Positivist landscape research is based on the observation and abstraction of individual phenomena by the "inductive generalization of collected observations of the mind" (Eisel, 2009). The growing importance of the natural scientific perspective of nature conservation is occurring without the complete abandonment of the concepts of local cultural heritage conservation ('Heimatschutz'; Körner, 2005): "The specific diversity of species and habitats continue to play a central role in the assessment of habitat types" and for characteristic landscape features and the beauty seen therein. This dual approach is therefore contradictory: The construction of landscape as the synthesis of nature and culture was invented "merely as an alternative to science and, thus, rationally accessible nature" (Weber, 2007).

2.1.7 Landscape and post-industrialization

As shown, a romanticizing of the rural landscape took place during the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. In the time of transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society, a romanticizing of the industrial landscape has been demonstrated. Old industrial objects are, nowadays, symbols of a "simple, hard working class life" (Vicenzotti, 2005). This symbolic charge includes, on the one hand, following the evaluation scheme of the simple, hard and communitarian country life of the transition time from agrarian to industrial social order, on the other hand, it represents a response to the de-standardization and fragmentation of post-industrial society (Kühne, 2008). These traditional models of interpretation and aestheticization of the era of industrialization are again used and transformed. Old industrial urban landscapes "associate baroque ruin aesthetics with decaying blast furnaces and memories of the picturesque garden of the eighteenth century" (Hauser, 2004). In a romantic tradition, ruins symbolize doubts about the success of progress (Trigg, 2009). They are connected with elements of classic park design, as Chilla (2005) notes with the example of the Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord: "The park elements and diverse plants used alienate the old industrial heritage, add visual value, while at the same time making it usable for recreation." With the abandonment of the industrial uses of these objects, they undergo a connotative recoding whereby the former functions remain latent (see Dettmar, 2004; Bold, 2008).

The ability to aestheticize old industrial objects can be brought in connection with the extension of the concept of landscape in the German language area. No longer are rural cultural landscapes solely able to be understood as landscape. This extension of the landscape perspective (Apolinarski, Gailing, Röhring, 2006) to include the urban can be interpreted as a connection of German landscape research to the international debate, which has often discussed the idea of vernacular landscapes. Also, in terms of the theoretical consideration of landscape, German-speaking landscape research is beginning to approach the Anglo-Saxon. Increasingly, constructionist perspectives are also being taken into the German research. Its basic position lies in the recognition that landscape is not an awareness of an external, analytically determinable object (as in positivist understandings) or an organism with its own essence (as with essentialist understandings), but a socially produced and mediated construct (among many: Kühne, 2008; Wojtkiewicz and Heiland, 2012; Kost, 2013; Schönwald, 2013). This construct in the German language is the result of the development process of the concept of landscape, described here. With an opening to the constructivist perspective, German landscape research is now also sensitive to questions of power (Bruns, 2006; Kühne, 2008).

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2.2 Interacting Cultural, Psychological and Geographical Factors of Landscape Preference

Marc Antrop

2.2.1 Introduction

The concept of landscape implies continuous interaction between natural processes and human activities and between natural regions and social communities. Moreover, landscape is the manifestation of this interaction people can experience. This experience is holistic, dynamic and complex and implies perception and preference as well as mental constructions, symbolism and affection. Gestalt-principles apply here. Landscapes are the combined manifestation of the natural and cultural variety in the world in space and time.

In this article, I will discuss some aspects that contribute to the mental construct of the landscape affecting the way we experience it. I will focus on cultural and psychological factors that are important in landscape studies in different disciplines showing that an inter- and trans-disciplinary approach is necessary to understand and manage our landscapes.

2.2.2 The Concept of Landscape

Origin and multiple meanings

The word "landscape" originates from Germanic languages. One of the oldest references in the Dutch language dates back to the early thirteenth century and 'lantscap' ('*landschap*') refers to a land region or a specific environment (Antrop, 2013). It is related to the word 'land', meaning a particular territory, but its suffix –*scap* or -*scep* refers to land reclamation and creation as is also found in the German '*Landschaft*' ('*schaffen*' = to make) (Zonneveld, 1995) or also to the English –*ship* pointing to a relationship (Olwig, 2002). In the 16th century the concept is broadened and includes a historical region or territory as well as the visual aspects that characterise it. The shift in meaning from 'organised territory' to 'scenery' is obvious. Olwig (1996) argued that landscape "needs not be understood as being either territory or scenery; it can also be conceived as a nexus of community, justice, nature, and environmental equity". Thus, landscape is also the scene of action and an expression of human ideas, thoughts, beliefs and feelings.

The (oldest) territorial meaning of landscape refers to a rather fuzzily bordered space where a local community lives and where customary rights organise the relations between people and the assembled 'things' that form the landscape (Olwig, 2013). The creation of centralised (national) states and the privatization of the (common) land transformed ancient territories into administered regions with sharp formal borders and customs became written laws.

Fig. 2.2.1 The Hay Harvest of Pieter Breugel (1565)

The fictive, 'European' landscape represented here is a composite of detailed elements painted realistically. We recognise isolated farmsteads (1), a green village (2), the village windmill on a ridge marking the border of the territory (3), a walled town (4), a fortress or cloister on a rock (5). The landscape contains many woodlots and hedgerows and the method of pollarding trees is shown in detail (6) (inset). The land use is mainly hay land, which is questionable as this land use mainly occurred on wet alluvial soils (as in 8) and was not common on higher terrain and sloping ground as depicted in the foreground. At the foot of the rock systematic land reclamation with enclosed fields can be seen (9). The local flora is shown in the foreground. (oil painting on wood, 114 x 158 cm, Národní Gallery, Prague) (after Antrop, 2007)

Luginbühl (2012) discusses the intimate relationship between society and landscape, following Berque's theory of two types of societies: one with the notion of landscape and one that has no notion of landscape. The latter only has a pure utilitarian or symbolic relation with the land and is incapable of contemplating the landscape. Societies with the notion of landscape contemplate the land resulting in various artistic expressions and representations. The earliest more realistic representations of landscape in pictorial arts in the Western world only date back to the fifteenth century (Vos, 2000). They emphasise the visual character and scenery and clearly express contemplation and symbolic interpretation (Fig. 2.2.1).

The implementation of the rules of perspective and the development of cartography also allowed reversed ways of representation: projecting landscape elements in a bird's eye view on a map and projecting sketches and paintings on the terrain to create new artistic landscapes which made William Kent state that English garden architecture was just 'planting paintings'.

Subtleties of language

In common language, the word landscape has multiple meanings which also vary among languages (Fig. 2.2.2). For example, the German '*Landschaft*' focuses on the territorial meaning, while the English 'landscape' mainly refers to scenery. An interesting subtle difference is found between American and British English. The American concept of 'landscape' was borrowed from the German *Landschaft* in the sense of territory homeland of a community and not from the English landscape as scenery (Cosgrove, 2004). In old Nordic tradition, 'landscape laws' were landscape specific frames for regional land use regulation and covered a legal connotation. The French '*paysage*' refers to the characteristic appearance of a 'pays', a characteristic region with deep social and historical roots. A similar meaning is found in all Roman languages. Subtle differences also exist in Slavic languages where landscape is often closely related to 'land' or 'soil'. The Modern Greek word for landscape ('*topío*' τοπιο) derives from '*topos*' meaning 'place' (see Gkoltsiou in this volume). The Western way of perceiving landscape as an aesthetical view of the countryside does not exist in cultures of the Middle East, nor does its meaning as a territorial unit. There is, for example, no word for landscape in Arabic and in original Turkish (Makhzoumi, 2002).

A variety of concepts associated with landscape, such as 'countryside', 'campagne', 'region' and 'terroir', make the picture even more complex. It is not surprising that landscape approaches are very broad and not always clearly defined. Most interest groups dealing with the same territory of land perceive different landscapes. Consequently, different perspectives of research and actions are possible. To clarify the applied meaning, adjectives were added to the word landscape.

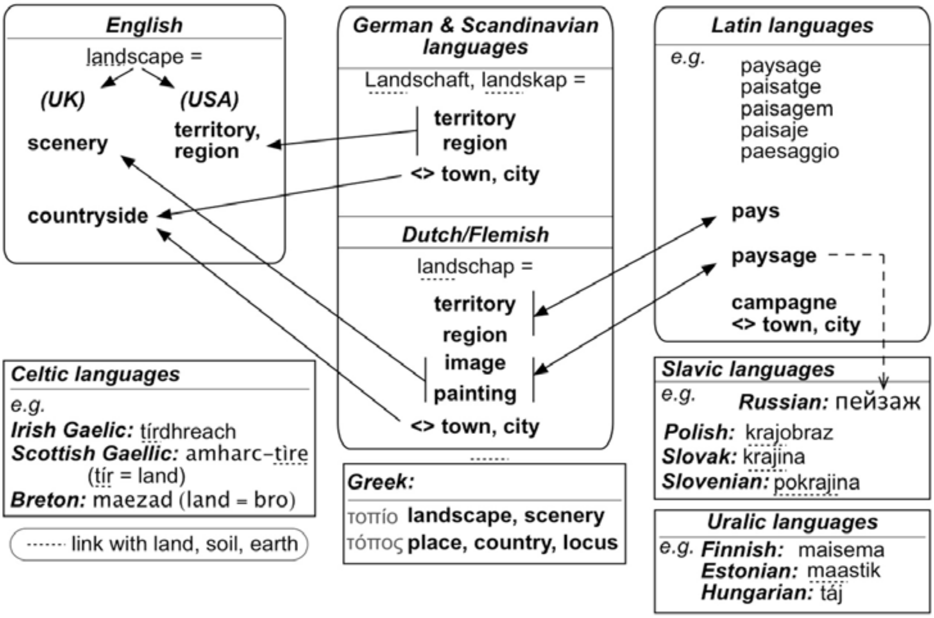

Fig. 2.2.2 Language subtleties: landscape in different European tongues and relations (source: Antrop)

2.2.3 Landscape with Adjectives

Natural and cultural landscape

German geographers of the late 19th century introduced the distinction between natural and cultural landscape. Ratzel saw the *Kulturlandschaft* as part of the initial *Naturlandschaft* which was transformed by human activity. Both terms were illustrative for the deterministic approach in geography. The distinction between cultural and natural landscape raised many problems. Hartshorne criticised both terms as well as the idea that landscape was the key subject of research in geography. He found the term landscape too confusing and redundant and preferred the concept region (Hartshorne, 1939). Jones (2003) discusses many problems that emerged by using both concepts, in particular causing a fundamental split in the holistic unity of the landscape. Gradually, in the academic world anyhow the formal distinction between natural and cultural landscape vanished with the awareness of human's global influence on the environment, thus unaffected really pristine landscapes do not exist anymore. However, even when both concepts will have become obsolete in scientific research, this is not expected to be the case in policy soon.

Rural and urban landscapes

In the initial Latin meaning the term 'urban' is associated with privileged and civilised (and civilian rights), while rural is defined as the opposite thus, considered retarded and subjugated. The urban-rural dichotomy principally differentiates between two lifestyles and visions upon the environment. Rural landscapes often refer to the agricultural land, sometimes omitting forests and certainly wasteland. In the English tradition this is referred to as the countryside, the French equivalent is *la campagne*.

The general urban sprawl and suburbanisation of the countryside, in particular after the Second World War, blurred any neat difference that might have existed between urban and rural. New complex, highly dynamical, fragmented and multifunctional landscapes emerged. They are denoted as peri-urban, suburban and rurban landscapes (Antrop, 2000) or also the 'new rural' (Gulinck, 2004; Meeus and Gulinck, 2008). Besides morphological urbanisation, processes of functional urbanisation change local communities even in remote rural places (Van Eetvelde and Antrop, 2004).

Highly dynamical urban areas cannot be understood by just looking at the morphological built-up areas. New definitions and concepts were needed to include functional relations and processes, as Functional Urban Regions (Cheshire, 1995), Functional Urban Areas (Antikainen, 2005; OECD, 2012), Urban Morphological Zones (EEA, 2002) and 'Städtische Agglomeration' (Heineberg, 2014).

Spectacular and ordinary landscapes

The protection of natural monuments and landscapes focused on spectacular and unique landscapes and on palaces and gardens. Their uniqueness and exceptional qualities were considered as being of 'national' or 'universal' importance and are mainly based on aesthetic arguments and on symbolic as well as on historical meaning (Olwig, 2002). Most landscapes do not have such distinct character and values and are not nominated for protection. However, 'valuable' and 'ordinary' landscapes are often recognised. 'Valuable' landscapes correspond to traditional rural areas, to cultural landscapes with a pronounced character and to ecologically important areas (Green and Vos, 2003). Muir (2000) noted that most of the traditional rural landscapes we appreciate today are not the result of planning and designing, but resulted from the labour of peasants and local communities for whom surviving was most important. Groth and Bressi (1997) introduced the term 'ordinary' landscapes for all new landscapes that lack a pronounced identity, that are heterogeneous and chaotic, and which resulted from pragmatic, short-term solutions.

Landscape and the beautiful, the sublime, the picturesque and the pictorial

The aesthetic aspects of landscape encourage esoteric discussions about beauty and related concepts such as the sublime, the picturesque and the pictorial (Bell, 1999). These concepts were particularly important in the design of estate parks and landscapes as well as in establishing national parks and monuments. In the 18th century philosophers studied the beautiful and its relationship between the object observed and the observer. Although the aesthetic sensation is essentially placed in the eyes of the beholder (Lothian, 1999), also aesthetic qualities in the object as well as the landscape were important to understand. Philosophers were interests in how aesthetic qualities could initiate such feelings and how this knowledge could be applied in design. Keys to attractiveness and 'grades of beautiful' needed to be defined.

Burke (1759) introduced the concept of the sublime and argued that the sublime and the beautiful are clearly distinct. The sensation of the sublime causes a dual emotion of fear and attraction, as "delightful horror". Kant, inspired by Burke's writings, distinguished three kinds of the sublime: the 'terrifying' (*Schreckhaft-Erhabene*), the 'noble' (*Edle*) and the 'splendid sublime' (*Prächtige*) (Kant, 1764). The sublime is experienced when the feelings we have when observing a landscape are overwhelming and indicate timelessness and infinity (Schama, 1995). Compared to the beautiful, which can be small, the sublime always refers to the greatness of a (spectacular) landscape related to scale and magnitude.

The picturesque refers to ideal aesthetic qualities of the landscape as in a painting. Gilpin (1768) introduced the term and places it between the aesthetic ideals of the beautiful and the sublime. He made the picturesque popular to the pleasure tourists looking for beautiful and sublime landscapes in particular and it served as a basis for garden and park design. The picturesque style in English gardening emerged with Romanticism in the 18th century, emphasizing natural forms in the design and it was exemplified by landscape gardeners as 'Capability' Brown (Turner, 1998).

The pictorial landscape is a similar concept, but more recent. It emerged with the art of photography in the late 19th century. Image hunters searched scenes of a landscape (and its inhabitants) that were considered being particularly beautiful, typical, iconic, traditional or even exotic. These are the scenes depicted on postcards and photographs.

Ephemeral and seasonal landscapes

The way landscape is experienced by the observer is highly dependent on short events and cyclic changes caused by the changing daylight, atmospheric conditions, the weather, seasons and the phenology of the vegetation (Palang et al., 2007). As early as 1929, Johannes Granö (Granö and Paasi, 1997) attempted to describe and map ephemeral changes in the landscape through the seasons. Michael Jones (2007) marks the distinction between ephemeral and seasonal landscapes. Seasons define lifestyles (Dodgshon and Olsson, 2007; Kizos, 2007). Ephemeral phenomena and seasons are also important factors in experiencing landscapes and in assessing its attractiveness (Stobbelaar and Hendriks, 2007). For archaeologists, ephemeral soil and crop marks are valuable indicators for detecting sites.)

2.2.4 Formal Definitions

Formal definitions are based on conventions and engage the parties who signed it. Two formal definitions regarding landscape have an international realm.

Cultural landscapes in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention

In 1992 'cultural landscapes' are introduced as a new category in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. They are described as to "represent the combined works of nature and of man. […] They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (UNESCO, 1992). Three main categories are recognised:

1. designed landscapes have been created intentionally by man such as gardens and parkland landscapes. They are constructed for aesthetic (and sometimes political) reasons and are often associated with monumental ensembles.
2. organically evolved landscapes are the result of an interactive process between a specific culture and developed in response to their natural environment.
   They fall into two sub-categories:
   a. relict (or fossil) landscapes are the ones that still show characteristic material features resulting from the processes that made them but came to an end;
   b. continuing landscapes are the ones that are sustained by a persisting active traditional way of life in the contemporary society;
3. associative cultural landscapes have a symbolic reference relating to powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than to material cultural evidence.

Categories (1) and (3) are clearly 'special' landscapes which are often considered spectacular or sublime. Category (2) deals with traditional agrarian and pastoral landscapes, which constitute the main part of characteristic landscape diversity in the countryside. Important problems related to this category are already recognised in the two sub-categories. What happens when lifestyles change and cease to sustain the landscape it created? The description of the categories also shows that the UNESCO World Heritage is not dealing with any ordinary, everyday landscape; but only landscapes of "outstanding" and "universal" heritage values are considered.

The European Landscape Convention

The European Landscape Convention of the Council of Europe (ELC for short) entered into force on 1st March 2004. It had a long preparation and was inspired by the Dobříš Assessment (EEA, 1995). The aims are the promotion of landscape protection, management and planning and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues (Art. 3) (Council of Europe, 2000). The great merit of the ELC is that it initiated many more programmes for studying the landscape in most European countries than ever before. This is remarkable as the Convention does not have any legal basis such as an EU-directive, and no financial means are provided. The ELC introduced a series of formal definitions as well as recommendations, which serve as a common and international basis for action.

Although the ELC definition of landscape is quoted most often, article 1 formulates several related definitions that are of equal importance. The definition of landscape ("an area, as perceived by people whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors") is broad and contains most of the original etymological meanings of the word. It refers to a territory or land unit, to the perception of people and covers broader interpretations than the scenic aspects alone. The character refers to a holistic entity and it also defines identity and uniqueness. Finally, the interaction between natural processes and human activities makes the landscape dynamic and attaches significance to evolution and history. The perspective is clearly human-centred.

The scope of the ELC (article 2) encompasses the entire territory of the member states and "covers natural, rural, urban and peri-urban areas. It includes land, inland water and marine areas." The concern for all landscapes: the outstanding ones as well as the everyday, ordinary or degraded landscapes.

All other definitions in the ELC refer to actions people should undertake regarding the landscape. They emphasize sustainable development, participation of the public, the role of 'competent public authorities' in defining 'significant or characteristic features' and 'heritage value'. Actions are proposed as protection, management, planning and 'enhance, restore or create landscapes'. The importance of participation is stressed several times. Two groups of public are mentioned which also correspond to the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Selman, 2004).

2.2.5 Studying Landscape: Geography, Ecology, History and Archaeology

Landscape was a core subject in geography during its early development as an empirical science. Landscape was seen as the synthesis of the interaction between the natural environment and human society and it was characterised by unique geographical regions. It resulted in the study of land use zoning and vegetation patterns, of agrarian systems and settlement patterns and of hydrographical and transportation networks, etc. The spatial diversity was explained by the variation in ecological and cultural factors and by a dynamic perspective covering the geological evolution and history. It implied using sciences as geology, soil science, botany, hydrology and geomorphology as well as demography, anthropology, economy, politics and history. As such, geography was interdisciplinary 'avant la lettre'. Geography introduced important methods for describing and analysing landscapes. Examples are field surveying, cartography and map analysis, air photo and image interpretation, spatial analysis, modelling and geo-statistics and geographical information systems (GIS). Many of these are common tools in other disciplines which also followed the methodological development (Antrop, 2013).

The expression "*Landschaft ist der Totalcharacter einer Erdgegend*" ('landscape is the total character of an region') was attributed but not proven to Alexander von Humboldt (Zonneveld, 1995). However, it fits well in the Gestalt-concept and holism which is commonly described as 'the whole is more than the sum of its composing parts'.

The German school of geography developed a deterministic approach to the cultural landscape. French and Anglo-Saxon schools, among the most important, criticized this approach, and developed the environmental possibilism to explain cultural development (Vidal de la Blache, 1922; Sauer, 1925). Sauer summarizes this as "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result" (Sauer, 1925).

Ecological thinking in the study of the landscape already existed even before ecology was established as a discipline (Claval, 2004). In ecology, landscape was initially seen as one of the scale levels in the increasing complexity of the organisation of ecosystems. The historical development of the cultural landscape shows this increasing complexity from a simple landscape ecological model to a global Total Human Ecosystem (THE) (Naveh, 1999).

Historical geography studies the evolution of (mainly cultural) landscapes. Early studies mainly focus on the agrarian landscape. The actual landscape is seen as a palimpsest: a sheet of vellum used over and over again for writing texts, each time erasing the older ones, but leaving some fragments between the new text (Turner, 2013). Historical geography uses two approaches. The first focuses on the reconstruction of the landscape in a given period, the other one focuses on trajectories of change also referred to as landscape paths. A complete integrated history of the landscape in a certain region results in a 'landscape biography' (Bloemers et al., 2010). Classifying and mapping the actual landscape according to its historical dimension is achieved in a Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) (Rippon, 2004). Historical ecology studies past ecological conditions, processes and practices to understand the occurrence and distribution of species as well as human actions in relation to the environment. Landscape archaeologists introduced concepts such as that of time depth of landscape, landscape paths or trajectories and also focus on the management of change in the perspective of archaeological conservation (Fairclough and Rippon, 2002).

2.2.6 Studying Landscape Experience, Perception and Preference

Experiencing the landscape

Various disciplines study landscape perception and the mental information processing resulting in mindscapes and adapted behaviour. Several theories have been formulated to explain this process using biological, evolutionary, cultural and individual factors. Perception is often restricted to the visual landscape. Landscape experience refers to the whole arousal resulting from sensing the landscape. Landscape preference focuses on the assessment we make of this experience. The properties and conditions of human vision help to understand how we analyse landscape scenery and how we define basic concepts for all kinds of visualisations, as in painting, photography and computer modelling. Landscape experience research either follows an objectivist paradigm, aiming to identify physical landscape properties that can be related to preferences, or a subjectivist paradigm, focusing on the psychological and sociological response. The first one is a landscape centred approach, the second one focuses on the observer and his/her social and cultural background (Sevenant and Antrop, 2010).

Environmental psychology, human geography, sociology and landscape architecture have specific approaches to the study of landscape experience, but share three core assumptions explicitly or implicitly (Jacobs, 2006): (1) the way people perceive landscapes is influenced, but not determined by physical landscape attributes, (2) a complex mental process of information reception and processing mediates between the physical landscape and the mindscape, and (3) the factors that influence this process can be divided into biological, cultural and individual factors (Bourassa, 1990; 1991). It is obvious that different observers looking at the same tract of land see and experience different landscapes. How we sense, experience and understand landscape is a complex matter.

Visual perception dominates the other senses. Hence, the emphasis of the research lies on the visual landscape and the scenery. The visual information is the key and pieces of information from other senses as well as memories, affections and facts are linked to it. The distinction between objective aspects of perception and subjective psychological aspects is extremely difficult to make. Three approaches can be distinguished according to the focus on:

- the 'mechanical', 'technical' and physiological aspects of perception. An example is the use of eye-tracking methods;
- the mental information processing. This is related to the study of learning processes and mental representations in mental maps or cognitive maps;
- the preference in relation to the psychological, social and cultural properties of the observers.

Although landscape perception and experience are highly subjective and difficult to link to scenic indicators in landscape, much research has been done in this field (Fry et al., 2009; Ode, 2005) and new methods such as eye-tracking have been introduced (Dupont and Van Eetvelde, 2012). Indeed, many practical questions in landscape planning and design aim to use this relationship to create specific preferences by appropriate choice and arrangement of landscape elements and their scenic properties. Gestalt-principles were used – not always knowingly – in garden and landscape design (Antrop, 2007). Research includes the assessment of visual landscape character, e.g. in landscape archaeology (Fry et al., 2004), the definition of intrinsic landscape values (Antrop, 2012), landscape aesthetics and the assessment of beauty (Bourassa, 1991; Sevenant and Antrop, 2009), the analysis of visual landscape and the modelling of its visualization (Nijhuis et al., 2011).

Phenomenological approaches

Phenomenological approaches analyse narratives, discourse and iconographic representations by people regarding their landscape (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Lowenthal, 1975; Tuan, 1974). Most often different methods are combined to enhance the certainty of the findings (Sooväli et al., 2003).

Theories

The holistic experience of the landscape results in an assessment of preference and value, which is based on rational and affective criteria, both consciously and unconsciously. Many landscape qualities are involved and often the expression of value and preference is associated with the aesthetic quality of landscape. A fundamental question is whether the aesthetic quality is inherent (or intrinsic) to the landscape or whether it lies in the 'eye of the beholder', thus as a mental or a social construct (Lothian, 1999). Since the 1970s the main discussion in landscape preference research focuses on nature versus nurture.

The arousal theory of Berlyne (1971) is an early example of the evolutionary approach used in environmental psychology. Its hypothesis is that an optimal amount of sensory stimuli from the environment provoke a positive preference. Ulrich (1983) combines evolutionary and cultural aspects in a psycho-evolutionary model of landscape preference. He distinguishes between a fast, affective response and a slower cognitive response when perceiving landscapes. The fast affective response is mainly unconscious and primary evolutionary determined and is triggered by landscape characteristics. The cognitive response is slower and mainly determined by cultural factors. Finally, the affective and cognitive responses are combined allowing to comprehend the landscape. This explains why the same landscape gives a similar affective experience, while the cognitive assessment can be different. The strict differentiation between affective and cognitive response is criticized by recent findings in neurosciences (Jacobs, 2006).

Appleton (1975) introduced the prospect-refuge theory to explain landscape preference. The aesthetic satisfaction people experience, he claims, depends on the capability of the landscape to fulfil their biological needs. Two factors define the preference of a landscape: prospect or the possibility to oversee the landscape and refuge or the potential to hide and be unseen. The whole concept is based on the lifestyle of prehistoric hunters in savannah-like landscapes.

Based on empirical research Stephen and Rachel Kaplan (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989) showed that humans classify landscapes based on two criteria: content and spatial configuration. Content opposes for example wet and dry land and spatial configuration opposes open and enclosed landscapes. The knowledge obtained to understand these landscape categories depends on four factors: coherence, legibility, complexity and mystery. These perceived factors predict the landscape preference and are ordered in a preference matrix.

2.2.7 Conclusion: Landscape as a Natural and Cultural Heritage and Asset

Interacting cultural, psychological and geographical factors not only influence our landscape experience, but also build the coherence that makes landscape a holistic entity. Thus, landscape as an integrating concept, is existentially highly significant and serves as a natural and cultural heritage that deserves full attention (Antrop, 2005).

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Chapter 3

International Concepts of Landscapes, Theory Basis

3.1

Landscape is Everywhere

The Construction of the Term Landscape by US-American Laypersons

Dorothea Hokema

3.1.1 Starting Point, Questions

The central interest of the analyses is to contribute to discussions on the construction of the term landscape. The goal of the study presented here is to elucidate the influence of contemporary spatial qualities on the construction of landscape on the one hand, and the relevance of traditional meanings and perceptions of landscape on the other.

Analyses of the term landscape mainly refer to national or cultural units (e.g. Eisel et al., 2009; Kühne, 2006; Schenk, 2008; as an exception: Drexler, 2010). For a better understanding of the factors which determine people's idea of landscape, a study of landscape understanding in different cultures is expected to be helpful. The goal of the investigation presented here is, therefore, to try and better comprehend US-American laypersons' understandings of landscape. Results are discussed including a comparison with existing knowledge about German laypersons' landscape ideas (see Hokema, 2013).

The following questions served as a basis of the research:

- Is there a "general agreement" about landscape among US-American laypersons?
- If so, what are the important characteristics of this shared and collective idea?
- Finally, does a possibly existing common understanding reflect special social or spatial US-American conditions?

3.1.2 Method, Respondents

An online questionnaire[1] was chosen as an appropriate means to collect statements about landscape. This questionnaire contained questions about attitudes towards landscape, the perception of landscape, the individual significance of landscape, the personal use

1 For further information see: http://hokema.org/landscape/wordpress/

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_3, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

of landscape, as well as questions concerning personal characteristics like gender, age, or education. The questions were formulated in a closed, half open and open manner. As a result there were both quantitative data which were analysed uni- and bivariately as well as qualitative data which were codified and made subject to content analyses.

The open request inviting people to take part in the survey was published in October 2012 via Facebook. About 80 respondents reacted to approximately 300 requests. The responses came from a relatively homogeneous group which is not representative of the average US-American population:

- 2/3 are female,
- 80% have a university degree,
- 44% are between 50 and 69 years old,
- 60% live in big cities,
- 90% are born in the US.

The reason for the lack of respondent diversity is most likely due to the distribution of the questionnaire via Facebook contacts of friends and colleagues: their social features are similar to those of the author and sender of the request. Although a further distribution of the questionnaire by respondents was explicitly asked for, this happened only in exceptional cases. An additional explanation for the homogeneity of the participant group may be the phenomenon of "digital divide" (Marr and Zillien, 2010)[2].

The profile of the responding group shows that the results of the study are statistically not representative, as they do not mirror the US-American average. In fact, regarding the mode of distribution and the limited number of requests, a representative outcome had not been expected from the beginning. Nevertheless, the survey's results are suitable to give an impression of a definable sub-discourse: the sub-discourse of educated women averaging 60 years of age who are living in a city and were born in the USA. Above that it can be shown, by crosstabulation, that men and women tend to give similar answers (e.g. to questions about the importance of landscape for quality of life or the role of nature for landscape). Similar tendencies can be shown, by crosstabulation, for the responses of different age groups. However, these results cannot be generalized, because the number of male participants as well as the number of participants pertaining to certain age groups is relatively small.

2 Another reason for the high percentage of female participants could be the fact that women attach a much higher value to nature than men. However, this attitude has been shown to be valid in Germany (BMU/BfN 2012) and there is no proof that it also applies to the US-American population.

3.1.3 Results

The first aim of this research is to investigate the existence of a common understanding of landscape. It is assumed that a common concept exists if a majority of the respondents gives identical or similar answers to the questions posed. Indeed, the survey's results indicate some clear tendencies about the interpretation of the term landscape. From the responses to the questionnaire it seems as if an idea about landscape might exist that is shared between the US-American laypersons consulted.

The presence of a common understanding shows that landscape is important enough to be a topic of societal interest – landscape as a perceived wholeness, as idea or as place is subject to public attention. In other words: a societal discourse about landscape can be assumed. Discourses can be understood as entireties of contemporary and historical concepts, ideas and categories which give meaning to certain topics, i.e. the term landscape. Keller (2004) describes discourses as constructs by social scientists. Such constructs suppose that specific empirical data existing as isolated incidents or statements might be connected by rules or structures. Discourses therefore do not necessarily appear as coherent approaches towards defined subjects. But structure and content of a discourse can be reconstructed by analysing and systemising single cases.

Like all discourses, the landscape discourse is produced as well as influenced by diverse sorts of texts and images that deal directly or indirectly with landscape. Visual arts, literature, commercials, films, sciences, school lessons etc. contribute to developing a reservoir of knowledge for the interpretation of what is perceived as landscape. From that discourse the survey's participants choose their personal perspective on landscape. This personal understanding is a deliberate or unconscious reflection of the societal interpretation of landscape (and itself influences the discourse). Personal positions express attitudes towards landscapes, as well as aspects and interpretations of landscape which developed within the frame opened up by society, e.g. by geography classes, preferred touristic destinations or commercials. Hence, the answers to the questionnaire are subjective interpretations, but not completely random, because they all refer to the same societal discourse.

The common understanding of landscape in the surveyed sub-discourse is constructed with reference to a handful of terms and practices. Of central importance are:

- nature,
- beauty,
- country,
- city,
- garden,
- individual experience.

Some of these terms were to be expected, some are different from what we know from the German understanding of landscape. Each of the terms mentioned helps to define aspects of the sample's understanding of landscape; their sum and relations show the approximate meaning of landscape in the sub-discourse.

The terms and their relationship to landscape will be addressed below. An important precondition concerns the methodical approach. Problems arise due to the fact that the terms listed themselves have varieties of meanings and applications. E.g. "nature" appears in biological, scientific, societal or philosophical contexts. Beyond its socially or scientifically standardised use there is a wide field of subjective interpretations and connotations. All the terms are subject to societal discourses and sub-discourses and assemble a multitude of interpretations. As the totality of possible discourses cannot be analysed here the terms mentioned which are connected to landscape will not be defined in particular. Instead, the whole range of possible individual or societal interpretations is taken as a basis. "Nature" in the survey's analysis therefore means "nature as interpreted by the respondents of the survey", similarly "beauty" is here understood as "perceived beauty"; the same principle is applied to the other terms.

Nature – landscape

Nature was the most important topic in the participants' associations with landscape. The term nature was brought up in answers to the open questions and was often chosen when there were closed questions which offered that choice.

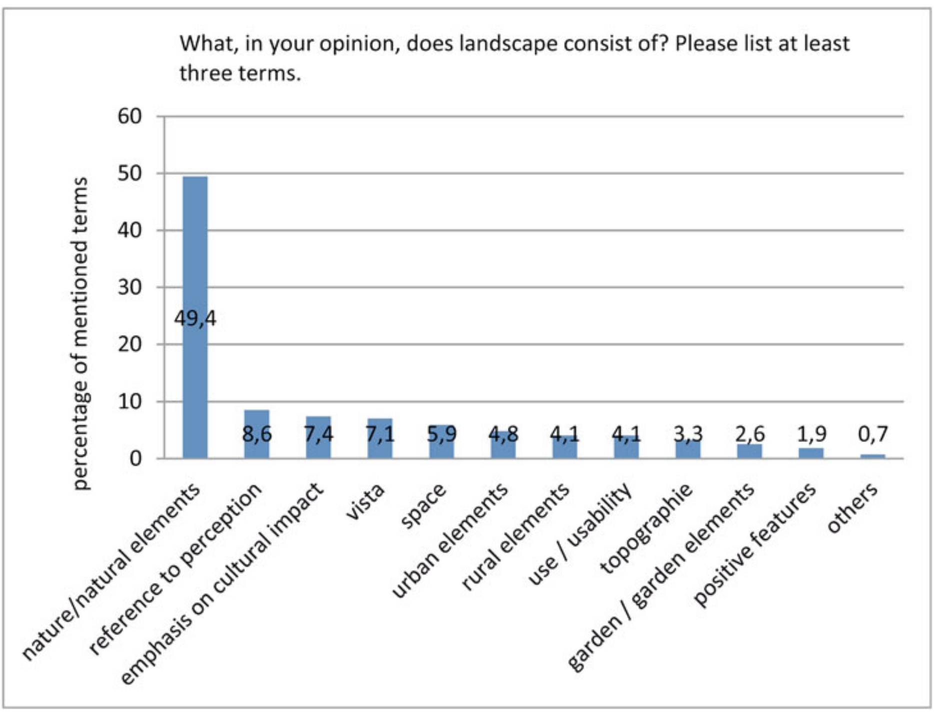

Fig. 3.1.1 Landscape components (source: Hokema)

The questionnaire started with a very general question that asked for associations with the term landscape. One third of the answers to this question – "What do you think when hearing the word landscape"– refers to nature. An even more clear picture can be seen in the answers to the second question – "What, in your opinion, does landscape consist of?" About fifty percent of the terms mentioned refer to nature. Still more explicit are the answers to the statement "Landscape is based on nature". Eighty-six percent support that position.

But this very explicit picture is disturbed by the answers to the statement that "an area without any natural element can be a landscape" which is supported by 51% of the respondents. So nature seems to be an important but not an indispensable aspect of landscape.

City – landscape, country – landscape

To better understand nature's role for the construction of landscape, it helps to analyse the influence of different land uses on the perception of landscape. City and country, two phenomena which are frequently mentioned by the respondents in relation to landscape, are here seen as factors that are both influencing and being influenced by nature and constituting landscape.

Asked about where they find landscape, almost all participants choose "the country". But above that, about 80% also find it "in suburbs" and "in cities". Of those who responded that they find landscape "elsewhere", a considerable part finds it "everywhere" (14% of all participants)[3]. The very next question about preferred landscapes shows a change in emphasis: It becomes obvious that there is a strong preference for the landscape which is perceived "in the country". But it is clear that landscape is also seen in urban contexts; possibly urban situations themselves are landscapes.

This result shows that landscape is constructed in different ways. Firstly, landscape can be perceived without valuation as any spatial construction; therefore it can occur in various environments. Secondly, landscape can be understood as an emotionally touching experience; that seems to apply above all to rural landscapes. By underlining nature as

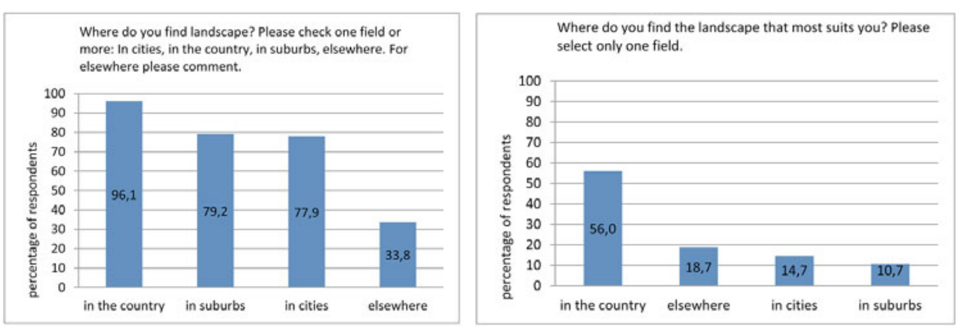

Fig. 3.1.2 Possible locations of landscape in general and of the preferred landscape (source: Hokema)

3 Multiple answers were possible.

the basis for landscape, the respondents relate to forms of land use which visibly refer to their perception of nature – that is, above all, the cultural practice of agriculture, which mostly takes place in the country.

So, one reason why nature on the one hand may be an essential part of landscape and on the other hand may be dispensable is the difference between landscape as any possible spatial construction and landscape as spatial construction seen with emotional affection.

The importance of land use and its perceived naturalness for the understanding of landscape can also be deduced from the answers to the question about essential landscape elements. Sixty percent of the participants name trees, about 20 to 30% also categorize clouds, meadows, rivers, fields, forests, great lakes, plains and hills as essential. Single houses, villages and suburbs still find the approval of 10-20%, only a few people think that highways or garbage dumps are essential to form a landscape. Thus, natural aspects (trees, clouds), diverse forms of agricultural use (meadows, fields) and the perception of geomorphological aspects (hills, great plains) are important characteristics of landscapes. These characteristics are more often to be found in the country than in cities; or they are better visible in the country than in cities, where urban development reshapes natural preconditions. Therefore it can be concluded that (perceived) nature and agriculture are important factors for the constitution of what is understood as landscape.

Beauty – landscape

As suggested before, the natural character of an area is not only important to qualify it as a landscape, but crucial for a landscape's perception as beautiful.

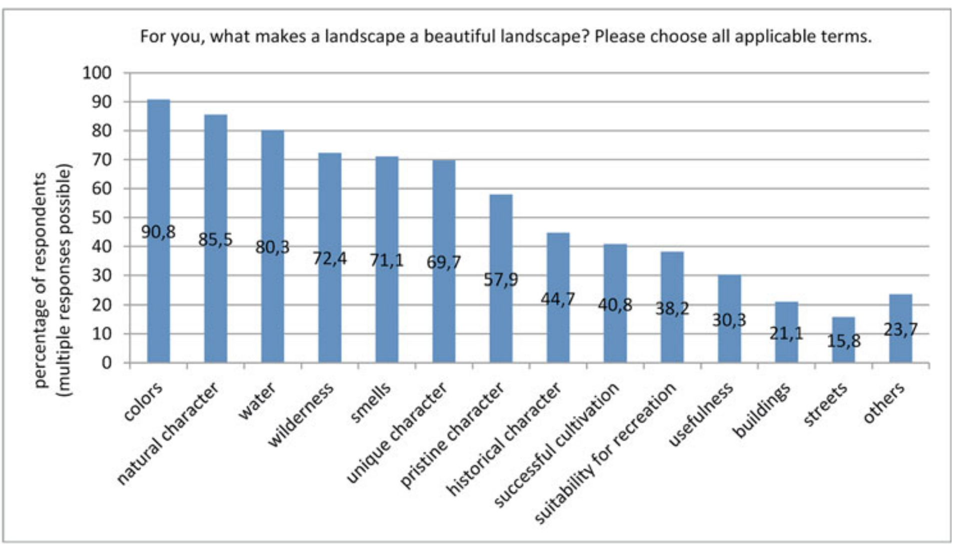

Fig. 3.1.3 Aspects of beautiful landscapes (source: Hokema)

Besides naturalness there might be an even more important characteristic to describe beautiful landscapes. The consensus in the answers to the question about beautiful landscapes shows that atmospheres and impressions might have a bigger influence on the appreciation of a landscape than physical elements or forms of land use. That means: although the disturbing forms of land use are often connected to cities, technical infrastructure and industry, landscape can be found in cities and suburbs if there is a possibility to experience the immaterial aspects mentioned, such as pleasing colours and smells, unique or pristine character of a place.

Garden – landscape

Another reason for the presence of landscape in cities and suburbs is the relation between landscape and garden. As it was not anticipated in the research concept that garden could be a relevant topic, there were no questions explicitly about gardens. But answers to the question "What makes a landscape ugly" show that there is an important link between the perception of garden and park and the understanding of landscape: 37% of the respondents referred to neglected gardens or parks[4].The mentioned features were summarized as "bad planning" and "lack of maintenance"[5].

Also answers concerning associations with the term landscape and landscape elements that were given earlier make clear that gardens and parks are an important aspect of landscape[6]. Therefore it can be concluded that participants of the survey may perceive landscape in cities and suburbs because they see trees, parks and gardens and because they equate garden and landscape.

Landscape – relevance for the individual

The personal meaning of landscape for individuals forms the background to several questions asked in the survey. "Does landscape for you serve a function?" asks explicitly for the use respondents potentially could make of landscape. Almost all answers to this question name positive experiences and associations: landscape "gives sense of peace", "is a pleasing experience", "is life enhancing", "heightens self-awareness", etc. Thus, landscape is predominantly described by terms which refer to the field of contemplation.

A second question turning out to be very helpful in collecting personal definitions of the term landscape deals with the distinction of the terms landscape and area[7]. Here landscape is firstly described as an aesthetic experience. Examples are: landscape is an "overall view of

4 multiple answers were possible

5 The answers were for example: "poorly chosen and maintained plantings", "being over designed or too complicated", "poor symmetry, inadequate walkways" or "incorrect pruning", "lack of care and consideration".

6 Garden related answers given earlier were: "flowerbeds, gardens, planned yards" or "creativity, design, the layout of the garden" also: "central park", "trees and plants in a built environment", "park" "beds, gardens, plantings", "plants intentionally planted".

7 "For you what is the difference between a landscape and an area? Landscape means to me …, area means to me …"

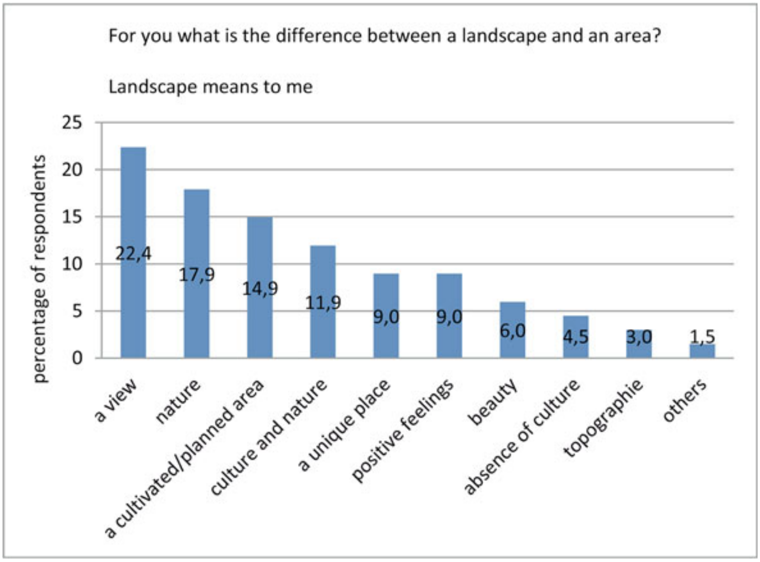

Fig. 3.1.4 Definitions of landscape (source: Hokema)

an area", "a greater field of vision (from an elevated spot)", "a visual perspective including natural elements". The understanding of landscape as an aesthetic experience underlines the above mentioned importance of contemplation. Experiencing landscape aesthetically as a wholeness allows one to surmount the modern analytical deconstruction of the world – that seems to be a very important function of the respondents' perception of landscape.

Another pivotal aspect that is expressed in connection with the landscape definitions is the appreciation of landscape. All the categories listed in figure 3.1.4 (landscape is something connected to nature, a cultivated or planned area, culture and nature, a unique place etc.) emphasize that landscape is a positive value. So a typical answer in the category "nature" would be: landscape is "unfettered nature". In the category "cultivated/planned area" similar positive assessments are assembled. Landscape is described e.g. as "organized and peaceful". Of course, the categories "positive feelings" and "beauty" contain only positive connotations.

Thus, landscape is important for the surveyed group because it offers the opportunity for self-awareness and contemplation and – in representing positive values – serves as a projection screen for utopias.

3.1.4 Discussion

The survey delivers results that suggest an understanding of landscape relating to the terms nature, city, country, beauty, and garden. The outcomes also indicate a positive connotation of landscape and its high relevance for individuals. Based on these results, the first research question about the existence of a common understanding of the term landscape can be affirmed. At the core of the analysed sub-discourse are the following shared convictions:

- Landscape is a product of culture and nature.
- Landscape is disturbed by development, technical infrastructure, and pollution.
- Landscape is associated with positive values.
- Landscape allows contemplation and reflection on ideas of a better life; it gives room for sensorial experience.

Up to this point the US sample's understanding of landscape appears to be similar to the majority of German laypersons' construction of landscape. A meta-study on the latter shows that landscape is understood as natural, situated in the country, threatened by industry, technology, and cities. Moreover, landscape in German laypersons' understanding consists of stereotype elements, is perceived as a picture, is (ideally) beautiful and connected to positive connotations[8].

Besides the similarities, the US-American respondents emphasise in contrast to the German laypersons' understanding the following notions:

- Although landscape is closely linked to nature, it is also imaginable without any natural elements.
- The most favoured landscapes are located in the country, but landscape also exists in suburbs and cities.
- Also gardens and parks are regarded as landscapes.

The second research question dealt with important characteristics of the sub-discourse. As shown in figure 3.1.5, two different ways of landscape perception appear to coexist. Both interpretations are constructions about the individual and his or her relation with nature. The core element of the construction of landscape as an object is nature. Landscape as an object relies on an essentialist construction of nature (which also can appear as garden). The core element of landscape as a perspective is the individual. The sample shows very clearly that the act of perceiving the object is as important as the object itself.

Both understandings of landscape are social constructions. They refer to contemporary and historical elements as well as to spatial and societal constructions. Neither is free from internal contradictions that result from the different constructions of the relation between individual and nature: nature can, on the one hand, be a physical and organic wholeness, or, on the other hand, a projection screen for personal or societal utopias.

8 See Hokema 2013, p. 198 et seqq. Material to meta-study were Ipsen, 2002; Kook, 2009; Kühne, 2006; Lupp, 2008; among others.

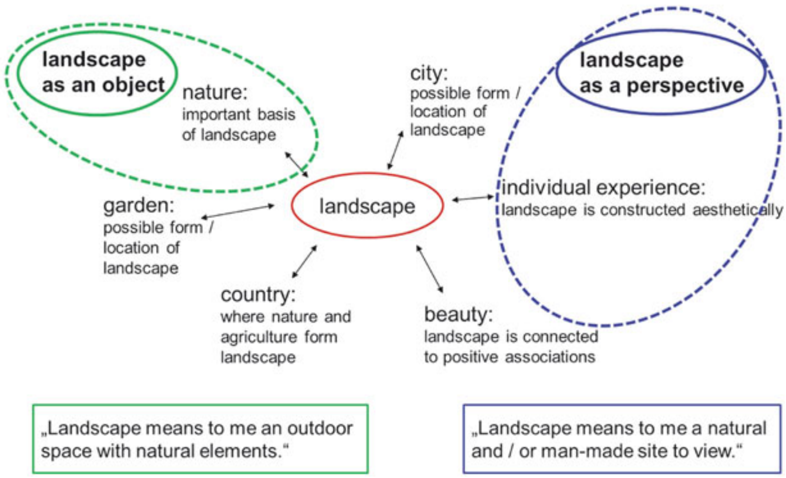

Fig. 3.1.5 Landscape and its semantic field (source: Hokema)

The third and final research question asked for potential differences between US-American and German laypersons' understanding of landscape. Actually, the US-American sample shows important idiosyncrasies as gardens and cities are included in the term landscape. How this acceptance of garden and city as landscape reflects particular US-American social, historical or spatial conditions can only be outlined briefly here.

It is suggested that the variation mentioned is established by differences in the history of ideas. There is an important distinction between the US-American and the German understanding of landscape and nature. In the American interpretation nature – as wilderness – is far more meaningful than landscape. Wilderness is crucial as a projection screen for the reproduction of the North American pioneer myth: by defeating the challenges of wilderness (and experiencing the sublime) the individual constitutes himself as an individual and as an American (Hass, 2009; Körner et al., 2003). Nature fulfils the function of carrying meaning. Landscape, therefore, is partly released from that function. Landscape, in the sub-discourse surveyed, can therefore concentrate on the aspect of culture and cultivation much more than would be the case in the German discourse. Thus, gardens and cities can more easily be included in the term landscape. They can become examples of civilized and humanely cultivated places.

The results of the survey indicate that history of ideas is still part of the social discourse and has an important influence on it. Another possible explanation of the differences between the American sample and German laypersons would be the influence of physical space. But spatial environments do not seem to be the one crucially determining factor for the understanding of landscape: although the respondents to the questionnaire live mainly in big cities, they continue to emphasise the role of nature for landscape. As the perception of natural elements in cities is limited, it can be concluded that not the actual land use that is daily experienced constitutes the understanding of the term landscape. If the construction of landscape refers to physical space at all, it contrasts the perceived space to develop a construction of landscape – according to the history of ideas – as valuable, natural, and beautiful environment (which can also be situated in cities or suburbs).

To conclude, the landscape of the sub-discourse surveyed can be described as a heterogeneous, sometimes even contradictory construction. This broad character is probably due to the process of construction of the term: contemporary individuals reflect their physical and social surroundings while processing the history of ideas associated with the term. There is more research to be done to understand the relation and the relative importance of the determining factors. A more considerable and representative sample of participants would be useful, which would allow the analysis of differences regarding the place of residence and upbringing (city or country), the influence of education and the social situation as indicators for the access to different sub-discourses.

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Landscape Literacy and the "Good Landscape" in Japan

3.2

Hisako Koura

3.2.1 Introduction

Landscape Literacy has formerly been obtained as the tacit acquisition of environments, within a community, through practices of daily life. The term is now also used for processes in which landscape literacy is obtained through planning, where community involvement promotes the understanding of what a good landscape is for each place. The idea of landscape literacy pertains to the understanding that we, as people, observe and inhabit a landscape through daily and local practices. The landscape represents the inherent value system that is interdependent with the product of interactions between sets of natural and sets of cultural processes in time and space. The common interpretation of this value system is at the core of landscape literacy. In Japan, the Landscape Act of 2004 provides an opportunity for local governments and communities to develop such processes of landscape literacy, while planning visions of future landscapes.

As long as a value system, the grounds of landscape identity, is shared and upheld in a community, the distinctiveness of the local landscape will be also be maintained; it will be done so in coherence with a clear legibility, particularly by the local people, with a sense of a "Good Landscape". Such shared value systems are, however, at risk of dissolving, for instance by impacts of globalization (international standards on the one hand, migration of people from different cultural backgrounds on the other hand). Processes of dissolving and fragmentation of values may bring social and cultural conflict to communities. Such processes may also result in visual confusions that are observed in the recent physical landscape. Lately, careful management of change is becoming significant and substantial for generating a "Good Landscape", one that will help maintain sustainable communities. In this context, all changes should in the future be appraised and managed by facilitating mediation, with landscape literacy, which is an integral part of local governance in this field. There are parallels and interfaces with the landscape concept of the European Landscape Convention (Jones and Stenseke, 2011).

3.2.2 Observing and Inhabiting

Ordinary landscapes rarely concern people until the moment when environments are drastically transformed and people are confronted with the possibility of losing their sense of belonging. Our attachment to landscape is the basis for acknowledging the identity of the place, such as our hometown. Landscape is a world we are living in, and thus even the ordinary landscape is inextricably tied to notions of living history and produced through local practices. Landscapes have been defined by geographers[1] as the product of interactions between sets of natural conditions and sets of cultural practices such as agricultural and other local practices, land-use patterns, shared values and behavioral norms, social organization and so on.

There used to be a clear interdependence between local practices, social structures and the landscape. With global standardizations in technology, materials and styles, combined with modernization and industrialization, the landscape is subject to standardization, too, and thus in danger of losing its specific sense of place to be "placelessness"[2] .

In Japan, movements for the preservation of traditional townscapes arose in the 1960s. In such movements, the landscape was examined as the morphology resulting from the interplay of local and regional customs, the embracing of local skills and knowledge bases, and of local practices in general. However, the landscapes were at that time studied as objective facts to define their value by experts, but with little concern as to the layers of subjective meaning generated through inhabiting.

We, as people, both observe and inhabit landscape[3]. Evidently, rural landscapes are expressions of human responses to modifications of natural environments over long periods of time. On the other hand, urban landscapes have inevitably experienced transformation under the influence of greater socio-economic dynamics that are functioning as the determinant to alter the positions and roles of the urban places in the cities. In Japan, physical conflicts, negative impacts on the local orders or manners in the urban landscape based on a tacit understanding in the community have recently been observed in the landscapes of ordinary living places. Besides conservation measures, the characterization of the places and the management of changes became a concern of landscape planning after the 1990s.

Even though urban landscapes are exposed to continuous changes due to socio-economic dynamics, any physical changes brought about by developments should not be assessed exclusively as an alteration of the values to be considered, as every landscape can possibly

1 In Japan, "cultural landscape" was introduced in the 1920s, in geography, as the translation of "Land Schaft" and "natural landscape" as a pair concept. In this paper, landscape is specified as a process of continual interaction in which nature and culture both shape and are shaped by each other (Wylie, 2007).

2 The notion of "Placelessness" was presented by E.Relph (1976) as "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes".

3 Wylie (2007) questioned whether landscape is a scene we are looking at, or a world we are living in. Even though observing and inhabiting are not mutually exclusive, it is also significant that the landscape takes shape as an external, syncretic, and observable whole by expert observers.

be interpreted with its unique local context. This understanding is essential to recognize what Good Landscape is in the community. From the planning perspective, a statement concerning the cultural values in the local ordinary landscape is vital for the management of changes, when they originate from a local character.

Landscape literacy has to be conscious of these cultural values in ordinary landscapes based on the interpretation of the physical features with an understanding of the local practices and their responses to the natural conditions. These interpretations demand the holistic understanding of landscape, and thus observing and inhabiting are not mutually exclusive to developing landscape literacy.

3.2.3 Landscape Policy in Japan

Cultural values in the landscapes can be found in various interpretations, such as the well-maintained street greenery of residential area or the liveliness of unique urban place, and are also specified in the historic context and designed distinctiveness. In Japan, the value concept of landscape was at first accepted as the historic values to be preserved, and it has been examined and widened in the process of planning practices to cope with the increasing social demands for the quality and sustainability of local living environment. Thus, it is worth noting that Japanese landscape planning policy shows, over the past 50 years, how value concepts have become wide-ranging, and landscape planning came to acquire a community development approach.

3.2.3.1 Conservation of Historic Value

In Japan, it was in the 1960s that landscapes first became recognized as a planning issue, at a time of rapid economic growth. The developments in the green fields and the old urbanized areas brought about considerable losses of local character in many cities and towns. Such drastic changes moved the public to become more aware of the value of traditional townscapes. Some of the local governments, such as Kanazawa and Kurashiki, established ordinances to conserve their traditional urban environments.

Responding to the social movement for the preservation of traditional and historic townscapes, the Ancient Capitals Preservation Law (1966) and Historic Townscape Preservation District (1975) were enacted to provide measures to designate areas for preservation (Fig. 3.2.1), in addition to the preservation of the monuments and architectural assets. Confronted with assessment skills and conservation schemes developed by academics during the early stage of historic townscape conservation, local people did not always accept expert value assessments. They suspected they might lose out, in the rapid urban development, if they agreed to conservation regulations.

Fig. 3.2.1 Historic Townscape Preservation Districts (photo: Koura)

At that time, the natural landscape was also facing serious pressure from development. The conservation of historic environments and scenic beauty have always been the main object of the landscape policy since then (Nishimura, 2004).

3.2.3.2 Promotion of Urban Design

Kobe and Yokohama become the leading cities of the movement of urban design in the 1980s, while the period of rapid growth started to lose momentum. Both of them are modern cities, mainly urbanized after Western kinds of modernization were introduced during the Meiji era, and their approach for urban design is to continue and develop modern quality.

Regarding urban design practices in Japan, Asahikawa Shopping Park, the development of an urban mall in Hokkaido in 1972, was the first case in which the public sector invested in the redesign of the public space for the urban revitalization. Then public sectors began to consider the idea that the quality of urban landscape could be improved by designing public spaces and facilities, alongside well-planned large schemes, as a model for creating high quality urban places. Yokohama and Kobe practiced this idea in different ways.

In Yokohama, the specialty of urban design was established in the public sector to coordinate private developments with urban design policy and quality development of public space. Talented urban designers were brought in, and the quality of the urban spaces has been advanced with their efforts of coordination. On the other hand, Kobe tried to employ legal methods by means of local ordinance to designate the areas of good landscape and to provide measures to control the development. The planning and implementation of the system are open to the community involvement, and the quality of landscape is considered to depend on local governance. Yokohama has kept the design-oriented approach, and Kobe took the system-oriented approach to promote the urban design practices.

Even though each landscape policy differs, they led urban design in Japan to create urban quality of the day. At the same time, we remark critically that the design achievements tend to be assessed on the quality of their physical settings at the moment when they are completed. But the quality of the landscape may possibly either be fostered on the one hand or abandoned with less attachment on the other hand, depending on users of the place. Urban design would just be a trigger for any concerns to living environment and for cultural process.

3.2.3.3 Values of Inhabited Landscape

Landscape has, from the point of view of planning, for long been associated with physical settings and was considered mainly an object of conservation and design. Hence, landscapes are usually seen as entities to be controlled by regulations and promoted with design guidelines. Contrary to attempts of urban design in metropolitan areas and of conservation practices of historic values, landscape was not always an urgent planning issue in all small cities and towns.

The HOPE (Housing with Proper Environment) Project, which started in 1983, was a unique housing programme that made people realize that local living culture and housing technology was essential to the sustainability of the distinctive local landscape. By working on HOPE projects, local cities and towns could find their own identity in their landscape. This was an early attempt to conserve and develop the values of ordinary inhabited landscapes.

After the economy started to stagnate in the 1990s, the development of large condominiums was only a scheme to secure benefits for developers in many cities. Such developments caused social conflict because of their massive volumes and excessive heights in local neighborhoods (Fig. 3.2.2). The Kunitachi lawsuit was the first case where the judge approved the "right to landscape". People had appealed against a condominium project that disturbed the local manner of buildings, which had been maintained for a long period of time to produce a townscape with harmonized greenery.

People became aware that a "landscape" reflects the quality of local settings that are based on their shared living history and community culture. Sustainability of the local character of living spaces has recently started to be regarded as an important purpose of landscape planning. The numbers of local ordinances established each year increased

Fig. 3.2.2 Condominium conflicts in townscapes (Kunitachi case and historic landscape) (photo: Koura)

in the 1990s (Fig. 3.2.3), showing the necessity of measures to manage changes in the local places. The Landscape Act of 2004 was established in response to these concerns about the value of the ordinary inhabited landscape.

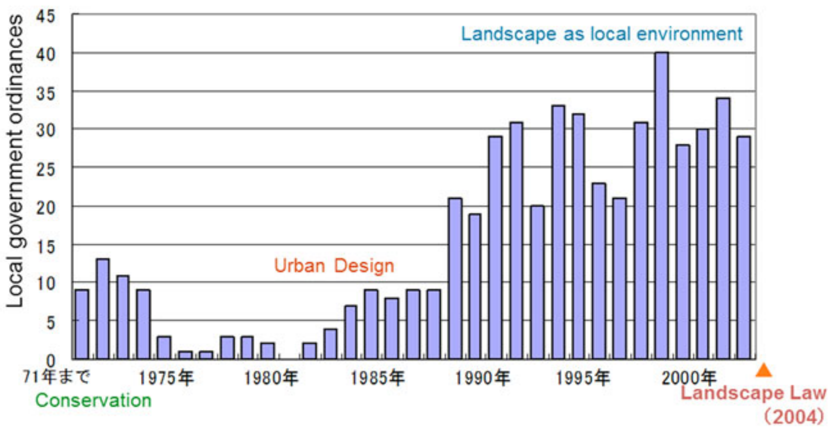

Fig. 3.2.3 Landscape ordinances and planning topics (source: Koura)

3.2.3.4 "Good Landscapes" in Landscape Act

In the Landscape Act of 2004, the concept of "Good Landscapes" is specified as the basic philosophy in Article 2 (MLIT., 2004). The main points are summarized as follows:

1. Good landscape is essential for an attractive and comfortable living environment and the common property for the present and future generation.

2. Good Landscape is produced by the harmony between nature, history, the culture of the area, people's lifestyle, and economic and other activities, and is to be created and conserved as the achievement of integrated land use under proper restraints.
3. Good landscape is closely related to the character of a place, and it should be developed with generation of local character in diversity while understanding local manners and knowledge.
4. Good landscape has the potential to promote tourism and communication, and it should be enhanced with the involvement of the local government, community and business sector.
5. Good landscape is to be created as well as conserved.

This basic philosophy does not indicate exactly which values are actually "good" in the concept, but it points at the need for a holistic understanding of landscape as a living environment; and it implies the significance of interdependence between local practices and landscape.

Local diversity in landscape planning decisions is admitted with the decentralization policy of this Act. Some challenges focus on the development management and the Landscape Plan[4] performs as a guidebook for the interpretation of the place and the story of the local settings. Landscape planning with community involvement is thus considered good practice of local governance.

In this way, in Japan, value concepts of landscapes have become wide-ranging through planning attempts to confront various alterations of local living environments.

3.2.4 Good Design and Good Landscape

3.2.4.1 Good Design Concept Developed in England

Recently, landscape has begun to be recognized as a common ground to deliver sustainable development. In England, the concept of design was coincident with the term of landscape in the planning field (by the former Labour government), and seven design objectives were set out for good design (DETR and CABE 2000) to promote the future discussion of design review and development management in the legal planning permission system. These seven objectives of good design were to attain:

1. Character: a place with its own identity
2. Continuity and enclosure: a place where public and private spaces are clearly distinguished by continuity of street frontage and enclosure of spaces

4 The Landscape Plan is the new planning system established by the Landscape Act of 2004, and most of the planning decisions are left open to local governments, who are expected to provide good governance with community involvement.

3. Quality of the public realm: a place with attractive, safe and uncluttered public spaces working effectively for all in society
4. Ease of movement: a place with high accessibility and local permeability
5. Legibility: a place that has a clear image and is easy to understand
6. Adaptability: a place that can respond to changing social, technological and economic conditions
7. Diversity: a place with variety and choices by compatible developments responding to local needs.

Implementing these objectives was facilitated by a strategy that is based on the understanding of a place. The planning resources by CABE (2009) advised that a good Core Strategy of Local Development Framework[5] needs to tell the story of the place. Good Design in England and Good Landscape in Japan have a common understanding of the landscape as a distinctive character of a place, reflecting living history as well as the quality of the physical settings.

3.2.4.2 Coherence and Legibility

Lively places are the results of a continuous interactive process of managing moderation in changes with the understanding of the local context. Both "Good Design" and "Good Landscape" provide the objectives and interpretations of "Good" as based on local value systems. Planning is supposed to be managed as a process that makes plans and designs fit into place. In this sense, "good" implies to maintain the legibility of a place as it has become familiar to the people in accordance with local context and setting.

Occasionally we come across people describing a familiar landscape with clear image and spatial understanding, even if some parts of the place have changed or actually been lost. Interventions for the sake of a better life can be rapid in some places and may result in a completely different style, and in some other places they are slow, in keeping with local lifestyles. In the process of continuous alterations, recognition of the landscape based on the collective interpretation by the people in any specific place is the key for the sense of "good".

Hence, good landscape is not required to be static. Accepting the landscape as a process, appraisal whether the landscape is good or not would be effective and practical when it takes the community as starting point, rather than planners and other experts. It is commonly accepted now that the values attributed to local landscapes are not an immutable constant, but rather evolve in time and space and between generations (Lennon and Taylor, 2012), and have an intangible cultural value expressed through lifestyles reflected in the landscape. This understanding leads us to the challenges for generating a future landscape that gains future value, one day also to be conserved.

5 The Local Development Framework is a Local Plan containing the Development Plan Documents that the planning decisions are made in accordance with. Core Strategy in this Framework sets out the general vision and the most important policies for planning and developments.

3.2.5 Development Impact and Coherence of Local Landscape

3.2.5.1 Changes in the Historic Urban Landscape

Urban historic conservation in Japan, perhaps also in other Asian countries, confronts radical conflicts between the preservation of the physical setting and the sustainability of urban economical achievements. Machiya, a low-rise wooden shop-house, which is the prototype of historic Japanese urban housing, is hardly fit to accept modern functions. The economic transformations of cities and towns have brought about the need to adapt spaces for new urban functions, a process that often involves substituting new buildings for old Machiyas. In conservation of historic urban landscape, the question is always which alterations may be accepted and which may not.

Some conservation efforts remain concentrated on the preservation of monuments and the symbolic district, while accepting some appropriate alterations to keep the positions of the local economic and cultural center; others make efforts to preserve the historic landscape by repairs and rehabilitations with the intention of tourism, which sometimes result in losing some of the traditional meaning and intangible value of the place. Either of these options is possible for a community to adopt.

Considering that the landscape is a product of the continuous process of local practices, lively urban places naturally lead to contradictions between sustainable transformation and authenticity in the landscape, depending on the criteria of the value system. The discussion on the conservation strategy of heritage in urban historic areas in UNESCO suggests that positive transformations can be made through the management of change.

The Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes (UNESCO, 2011), adopted at the General Assembly of UNESCO, outlines an historic urban landscape approach. Section 11 points out that this historic urban landscape approach aims at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces, while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. Section 12 outlines how the historic urban landscape approach considers cultural diversity and creativity as the key assets for human, social and economic development, and it also provides tools to manage physical and social transformations to ensure that contemporary interventions are harmoniously integrated with heritage in a historic setting and take regional contexts into account.

All urban landscapes are, in some sense, understood as the result of a historical layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, so the necessity of the tools[6] that UNESCO recommended for historic urban landscapes to manage transformation in a balanced

6 UNESCO's "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape" suggests that traditional and innovative tools be adapted to a local context. Also that they should be developed, including civic engagement tools, in the following manner:
- Involvement of various stakeholders and intercultural dialogue by learning from communities
- Knowledge and planning tools for monitoring and management of change with documentation and mapping, Regulatory systems

manner of conservation and sustainability are also beneficial to any of the many ordinary landscapes. The difficulty in implementing the provisions made by UNESCO to urban landscape conditions is due to the continuous transformation of the demographic structure and phenomena of fluid population dynamics. The number and kind of people who both observe and inhabit a landscape is crucial and must be considered if any management is to be effective.

3.2.5.2 Management of Change

The concept of "Cultural Landscape"[7] in Japan is a new concept that widens the understanding of what cultural assets are. Legislated in the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 2004, this widened concept reveals a new value dimension of landscape, and this value concept can be common to the ordinary landscape.

Kanazawa and Uji were the first two historic urban landscapes that were adopted under this designation by the National Agency for Cultural Affairs. Kanazawa is an old castle town, and Uji has been the production and distribution center of Uji Green Tea since the 14th century. These towns have both undergone a modern transformation, and now Kanazawa is the capital city of the Ishikawa prefecture and Uji has become a suburb of Kyoto. Even now, both places still retain some historic urban fabric and local practices, including their typical traditional industries and craftsmanship.

Both cities were required to set up conservation plans that helped to decide on the settings and significant urban elements to be preserved; these plans also make provisions for the implementation scheme, that is based on a regulatory system or on local ordinances. These plans accept transformation and change as part of a careful management of development. Unfortunately, it is not easy to achieve conservation while, at the same time, trying to promote development that can provide economic, social and cultural opportunities for future urban sustainability.

The practices of Kanazawa and Uji have taught us much about the difficulties of interpreting change and its impact on landscape value. Current principles and regulatory practices based on the building codes are not always adequately equipped to define and manage the limits of acceptable change (Fig. 3.2.4). This has, to some degree, been foreseen, and the cities put serious effort into improving involvement of the various stakeholders, with the confidence that the common interpretation of values forming the unique quality of their urban cultural landscape is vital in the development and modification process. This common interpretation of local values is what we call "landscape literacy".

- Legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes, and financial tools to foster private investment at the local level besides government and global funds for flexible financing.

7 Cultural Landscape is a new concept, and its definition is different from that of UNESCO.

Fig. 3.2.4 Difficulty in defining the limit of acceptable change (photo: Koura)

3.2.6 Conclusion: Landscape Literacy

Some landscapes present themselves as clear images composed of easy-to-understand settings, topography and climate features, natural forms, living history, social organization and so on. To develop "landscape literacy" might, however, present greater challenges where settings are complicated and where contexts offer less distinctiveness.

In Japan, it is often observed that in modern transformations of historic urban centers and of newly generated urban areas the new fabric overlaid the old context. In such landscapes it is complicated to perceive the layers. Nevertheless, the historic urban fabric and traditional manner of settings have often remained and they emerge after careful observation. Layout of the streets, axis to the surrounding landmarks such as the mountains, and meaning of the places are typical physical clues observed in the maps to reveal the local context. Expert observation sometimes serves to help and encourage people to become aware of the identity of their place and to learn to appreciate relevant values in their landscape.

When the inherent value system in the landscape is distinct and kept dominant in the community, the local landscape will likely be maintained in coherence with clear legibility, or with the "Good Landscape". Good landscape cannot be achieved only by regulations and standardization, but also needs an understanding of the local context within a value system. In traditional society, people comprehend the relationship between local settings and their background by way of daily activities, and without consciousness, the changes in the community were autonomously moderated. This cannot be expected to happen in modern society and we have to make strong efforts to develop "landscape literacy".

Landscape literacy is our faculty of understanding the value system inherent in local landscape as consequences of interaction between natural conditions and cultural practices (Fig. 3.2.5). This is essential to generate and sustain Good Landscape, but is not easy to reach common interpretations with the developers, who always seek for maximization of the market profit, even with the neighbors of cultural, social and economic diversity. Each of the places will set up its own individual value concept based on the characterization study. Thus the decision process related to Landscape Planning, with community involvement, is a good opportunity to empower local communities to develop common interpretation of the value system.

Lately, landscape has drawn public attention, because landscape can be the key to finding a common assessment and appreciation of developments that bring considerable changes in the places. Landscape literacy functions as common ground to facilitate mediations for appraisal and management of the urban changes, while the regulations do not work well to achieve good landscape. Landscape literacy is essential in order to develop a good landscape alongside any practice of good local governance.

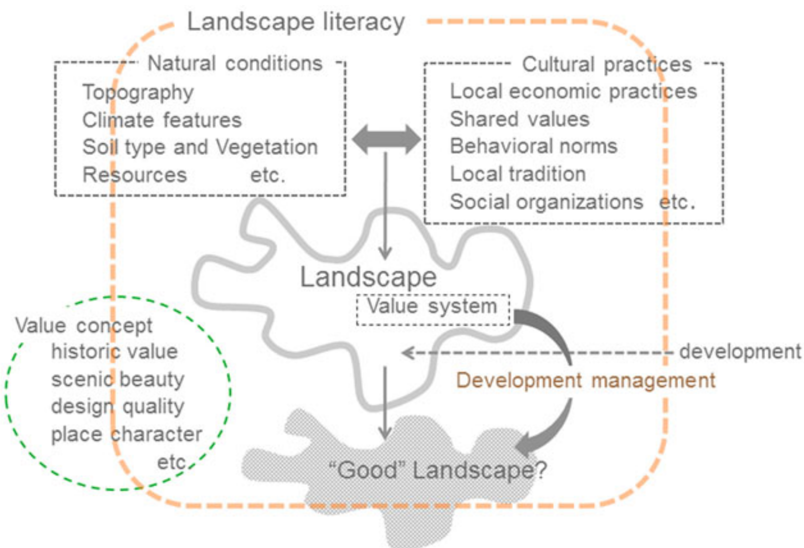

Fig. 3.2.5 Concept of Landscape Literacy (photo: Koura)

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Thai Conceptualizations of Space, Place and Landscape

3.3

Cuttaleeya Jiraprasertkun

3.3.1 Beginning with Words:

> "Words are important. Language is not just a medium, like a water pipe, it is a reflection of how we think. We use words not only to describe objects but also to express ideas, and the introduction of words into language marks the simultaneous introduction of ideas into the consciousness (Rybczynski, 2001, pp.20-21)."

The power of language to articulate and associate humans to their surroundings reinforces the 'reverse' idea that the entire fabric of people's meaningful world – the total environment – is assembled and constructed via people's language (Mugerauer, 1985). This concept of dialectical associations between *environment* and *language* is addressed by Mugerauer, who described the two systems as always being 'given together' – the former is given and interpreted by the latter (ibid.). His approach towards 'Environmental Hermeneutics' is adopted here as the essential way to interpret environment culturally through the construction of language and its underlying meanings (ibid.).

In this chapter, *language* is considered as a form of human artifact, not only describing objects or environmental features but also reflecting the ideas that one receives through one's cultural perspective (Mugerauer, 1985; Seddon, 1997). Hence the task of 'the reading' of space, place, landscape and community in the Thai contexts begins with an in-depth analysis of Thai terms (both officially translated and used in daily life), i.e. '*ban*' (house or home), '*muang*' (city or town), '*chonnabot*' (countryside), '*chumchon*' (community), etc., to tease out fundamental concepts and connotations that derive from or are attached to such terminologies.[1]

1 It is noted that this approach was also taken by Lefebvre, who was working on the discourse of a 'knowledge of space' between language per se and 'properties' of what is actually social space (Lefebvre, 1991). He brought in many theories relating to the definitions of space, ranging from the ill-defined to the undefined and the undefinable, to build up his argument on a 'unitary theory' between physical, social and mental fields (ibid.).

3.3.2 Language and the Dilemma of Translations

In architecture schools, one of the tough lessons for students deals with the comprehension of what ‘*space*’ is and how to create unique ‘*place*(s)’ through numbers of experimental design. Following this pattern, architecture schools in Thailand have adopted similar practice, and in this way established theories dealing with ‘space’ and ‘place’ (entirely from the ‘West’[2]) have been introduced to students since year one. It should be noted here that as most founders (both designers and scholars) in architecture and landscape architecture professions in Thailand graduated from overseas (mostly from the US and some from Europe), therefore the ‘Western’ concepts of space, place, landscape and others have instinctively framed their worldviews, their designs as well as the way they have shaped the professions simultaneously.

Throughout 15 years of teaching experiences in Thailand (both in architecture and landscape architecture), it could be observed that students often confronted difficulties understanding the conceptions of ‘space’ and ‘place’. These struggles continued to occur to the fourth and fifth year students when they were challenged to define such terms with (Thai) words. The initial assumption was that it was caused by the intricacy of language, as we, the Thais, are not familiar with and do not understand the conception of the original terms. Such speculation leads to further exploration why the translated versions of ‘space’ and ‘place’ – ‘*teewang*’, ‘*tintee*’, etc. – are not commonly used in Thai everyday language. The following reveals how these English terms have been translated to Thai.

In LEXiTRON[3], the English-Thai online dictionary, ‘space’ (n.) is defined as 1) an empty space or a room (*teewang*), 2) an outer space (*awaka*t), 3) a period or term (*rayahang*), and 4) an interval (*wenraya*) whereas ‘place’ (n.) means 1) a location (*satanti*), 2) a habitat (*tee-u-ar-sai*), 3) a position (*tamnang*), 4) a role (*botbat*), and 5) a point (*praden*). It could be clearly observed that the above definitions simply capture physical conditions and tangible quality of the term ‘space’.

Similarly, the concept of landscape, representing the way people perceive their place, has only been adopted into Thai academe over recent decades.[4] However, the term ‘landscape’ or *phumithat* in Thai is used mostly in architectural and related professional fields and is not common in Thai daily life. Its definitions as 1) geography (*phumipratet*), 2) view, 3) scenery, and 4) vista convey merely geographical and visual qualities. Essentially, it does not embody other dimensions of the English term ‘landscape’, including the dialectic processes and systems that continually change over time.

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2 The use of the term the ‘West’ or ‘Western’ in this chapter reflects the idea of Orientalism being inscribed as the ‘Other’ of Western civilization (Winichakul, 1994). The ‘Thai’ or ‘Thainess’ in this respect reflects the notion of ‘We’ or one’s own self that is different or in some senses opposite to the ‘Other’ or the ‘West’.

3 http://lexitron.nectec.or.th

4 It is noted that the first department of landscape architecture in Thailand was founded in 1977, under the Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University.

This is in contrast to the literature which explains that the concept of 'space' captures both geographical quality, and symbolic or conceptually abstract concepts. Besides, place is not just a location, a homestead or a position in a social hierarchy normally referred to in a loosely popular sense (Hay, 1998; Hayden, 1995); it contains an experiential dimension and a meaningful quality which is continually produced and reproduced over a period of time (Gustafson, 2001). As Lefebvre argued, knowledge from 'a science of space', with a strong geometric meaning, is inadequate to give rise to our understanding of space; instead a unitary theory of physical, mental and social space is what is needed (Lefebvre, 1991). All these indications confirm that the literal translations of English to Thai could not capture the abstract or in-depth meanings subsisting in the original terms, and therefore would hardly help the Thais understand their own 'space' and 'place' at a deeper level. Thus, the following questions are raised: what would be the Thai conceptions of 'space' and 'place', how have they been framed, and how is the essence of authentic Thai 'space' and 'place' portrayed? But before beginning to read the terms, it is necessary to be made familiar with the essential idea, so-called 'unboundedness', which has distinctively characterized Thai qualities of space and place spatially, culturally and spiritually.

3.3.3 Reading Thainess Through the 'Unboundedness'

One of the difficulties in understanding and describing the essence of 'Thainess' (*khwam pen thai*) arises because the concept of clear-cut definition has hardly been implemented in Thai ordinary culture.[5] The concept of 'unboundedness' is manifested in many realms and dimensions of Thai culture, from an observable realm of spatial organization to an invisible sociopolitical realm, and from an interpersonal level of social relationships to an individual level of perceptions and thoughts.

Drawing on Thongchai Winichakul's research on the geo-body of Siam, the concept of 'non-boundary' was crucial to the geographical formation and history of the country. His investigations on the difficulties facing the Siamese, making an agreement with Britain in 1825 concerning the Siam-Burma frontier, demonstrated the misunderstandings and differences between cultures, languages, and perceptions of both countries (Winichakul, 1994). The British idea of a boundary line was identifiable, even though 'nothing' was a 'real' line. To the Thai, the 'boundary' was a thick buffer zone without clear limits – the dividing line did not need to be visualized. The core problem was the definition of terms and concepts of 'boundary' in Thai language – there were many words with similar meanings, namely *khopkhet*, *khetdaen*, *anakhet*, *khopkhanthasima* and others, but none of them meant exactly the boundary that the British had in mind (ibid.).

5 This 'unbounded' characteristic does not however apply to all Thai spaces and people, as seen in the contradicting example of spaces of the elite and the royal such as palaces, where enclosed space and fences are often seen.

The conception of 'unboundedness' also describes the sociopolitical system of the Siamese country as a kingdom in the old days, in which political power was extended not over territory but over the people ruled by the same king (Keyes, 1987; Raendchen, 2002). Indeed, the kingdom of Siam or what we now call Thailand is formed by the intermixture of many ethnic groups, such as Laotian, Mon, Khmer, Malay, Vietnamese, Chinese, Indian, and others (Carter, 1988; Pithipat, 2001; Wallipodom, 2000; Wyatt, 2002). These intermingling and undetermined characteristics are perceived as ordinary Thai qualities, and so the need to define the characteristics of a typical race has never been an issue. Nevertheless, such an indefinite nature no longer applies in the modern political system, where the territory of each country is defined by invisible boundary lines, and modern bureaucratic systems tend to categorize people by race, somewhat arbitrarily defined.

Additionally, the essential vagueness about or absence of fixed meaning in things may also explain some cultural and social patterns in Thai society; for example, easy-going, adaptable, flexible, and thereby friendly characteristics. 'Interdependency' among families, friends, neighbors, or even co-workers is one of the most recognizable characteristics of Thai people (Komin, 1985; Vichit-Vadakarn, 1989). In Thai society, especially among peasants or rural people, mutual support (*chuai-lueapuengpakan*) is acknowledged as good manners, so living separated from other people or being individualistic (in the way a Thai person might perceive a Westerner) can be labeled selfish, stingy, or narrow-minded (Smuckarn, 1985).

Fig. 3.3.1 & 3.3.2 A blurred edge between land and water: a cantilevered structure along *Khlong* Lad Chado: Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya Province (left) and a crowded activities at Amphawa Floating Market, Samut Songkhram (right) (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Fig. 3.3.3 A disorder footpath along Bo Bae Market, Bangkok (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Fig. 3.3.4 A social gathering at local Buddhist temple in *Ban* Bangraonok, Nonthaburi (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Such caring attitudes towards others explain the way that Thai people's lives are socially orientated. Literature explicates that Thai people typically value a social achievement which results in particular values or what Phillips called "social cosmetics", such as being caring and considerate (*krengchai*), politeness, kindness, helpfulness, avoidance of confrontation in personal relations, gratitude (*bun-khun*), and the belief in good and bad karma (*bun* and *bap*) (Phillips, 1965 cited in Komin, 1985; Klausner, 2000; Vichit-Vadakarn, 1989). Nevertheless, this socially determined character has gradually changed along with the transformations of physical settings. Research evidence shows that the urban Thai, especially the elite, is moving towards a more self-centered orientation, in contrast to the rural Thai who is still largely dominated by an other-centered orientation, accentuated by religious conviction (Komin, 1985). This change is also concurrent with the increasingly 'bounded' quality of Thai urban spaces observed at the present day.

The characteristic of 'unboundedness' not only applies to physical space and social behavior, but also to Thai people's ways of thinking in perceptual and spiritual realms. Komin suggested that the Thai idea of no separation between human, nature, and supernature – the human as a part of nature – is different from the Western way of thinking, where the human is considered to be the center (Komin, 1985; Vichit-Vadakarn, 1989). The effect of inseparability occurs similarly in the deep integration of Buddhism, Hinduism and Animism in Thai beliefs.

Of Komin's three identified attitudes to nature, namely 1) mastery-over-nature, 2) harmony-with-nature and 3) subjugation-to-nature, Komin (1985) suggested that Thai people subscribe more to the third, where natural forces are considered beyond control and nothing can be done about them, encouraging acceptance. This human-and-nature worldview is largely influenced by Buddhist philosophy, which addresses the ideas that life is a part of nature and the universe, that nothing is permanent, and therefore change is a natural law (ibid.).

3.3.4 The Conceptualizations of 'Space' and 'Place' in the Thai Contexts

According to Winichakul, local knowledge, vocabularies and conceptions become major tools to create in-depth understandings of Thai place and its 'authentic' qualities: what does place mean to Thai people, and how do they perceive it? Local viewpoints are vital yielding an intimacy that Thai people can achieve, but is something an outsider or *farang* (foreigner) can never achieve (Winichakul, 1994, p.7).

Since Thais were typically not specifically interested in defining their own qualities, the subject of how Thai space and place have been characterized was more in the focus of foreign scholars. Many who were simply looking for a proper sense of order and a spatial hierarchical system akin to that of Western cities referred only to the superficial images of Thai places, but were not able to describe further qualities or reasons beyond the terms 'complexity' and 'richness' (Maugham, 1995 cited in Askew, 2002; Fournereau, 1998; Crawfurd, 1822 cited in Smithies, 1993; Warren, 2002).

As discussed earlier, the Thai translated versions of those English terms (space, place and others) have limitations and cannot capture the overall essence of those original words. It is therefore suggested that instead of using the obscure Western concepts to refer to Thai space and its constituted places, local vocabularies and their underlying concepts need to be explored in order to comprehend deeper understandings of Thai places than those described by the 'other'. Hence fundamental notions that conceptualize Thai space and place are discussed below, consisting of *ban* and *muang*, the ecological worldviews of *chonnabot* and *muang*, and the community concepts of *muban*, *chumchon* and *mubanchatsan*.

3.3.4.1 Notions of Place: *ban* (Village) and *muang* (City)

Thai perceptions of place have been conceptualized by two essential notions, comprising the explicit, readily identifiable and describable feature of *muang* and the implicit, more ambivalent, less describable feature of *ban*, which are somewhat close to the Western ideas of city and village. The merging or interweaving phenomenon of these two notions results in contrasting characteristics in the conceptual, social, and political realms of Thai place.

The term '*ban*' is variously used in different contexts in the Thai language. It contains both singular and plural, individual and communal, and social and political meanings. *Ban* is a common term for a house, meaning both the building itself and the house compound[6],or it could mean a village or a cluster of houses locating in the same area (O'Connor, 1979; Anuman-Rajadhon, 1988). The concept of *ban* not only portrays place in a communal sense but also represents the specific characteristics of the overall place. It is commonly used to refer to a locale or district (*yan*) where a group of people share something in common (Klamsom, 2002).

Ban is also a term used in a sociological context. When Thai people say '*ban rao*' (our home), it means not only the house they were born or live in, but it also covers their whole village, district, or even the province they are from. People are likely to give more favor to somebody who is from the same locality (*khon ban rao*) and could relate to their experiences of place in several dimensions (Nartsupha, 1994).

The traditional characteristics of *muban* Thai (or Thai village) are its open system, interdependent society, extensive social networks, and sustained or self-contained economic system (*tammahakin*)[7]: people grow rice for survival, make clothes for themselves, and share goods and supports with other members (Nartsupha, 1991; 1994; 1997; Anuman-Rajadhon, 1988; Wongtes, 2001; Vichit-Vadakan, 1979 cited in Askew, 1994). The literature indicates that such characteristics have long been embedded in Thai society even to the present day when, however, strong modern capitalist influences are gradually invading the traditional system.

The term '*muang*' is explicated as a key cultural term in Tai society[8](Raendchen, 2002; O'Connor, 1979). It represents many concepts similar to those of *ban* such as individuality, sense of community, and social interrelationship. In ancient Tai, *muang* meant a city or town, either by itself or together with all its hinterland (O'Connor, op.cit.). In different contexts, *muang* could mean both the town located at the hub of a network of interrelated villages and also the totality of towns or villages ruled by a single *chao*, lord (Wyatt, 1984).

Several ideas were derived from studies of *muangs* and their characteristics in the past. The typical *muang* in history indicated the idea of pre-Buddhist origin, which determined the worldview and the understanding of the universe in Tai societies (Raendchen, 2002). Major elements were a Buddhist monastery, a palace of *chao-muang*, town walls with gates, and a guardian spirit, which inhabited the city pillar (*lak-muang*) – a strengthening symbol of inner stability (Raendchen, op.cit.; Stott, 1991). In like manner, the *muangfai* system, an irrigation system that the Tai had developed, also established the idea of a water-based city (Beek, 1995).

Additionally, the concept of *muang* and its related terms reflect a hierarchical concept in political and also social systems in Thai society. In the past, *muang* performed different

6 In the Thai context, the house itself is known as '*ruan*' whereas '*ban*' generally refers to the whole compound, both the building and surrounding space (Nartsupha, 1997).

7 *Thrisdichiwittiporpieng* (sufficient-living theory) was proposed by King Rama IX in 1997 as the way to revive and sustain the economic system of Thailand, in order to yield the utmost happiness for the dwellers (Ruam-duai-chuai-kan, 2001).

8 Tai society stands for the ethnic groups belonging to the Thai language family, including in Thailand, Lao, Burma, China, India, Vietnam, and partly Malaysia and Cambodia (Pithipat, 2001).

roles in the political system; for example *muangek* (major *muang*) empowered several smaller *muangs* (*muangluk-khun*) and dependent *muang* (*muangkhuen*), which had to pay tribute to the major *muang* every year (Raendchen, 2002). Nowadays, *muangluang* (capital city) still holds a prominent status, not just as an urban center but also as it portrays a politico-religious or ritual image to other *muangs* and for the whole country (ibid.). Moreover, *muang* could refer to many levels and many scales of the city. *Muang* is prefixed by *nakhon* or *krung*, *anachak*, *prathet*, *rat*, or *changwat* when referring to a town or a capital city, a kingdom, a country, a state, or a province, respectively (ibid.).

The concept of *ban* manifests the associations between social network and political power, or in one sense between local people and state (*rat*), in the constitution of neighborhood place. *Muban* or *mu* for short, is considered the smallest local administrative unit recognized in the bureaucratic system (Keyes, 1987). It is ruled by its own headman (*phuyaiban*) who is traditionally an elder in that village. The headman's role is to look after the villagers, like a father looking after the children in the family. Similar to the village system, *chao-muang* or *pho-muang* (father of the *muang*) is responsible for taking care of his extended *ban* and its citizens. Accordingly, the kinship idiom has symbolically become an integral part of the concept of *muang* and established the sense of unity and social structure in the kingdom (O'Connor, 1979).

In the political sphere, *muban* (village) and *rat* (state) are acknowledged as the two most important institutions in Thai society. The close associations between the two notions of place – *ban* and *muang* – can be explicated in this political content. *Muang* is considered a primary unit of social and political organizations above the simple village (*ban*) level (Wyatt, 1984). Indeed, *muang* comprises both rural and urban villages (*bans*); thus *ban* contributes a fundamental concept in the constitution of *muang*, both in structure and in character (O'Connor, 1979; Raendchen, 2002; Veerasilpchai, 1994).

Through historical studies of the ancient Tai (Ahom-Buranji)[9], Nartsupha was able to point out the different concepts relating to '*ban*' and '*muang*'. While *ban* is accepted as existing by nature, *muang* is somewhat constructed and governed by the ruler (Nartsupha, 1991). The combined term '*muangban*' or '*banmuang*', which has been used since the Ahom era (1228-1826), manifests the close relations between state or government (*rat*) and villages (*muban*), or in other words the governing class and ordinary people, in the development of the country (Nartsupha, 1991; 1997; Raendchen, 2002; Anuman-Rajadhon, 1988). Nevertheless, it is noted that there is a gap between the studies of these two subjects, where the idea of *muban*, as a basic unit of social production in Thai society, and its existing qualities in the *rat*'s (state's) perspective, is largely obsessed with the status and influences of people in honorary or high official positions (Nartsupha, 1997). Nevertheless, the close link between the conceptions of '*ban*' and '*muang*' portray the intimate associations of social and political aspects both in the conceptualization and the formation of real place.

9 Ahom kingdom, located in the southern part of China, had been occupied by the Tai from 1228 to 1826, before being colonized by the British. The historical studies of Tai-Ahom, such as the lineage called *Ahom-Buranji*, contribute to the understanding of the formation of early Tai society, which is indeed the root of Thai culture today (Nartsupha, 1991).

3.3.4.2 Ecological Worldviews: *chonnabot* (Countryside) and *muang* (City)

The deep integration of *ban* and *muang* and their conceptualizations in Thai society have contributed to the construction of Thai ecological worldviews. Accordingly, there are two contrasting characteristics which Thai places, Bangkok in particular, are likely to express – the traditional, domesticated, natural, and undeveloped essences of *chonnabot* and the modern, public, artificial, and civilized images of *muang*. However, *muang* in this aspect does not purely mean a town as described earlier; its connotations have accumulated and been transformed according to the environmental changes in the country over the past few decades.

Chonnabot embodies the characteristics of *muban* or village, where the natural setting, traditional lifestyle and the domesticated environment co-exist. A classic scene of quiet, peaceful and simple atmosphere with easygoing (*sabaisabai*) way of living is portrayed as a typical image of *chonnabot*, as areas that have not been invaded by urbanization and modernization (Fig. 3.3.5).[10] *Muang*, on the other hand, conveys the impression that modernization is the way in which civilization for mankind can be conceived. Such a perception started during the King Rama V period (1868-1910) when many new development projects and approaches, inspired by the specific ideas of civilization of the West, were introduced to Siam (Sidthithanyakit, 1999; Smithies, 1993). In contrast with the original meaning of *muang,* in which no separation between urban and rural concepts was made, the urbanized *muang* is portrayed as a civilized space, a place where new elements, enriched culture, and developed environment originated (Fig. 3.3.6). Typically found in other global cities, the lifestyle of *khon-muang* or city people is often described as busy, chaotic, competitive, independent or self-centered, and easily stressed by the choked traffic and high density (Askew, 2002).

Due to the existence of vast areas of *chonnabot* in the old days, this concept strongly portrays the nostalgically held qualities of the past and therefore becomes a perceivably ideal place, environment and lifestyle, for modern people (Klausner, 2000). The invading urban phenomena of the modern period have directed people's perceptions towards '*muang*', in a way somewhat opposite to '*chonnabot*'. The dilemma between these two concepts can be explained further through terminological analysis: the implied meaning of '*nokmuang*' (an area outside *muang*) has connection to the term '*ban-nok*' or '*nok ban*' (an area outside *ban*), which portrays '*chonnabot*' or rural character (Askew, 2002; Noparatnaraporn, 2003). The two concepts may be portrayed as alienated from each other, nevertheless the spatial division between these two places could not be made – both characteristics are integrated into Thai place.

10 The author intends to avoid using the term 'suburb' to describe Thai places. The concept of 'suburb' underlies the pre-assumption of city center with definable boundary lines whereas the concept of *chonnabot* implies the idea of an area outside *muang*, of which boundary lines cannot be clearly specified. Westerners often describe the countryside in the Thai contexts as untidy, dirty and forlorn (Barnett, 1959), but the key concern of *chonnabot* is more on the essence of place rather than spatial dimensions and physical arrangements.

Fig. 3.3.5 A natural scene of *(Mu) Ban*Khok-ko, Makhamlom sub-district, Bangplama district, SuphanBuri (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Fig. 3.3.6 A dense area along *Khlong* Sansap, Pratunam District, Bangkok (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

3.3.4.3 Community Concepts: muban (Village), chumchon (Community) and mubanchatsan (Housing Estate)

From the records, the 'Western' concept of "community" has only recently been adopted into Thai language, as the term "*chumchon*" (a literal translation of "community" in Thai) was not in the 1950 Thai dictionary (Kanchanapan: 1992 cited in Hawanonth et al., 2007). However, several Thai scholars pointed out that the conception of "*muban*" (*mu+ban*) (village) has played an important role in the understanding of Thai "community" from the past up to the present day (Nartsupha, 1991; 1994; 1997; Hawanonth et al., 2007).

'*Muban*' not only refers to a district where a group of people have social connections, shared values and beliefs, but it is also recognized in a bureaucratic system as the smallest political administrative unit. In this aspect, the conception of *muban* explicates the intimate relationships between social and political dimensions, as they share similar networks and boundary. Accordingly, the role of headman (*phuyaibaan*) covers the building of social connections as well as managing the organization. Here, villagers are almost all relatives who have lived there since they were born and have therefore developed a strong bonding and many shared values, including family, religious, social, and community values. These close links have specially formed the community structure – indeed its strength becomes an important ground for community development, socially and politically (Fig. 3.3.7).

Fig. 3.3.7
A linked walkway in (Mu)Ban Lad Chado, Pakhai District, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Previous research demonstrated the processes of community fragmentations as well as the transformations of local municipalities of Bangkok over the past few decades – from the socio-political system of '*mu*' or '*ban*', abbreviated from *muban* (village), towards the more and more concentrated political system of *chumchon* (community) and *khet* (district) (Jiraprasertkun, 2011). Nowadays, urban places in the Thai contexts are generally composed of various community concepts such as *muban*, *chumchon*, *mubanchatsan* (housing estate), unidentified place, etc. Different levels of integration between social characteristics and political forces, expressed through the different community structures and organizations, are important to the constructions of community identity and image of place in each area. Although this political term (*mu*) is no longer used in Bangkok Metropolitan Area (BMA), there is no denying that its concept has been integrated in the community concept of "*chumchon*" which was later constructed. Nevertheless, the four fundamental components of *muban* in earlier days – *ban* (houses), *suan* (orchards), *khlong* (waterways), and *wat* (Buddhist temples) – still play a role in the formation of Thai urbanized communities today.

"*Chumchon*" in the Thai urban contexts today is not simply a translated term for "community". It is actually a conception of community distinct from *muban* – *chumchon* has many physical components and social structures similar to *muban,* yet it is politically different; it is a registered community, therefore not every residential area could be called "*chumchon*" (Fig. 3.3.8).

Khet, the administrative system of community later imposed, apparently does not correspond with local understandings of community or social organization. Several readjustments and resizing of political boundaries of districts (*khet*) in Bangkok over the past few decades have been carried out for administrative purposes relating to political authority and control. These changes to political boundaries have not only affected the reordering of house numbers and altering registrations of official localities, but also contributed to a confusing of the concept of community from the point of view of the locals.

Fig. 3.3.8
A semi-private entrance of *Chumchon*Tachang, Na Phra Lan Road, Bangkok (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Fig. 3.3.9
'The City': a housing estate along Nakhon Inn Road, Nonthaburi (photo: Jiraprasertkun)

Mubanchatsan, or housing estate, is a subsequent phenomenon, developing from a family business of *ti-chad-san* (land allotting) to large-scale professional property management and marketing. The essence of '*muban*'(*chatsan*) in the modern context portrays a totally different notion from that of '*muban*' (meaning a village) in a traditional context, although they both refer to a place as a community.The modern concept of land development not only constructs a 'new' pattern of settlements but also the new Western individualistic lifestyles (Fig. 3.3.9).

3.3.5 Synthesizing the Thoughts…

The readings of Thai conceptualization of 'space' and 'place' through local vocabularies create deeper understandings, thereby yielding better explanations of the essence of Thai space and place. The ideas are expressed in three levels, comprising appearance, spatial quality and meaning.

At the surface level of appearances, one must acknowledge that 'an intermingling essence' (or what *farang* (foreigners) described as 'complex' or 'rich') has been perceived as expressing distinctively Thai characteristics of the modern Bangkok. The basic knowledge of the local terms (*ban*, *muang*, *chonnabot*, and so on) significantly contributes to the reading as well as interpreting the merging processes and hybridizing characters of the city. Bangkok today depicts the co-existence or reciprocity of water-based and land-based settlements, *chonnabot* and *muang* lifestyles, and images of *muangkao* (old city) and *muangmai* (new city). Nowadays, the city of Bangkok has 'mixed up' the senses of rural and urban, traditional and modern, and village and city contexts in various degrees, thereby creating the notions of 'complexity' and 'the unfamiliar' in the social environment (Mulder, 1996).

The second level of spatial quality relates to the 'unbounded' nature, which has deeply been integrated into and thereby formed special characteristics of Thai space and place in various dimensions and scales. The Thai perception of boundary line as 'a thick buffer zone' in the old days helps to describe how several *mubans* with their blurred edge have extended and filled the substances of *muang* over time. The assumption of this development leads to further explanation why Bangkok today has no city center, but rather many centers of different activities. Similar to the boundary of the city, the suburbs of Bangkok extend today in people's understandings beyond the municipal boundary into the adjacent provinces. Hence the visual world of *muang,* that has in time increasingly merged with that of *chonnabot*, assembling the intermingling characters as stated earlier. In addition, the evidence of open system, interdependent society and extensive social networks found in a typical *muban* reflects the deep integration of 'unbounded' quality, not only to the physicality of unbounded space but also to social environment and perceptual dimension towards community and place.

The third level touches on the sensitivity of language, both definitions and meanings. The study of the terms '*ban*' and '*muang*' explicates their multi-dimensional concepts, including physical, social, communal and political meanings. It is observed that such terms do not clearly explain or, in another sense, specify how the physicality of '*ban*', '*muang*' or '*chonnabot*' should be. Instead, the definitions focus more on the overall environment, which is the integration of physical, social and political realms of that place.

The common usage of the term '*sapapwaedlom*' (literally translated as environment) reflects the way Thai people perceive their places holistically, rather than emphasizing any aspects. The survey illustrated that Thai people perceived an environment in two major ways; the physical environment (*sapapwaedlomwadtu*) and mental environment (*sapapwaedlomchitchai*). Over the past few decades, the physical environment or material surroundings in this sense were generally described as having been immensely improved, whereas the mental environment, meaning the qualities of people's minds – how they behave towards and think of others – was correspondingly reported to have been degraded. Such attitude was articulated by several participants during the interviews in 2009 – one local person stated, "More development, more deteriorations!" (P.1-04, 2009).

Additionally, the study of the terms '*ban*' and '*muang*' denotes the significance of social dimension in the formation of Thai space and place. The fact that the conception of '(*mu*) *ban*' has been a ground for constructing latter community concepts in the Thai contemporary contexts assures the continuity of this distinctive character as 'social oriented community'. This statement corresponds with many interviewees from previous research, who perceived physical changes as less relevant to their daily living comparing to social movements. Nearly all of them described their profound attachment to the place, meaning their neighbors who were relatives and old friends, rather than to the existential space.

The above evidence leads to the implication that physical appearance is not a major concern for Thai people. Rather social and psychological (including spiritual) values, or the underlying *meanings* of place, are the keys to comprehending and achieving a deeper level of understanding of the cultural sensibility subsisting in a Thai sense of place. Accordingly, the critical question on the adopted design principles must be posed – how can we design 'space' and 'place', or to be more specific, make '*ban*', construct '*muang*' and formulate '*chumchon*' for the Thais, who perceive things differently? Would the existing design principles (derived from the 'West') be applicable to the reading, interpretation and thereby construction of Thai space and place? And last, how would the local knowledge of Thai conceptualization of space and place be useful to the design profession? More development on theories, practices and supporting research, on design languages and tools appropriate to the Thai contexts is urgently required!

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3.4 Borrowed or Rooted?

The Discourse of 'Landscape' in the Arab Middle East

Jala Makhzoumi

3.4.1 Introduction

The English word 'landscape' originated in European cultures initially implying a rural 'tract', a section of the countryside (Makhzoumi and Pungetti, 1999). Over time, such earth-bound meanings evolved. Today 'landscape' embraces multiple meanings, contributed by those disciplines appropriating the word. To artists, landscape may be scenery, to geographers landscape is interchangeable with 'place', conceptualized as an expression of culture, while to landscape ecologists it is a holistic entity and the outward expression of an ecosystem (Makhzoumi, 2002). In common parlance, at least in the English speaking world, it is the visual meaning that continues to prevail[1]. For most people, landscape implies 'beautiful' natural scenery or a view of the countryside. Tracing the development of landscape in Western culture, Olwig (2002) invites an interrogation of the "the discourses of landscape, country, and nature in order to bring out the ways they have interacted in various narrations and colored each other". The European Landscape Convention (ELC), for example, applies the discursive elasticity of 'landscape' to discuss the idea of 'country', 'identity' and 'heritage' within the physical and cultural setting of the European Union. The emphasis on people, society and culture is clear in the ELC's definition of landscape: "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors"[2]. The ELC is in fact the first to formally recognize and embrace 'landscape' at the international level, recognizing that intangible social values and preferences are not universal but vary from one place to another. Ironically intangible, variable cultural associations that account for the attractiveness of landscape preclude its use, for example, by United Nations Agencies, that favor 'environment,' precisely because it is perceived as 'scientific', universal and readily quantifiable[3].

1 For specifics of landscape meanings in other languages see pertinent chapters of this book.

2 Council of Europe

3 In the absence consensus on a translation for the English term 'landscape' in Arabic, 'environment' is not uncommonly used to imply 'landscape' (see Makhzoumi, 2002).

There are two conceptions of landscape in the Arab Middle East[4]. The first, a local interpretation of the English word, dates back to colonial and post-colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century. It is a conception that is 'borrowed' from Western culture with total disregard to the social and environmental context. There is another, less recognized conception that is 'rooted' in traditional perceptions and vernacular valuations that evolved in the Middle East over millennia. Both conceptions struggle to find the correct linguistic expression. The 'borrowed' conception searches for a word in Arabic that encompasses the layered meaning associated with the English word; however, with little success[5]. Neither is there an all-encompassing word in Arabic for the 'rooted' conception. The absence of an Arabic term, however, is not in any way the result of linguistic shortcomings. Arabic is an extremely malleable and resourceful language that has kept abreast with modern times in coining new words and in finding suitable translations for a myriad of terms. The problem, as we argue in this chapter, is the failure to recognize that the totalizing understanding of the English term 'landscape' is not universal but specific to Western culture. Cosgrove argues that the landscape idea (1984) "represents a way to seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it". In essence, the difference between the 'borrowed' and the 'rooted' embodies the contrasting understanding of contemporary Western societies and Non-Western ones (Bender, 1993). Whereas the former embodies a typically distanced privileged way of conceptualizing landscape, which places the viewers at the point from which the 'seeing' occurs and is therefore human-centered. The conception of landscape in Non-Western societies de-privileges the visual dimension of landscape, drawing instead on everyday lived-in experiences of surroundings and their appreciation as places and the fabric for the construction of identity and belonging. Demystifying the absence of a word in Arabic language or for the matter in Farsi as in Turkish is a necessary first step in the discourse of landscape in the Middle East (Makhzoumi, 2002).

This chapter is part of the ongoing research into the meaning of 'landscape' in the Arab Middle East. We follow two complementary lines of inquiry[6]. The first is academic, research-based in which landscape serves as a framework for understanding places and cultures. Rural culture is seen as more likely to reveal a 'rooted' conception of 'landscape' in view of historical continuities, because livelihoods depend on natural resources and because of the relatively limited exposure to globalizing influences. The second line of inquiry draws on professional practice in landscape architecture. Whether theoretical or applied, a holistic, expansive outlook of 'landscape' is adopted to embrace what is visible (landform, vegetation, buildings), invisible (ecological and environmental processes shaping the landscape) and intangible (culturally rooted aesthetic preferences and perceptions).

4 The Arab Middle East includes Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Syria. UN-HABITAT uses the term "Mashreq", Arabic FOR countries in the eastern half of the Arab World. In this study the focus is on three countries: Lebanon, Syria and Iraq.

5 The word currently used is *mashhad* or *manthar*, respectively, 'scene' and 'scenery' in Arabic.

6 The dual track inquiry draws on the author's academic and professional experience in the region since 1985.

The chapter is structured into three parts. The first discusses the 'borrowed' conception of landscape, tracing the introduction of 'landscape' by colonial and post-colonial rule in the Arab Middle East. The second interrogates the perception of landscape in rural south Lebanon to unfold a culturally 'rooted' conception of 'landscape'. The concluding section compares these two.

3.4.2 Urban Culture: A 'Borrowed' Conception of Landscape

The 'borrowed' perception of 'landscape' in the Arab Middle East is the outcome of historical, urban morphological changes dating back to colonial rule in the region. King (1990) argues that the manifestation of colonial rule was urban, demonstrated through the restructuring of colonized cities politically, administratively, economically and spatially. In essence, colonization meant the "introduction of 'Western' urban form into 'non-Western' countries (and cultures)" (Abu-Lughod, 1965 quoted in King, 1990). Physical restructuring of cities in the Middle East transformed not only the urban morphology, but just as significantly, the social fabric and local culture.

The idea of 'landscape' was introduced in the Arab Middle East with colonial urban restructuring in the first half of the twentieth century. Colonial authorities and later postcolonial governments were instrumental in 'Westernizing' the traditional urban structure. An earlier wave of modernization during Ottoman rule in the last decade of the nineteenth century embraced limited urban planning interventions. In Baghdad, historic ramparts were demolished with the intention of replacing them with wide boulevards. In the citadel town of Aleppo and in Damascus wide straight streets were laid out to form the nucleus of modern growth. Beirut received its first municipal park (Fig. 3.4.1). The historic significance of these cities, some among the oldest continually inhabited in the world, was not a consideration. Wide boulevards dissected winding alleyways, outward looking large

Fig. 3.4.1
Sanaye' Park, c. 1900, Beirut, Lebanon, established under late Ottoman rule (source: Fouad Debbas, 1986)

Fig. 3.4.2
Sahat al Tahrir, a landmark roundabout south of the medieval walls of Baghdad, planned in conjunction with a municipal park, Hadiqat al Umma, both dating to the 1950s.

Fig. 3.4.3
Juxtaposition of the 'modern' and 'traditional' urban fabrics in Damascus, Syria (source: Google Earth)

blocks replaced inward looking courtyard buildings and traffic junctions and spacious roundabouts destroyed what remained of orchards in the urban periphery (Fig. 3.4.2). Today, traces of the historic urban core are barely noticeable in some cities, preserved in others, encapsulated by a web of modern radial streets (Fig. 3.4.3).

Historically, Arab cities had few open spaces because of climatic considerations, but also because land was limited in walled cities. The inhabitants of traditional, walled cities found relief in the surrounding orchards and in the agricultural landscapes, which supplied the city with food and served as landscapes of leisure and recreation. Equally, rivers were a traditional recreational space, for example the Barada River and its tributaries in Damascus and the Tigris River in Baghdad. In coastal cities such as Beirut, the waterfront came to serve as a favorite promenade. Colonial restructuring produced an abundance of open spaces that materialized around buildings and were embodied by traffic corridors and large roundabouts. Dealing with these spaces must have been problematic because there

Fig. 3.4.4
Hassan al Kharrat traffic junction, Damascus, Syria, viewed from the ramparts of the historic core; perceived as the symbol of a 'modern' Arab city (photo: Makhzoumi)

was no precedence for these new urban landscapes in traditional Arab cities[7]. Alongside these morphological changes to the city was a shift in architecture towards a Western style or at best, hybridized styles with 'traditional' and 'modern' components. Landscape design vocabulary adopted to design public open spaces was similarly 'borrowed' from cities in the West. Newly constructed streets were lined with introduced species of trees and traffic roundabouts were carpeted with lawns and ornamental beddings, 'decorated' with fountains and monuments, perceived as the ultimate symbol of 'Westernizing' the city'[8] (Fig.3.4.4).

The municipal park, another 'borrowed' typology[9], similarly adopted the image of a 1950s-60s Western urban park. Free flowing, lawn carpeted terrain, geometrically laid flowerbeds, clipped hedges and scattered trees were, and continue to be, perceived as the 'ideal' park landscape (Fig. 3.4.5). More critically, in the absence of an Arabic word for 'landscape', and parks being new to local culture, the perception of one came to be understood in terms of the other; 'landscape' automatically evokes the 'borrowed' western image of the 'municipal park'. This narrow, formal understanding dominates in Arab Cities today, a conception that prioritizes the visual and the scenic rather than being engaging, just as it is limiting of the potential of 'landscape' as a medium for discussing Arab culture and identity.

7 The Maydan located outside the city gates was the largest urban open space. In Beirut and in Baghdad the Maydan was incorporated in the expanding urban footprint, redefined as a square, respectively, Shohada Square and Tahrir Square.

8 Examples of iconic traffic junctions include Sahat Al Umawiyeen in Damascus, Sahat al Tahreer and al Maydan, north and south of the walled city of Baghdad and Sahat al Shohada in Beirut, location of the maydan east of the walled city.

9 For example, Hadiqat al Jalaa and later Hadiqat Teshreen in Damascus, Hadiqat al Umma and Park Al Sadoun in Baghdad, and Hadiqat al Shohada and Hadiqat al Sanayeh in Beirut that was established in the late Ottoman era.

Fig. 3.4.5
The scenic image of Al Manshiya Public Park, Damascus, Syria, embodies the prevailing conception of 'landscape' in Arab Cities (photo: Makhzoumi)

Beyond spatial transformations, colonial restructuring undermined traditional practices and institutions and disregarded social values and aesthetic sensibilities in Arab cities. Western values and lifestyles slowly took over urban culture accompanied by an obsession with everything that is Western at the expense of traditional culture. A western conception similarly came to dominate the discourse of 'heritage' in the Arab Middle East. Daher and Maffi (2014) argue that the disassociation from the local and the recent past "had its roots in the pre- and post-mandate and colonial periods, when modernity was introduced as ever-changing and progressive; and it was contrasted with tradition, which was presented as static, unchanging, anti-progress, unscientific…" (ibid.).

Disassociation from the local culture during colonial restructuring undermined as well the ecological and cultural continuity between the city and the surrounding region, reorienting the city to the West, to the culture of the colonizer. The narrow understanding of 'landscape' discussed above is in many ways the outcome of cultural and ecological discontinuities, both temporal (rejection of the recent past), and spatial (isolation of the city from its region), ultimately reducing 'landscape' to the design of traffic roundabouts and municipal parks, in short urban beautification. Outside the Westernizing and rapidly homogenizing landscape of cities, however, lies an exceptionally diverse rural landscape that has been kept alive with traditional management practices and an inherited system of valuation that can inform the discourse of landscape.

3.4.3 Rural Culture: A 'Rooted' Conception of Landscape

The Arab Middle East is one of the oldest continually inhabited regions in the world. It was here, that plants were domesticated and agriculture was invented. It is a land of mountains and deserts, rivers and valleys, its ecology is defined by the interface of three

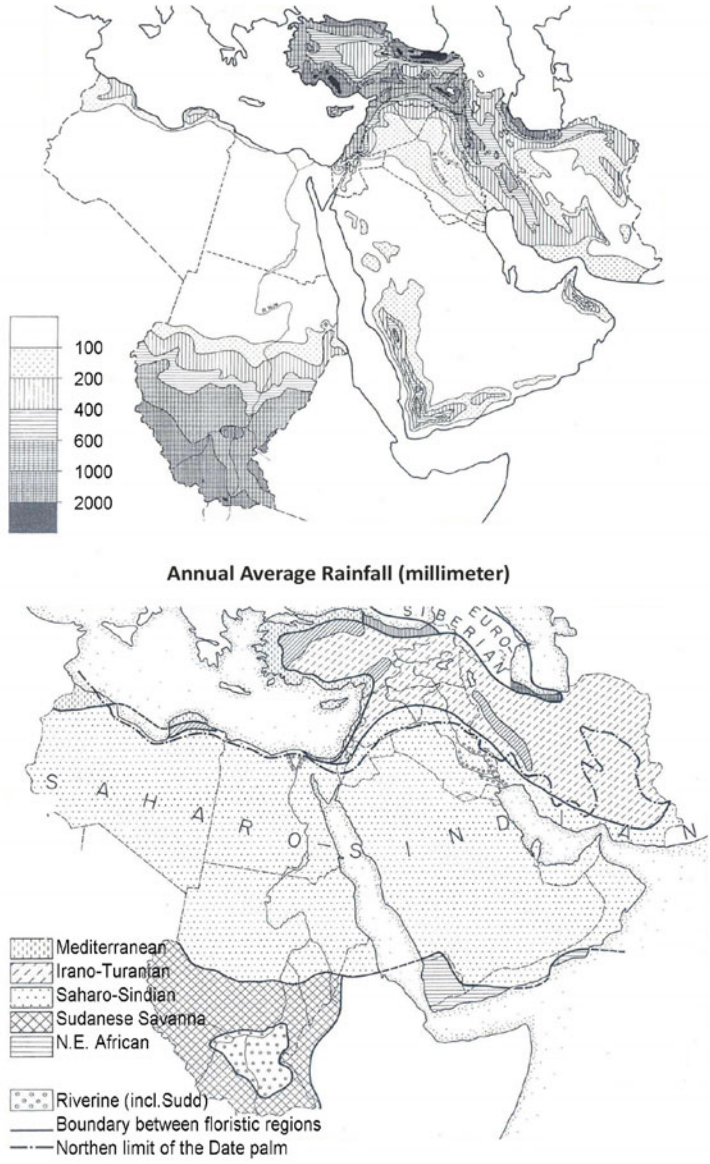

Fig. 3.4.6 The regional landscape in the Middle East is exceptionally diverse as physical setting, socially, ethnically and culturally (Compiled by Makhzoumi from Fisher, 1978)

biomes: chaparral/the Mediterranean; the temperate grassland and the desert[10]. Geomorphologic heterogeneity provides diverse climatic sub-regions that have evolved over time to form a mosaic of habitats and ecosystems (Fig. 3.4.6). People and nature co-evolved in a predominantly hostile environment, one shaping the other, the embodiment of the ongoing struggle with aridity and the encroachment of the desert. The contrast between fertile, cultivated lands and bare arid ones shaped the conception of paradise and hell in Abrahamic religions, all three of which appeared in this region. Human adaptations to environmental and ecological determinants over time produced a diverse cultural landscape that includes woodlands and scrublands, palm orchards and terraced cropping, olive and vines cropping, pastoral lands, cities and villages, towns and desert oases. The diversity of vernacular landscapes and equally associated cultural conceptions of these landscapes are indeed a natural and cultural heritage of the Middle East (Fig. 3.4.7).

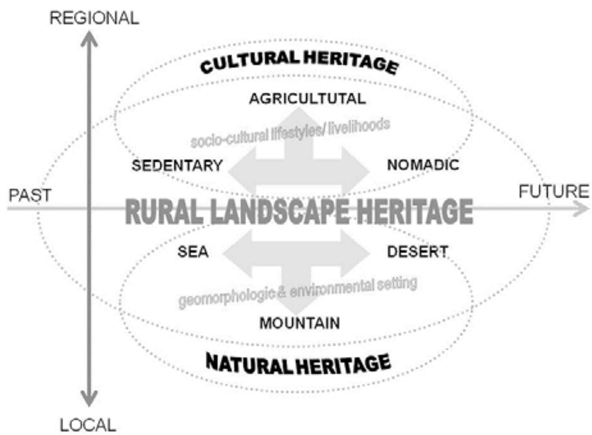

Fig. 3.4.7

Conceptual representation of the rural landscape heritage in the Arab Middle East (source: Makhzoumi, 2014)

3.4.4 Conception of Landscape at the Macro-scale: Village Culture

Landscape represents the co-evolution of people and environment, "a tangible *product* of the act of shaping and intangible *process* of making sense of surroundings through shared meanings and values" (Makhzoumi, 2009). Shared meanings and values, whether embedded in the product or guiding the process of shaping, can inform the discourse of landscape. Ebel-es-Saqi, a village in the southern hills of the Lebanon serves as the context

10 See World Biomes

for investigating the discourse of landscape in rural culture[11]. The Lebanon is a land of mountains and hilly terrain. 'Nature' has been shaped by human agency over millennia into a diverse landscape mosaic including woodlands, degraded scrublands, perennial cropping of olive and vine in association with stone terraces, arable farming in the valleys, villages occupying the peaks. Traditionally, landscape management combines silvicultural, agricultural and pastoral practices that maintain the rural landscape mosaic (Fig. 3.4.8).

Fig. 3.4.8
Overview of Ebel-es-Saqi with cultivated fields and olive orchards in the foreground and the village woodland against the snow-capped peaks of Mount Hermon (photo: Makhzoumi)

To explore the perception of landscape in Ebel-es-Saqi, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were carried out with selected village inhabitants. To avoid the use of deficient Arabic translations and to steer clear of the 'borrowed' meaning, an oblique approach was adopted by referencing the inquiry to key components of the village landscape without using 'landscape'. The components include: village woodland, (Arabic, *horsh* or *hima Ebel*); olive orchards (Arabic, *saqi*, *hakli*); Ebel-es-Saqi Spring (Arabic, *nabaat Ebel*) and two memorial gardens established by the UNIFIL in the village (Arabic, *jinaynat Ghandi* and *jinaynat al Narouj*) (Fig. 3.4.9). Despite the absence of an Arabic word, the findings confirm that "there is a spatially explicit and linguistically layered conception of the village landscape" (ibid.). The rural discourse of landscape in Ebel unfolds five mutually inclusive themes: the functional; the environmental; the aesthetic; the spatial; identity and heritage. The functional theme, the usefulness of the landscape to individual and communal livelihoods, dominates the discourse and lies at the heart of local valuation of landscape. Landscape usefulness was inextricably intertwined with landscape valuation not only in agricultural

11 The author served as the landscape architect commissioned with the preparation of a master plan for the Ebel-es-Saqi woodland (see Makhzoumi et al 2012). Working closely with the village community (2002 to 2005) thereafter became an opportunity to examine local perceptions of 'landscape'.

Fig. 3.4.9
Key landscape features of Ebel-es-Saqi Village, Lebanon. Clockwise from top left, the woodland, the Ebel Spring, memorial gardens and olive orchards (photo: Makhzoumi)

landscapes, for example their productivity, but also in the village woodland, for example, whether it would secure funding for development from tourism or from similar projects. Landscapes that are not useful, for example the memorial gardens, are a luxury that the village community cannot afford. Moreover, in the Middle East water and soil are scarce and as such precious resources that should be managed prudently. Meaning associated with environment, 'landscape as nature', was similarly focused on benefits accrued, for example from harvesting wild plants and from bird hunting. The aesthetic conception, landscape as a source of pleasure, had two associated meanings. The first reflected the village landscape as a place of leisure and enjoyment, for example Sunday strolls, family outings and harvesting olives in the autumn. The second perceived the village and the surrounding mountain landscape as beautiful scenery. The fourth emerging meaning is the spatial conception of landscape, landscape as a specific place. A wide range of place-names emerged from the interviews at Ebel-es-Saqi, some relate to a generic landscape feature, for example landform, water, agriculture, natural and the semi-natural, while others include a proper noun, the name of a family or person from the village coupled with landscape features, for example an orchard or field. Fifth, is the conception of landscape as shared Identity and as heritage. 'Heritage' and 'identity' are recurring themes in the landscape discourse from Ebel-es-Saqi. Caring for landscapes is a means of continuing local traditions and keeping alive inherited memories of these places. In turn, these practices strengthen the collective identity, which is intertwined with the landscape of the village and the surrounding countryside.

The discourse of landscape that emerges from Ebel-es-Saqi confirms that far from a passive, scenic background, "the village landscape is an active, enabling a medium through which traditional cultural practices are negotiated, contested, modified and/or reaffirmed". Although, scenic beauty is appreciated, the conception is layered and experiential rather than passive and strictly visual. Regardless of age, affiliation, or education, the people of Ebel-es-Saqi appear to value all the components of the village landscape. Nor is the conception static or limited to traditional landscapes. On the contrary, the rural conception of landscape is dynamic, expanding to embrace modernizing influences, for example, war memorial gardens and the ecological park project for the woodland. Place-names and vernacular references to landscape were also significant because they reflect local awareness of the spatiality of landform and landscape resources. At the same time, indigenous knowledge of wildlife and related culinary practices reflect alternative ways of 'engaging with' rather than just 'seeing' landscape" (ibid.).

3.4.5 Conception of Landscape at the Micro-scale: Village House Garden

Complementing the macro-scale conception of 'landscape' emerging from Ebel-es-Saqi there is another one that draws on the intimate, micro-scale of the village house garden. Gardens mirror a relationship to nature in a specific time and place. As such, they embody a culturally rooted conception of landscape. In a region that is predominantly arid, the idea of garden lies in overcoming the desert, converting sterile, infertile land into productive land. The *hakura*[12] is a hybrid orchard, vegetable patch and pleasure garden, a sustainable landscape that is integral to traditional rural culture in the eastern Mediterranean. A

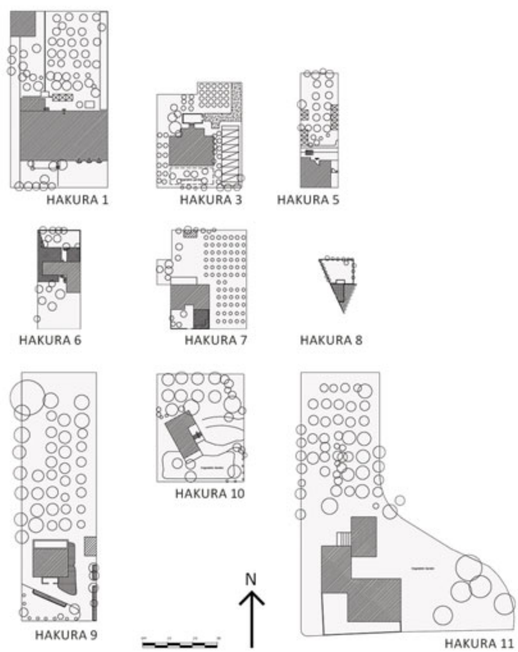

Fig. 3.4.10

Schematic plans of surveyed village domestic gardens, Siddiquine, Lebanon (source: Makhzoumi, 2008)

12 The '*hakura*' is the Arabic name for village house garden throughout rural Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

Fig. 3.4.11
The front portion of the garden of House number 9 and beyond the village landscape (photo: Makhzoumi)

survey was undertaken in 2006 of eleven domestic gardens in the village of Siddiqine in southern Lebanon[13] (Fig. 3.4.10). The survey confirms the diverse and multifunctional landscape of the *hakura* (Makhzoumi, 2008). The considerable size of the garden, often constituting more than half the property area, confirms the importance of the *hakura* as a productive landscape[14] and the continuity, both spatial and conceptual, between village peripheral landscapes, namely olive orchards, and the rural domestic garden (Fig. 3.4.11).

The *hakura* consists of two components, the orchard, *jneineh*, Arabic for garden, which occupies between one half to two thirds of the garden area, and the vegetable garden, *sahra*, Arabic for desert. The cultural significance of the vernacular naming is twofold. On the one hand it reaffirms perception of an 'orchard' as 'garden'; the two words, 'orchard' and 'garden' are used interchangeably. On the other hand the choice of 'desert' signifies tacit acknowledgement that nothing but fruit trees constitute a garden; vegetables and herbs do not count (Fig. 3.4.12).

Another characteristic of the *hakura* is the perception of landscape as a space that is 'full'. The idea of garden as 'full' is diametrically opposed to the contemporary conception of a garden, which is in essence an empty space, consciously decanted of its vegetative contents save for a carpet of lawn. The 'full' conception of garden/landscape is undoubtedly better adapted climatically, because it maximizes the benefits of shading by the trees just as it builds on the cooling effect from evapotranspiration. Additionally, a 'full' garden is a 'useful' landscape, combining pleasure and production and as such a more efficient use of precious water resources.

13 The gardens of two of the eleven selected houses were destroyed, in part or completely, in the aftermath of the 2006 war. Although the gardens were not surveyed, interviews with the owners and their use of the garden were included in the study.

14 The emphasis on productivity is reflected in the selection of tree species. Out of a total of 38 woody plant species identified, 24 are fruit trees, 13 are ornamental.

Fig. 3.4.12
Images of the traditional village domestic garden. Clockwise from top left, Marjayoun, Habbariya, Zoughartaghrine and Siddiquine (photo: Makhzoumi)

The third characteristic of the *hakura* is the emphasis on planting diversity, which is just as significant as the emphasis on productivity and fullness. Selecting a diversity of tree species is not incidental, but a conscious decision that is celebrated. Planting diversity is explicitly stated in the Bible, where God planted "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and food for food' and ensured that 'a river flows out of Eden 'to water the garden (Genesis 2)". Diversity is similarly emphasized in Quranic verses, for example "Does any of you wish that he should have a garden with date palms, vines and streams flowing underneath, and all kind of fruit" (Sura II, Baqara, verse 266) (ibid.). A comparison of tree species identified in Siddiqine with plants that occur in the Bible and the Quran is revealing. Nine of the twelve fruit tree species in the surveyed *hakuras* of Siddiquine appear in the Old and New Testaments (ibid.). The preference for diversity, for a garden to have one-of-a- kind, is anathema to the contemporary conception of landscape that prevails in cities. In fact, plant diversity especially trees, is intentionally limited to emphasize their role in defining the 'open' lawn area that dominates the private and public garden.

The social, economic and cultural role of the *hakura* landscape is also significant, echoing this garden's environmental and cultural distinctiveness. Semi-structured interviews with the residents of the surveyed gardens in Siddiquine uncover a dynamic and engaging perception of landscape. Garden productivity was a dominant theme, generally for consumption by the family to ensure affordable and fresh produce. Establishing and maintaining the *hakura* is extremely arduous. The terrain in Siddiqine is rocky with poor soil. Field and gardens are cleared of stones and rocks, which are then used to construct terraces and boundary walls. Soil is imported in truckloads and water is rationed and prudently dispensed. With such hardship, 'beauty' alone becomes a luxury.. Rather the rationale of the garden is to combine pleasure and productivity, respectively beauty and usefulness. It is understandable therefore that the aesthetic appreciation of garden is inextricably intertwined with productivity, confirming a reoccurring theme in Ebel-es-Saqi: 'what is useful is beautiful'. Equally important was the role of the garden as "a medium for the transmittal of vernacular gardening" skills from one generation to another, a place "where children develop an affinity with the land, an appreciation of traditional rural values and learn to enjoy gardening and the sustainable use of resources" (Makhzoumi, 2008).

The *hakura* rural typology served as a model for landscaping traditional domestic gardens in nineteenth century Beirut, a reflection of the culturally rooted preference for the *hakura* garden typology. A survey of traditional house gardens in Beirut shows that while formally, the urban *hakura* maintained the same characteristics like the rural one, for example being spatially 'full' and prioritizing on diversity and productivity, it slowly changed in conception (Makhzoumi and Zako, 2007). Far from family hub, the urban *hakura* came to serve as a spatial and cultural buffer that mediates the private domain of the house and the public realm of the city. Eventually, the productive essence of the *hakura* was forgotten, the garden was modernized by thinning out the orchard to make space for the fashionable and ubiquitous lawn, another example of a conception 'borrowed' from one culture to another, fossilized and decanted of its meaning.

3.4.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The narrow understanding of 'landscape' that prevails in Arab Cities today is problematic on several counts: it is strictly formal, reducing 'landscape' to an unchanging scene; it is generic, imposed regardless of the environmental and social context; and it is superficial, imposed and as such devoid of cultural significance and meaning. This narrow conception of landscape limits the professional scope reducing it to 'urban beautification'. In contrast, the conception of 'landscape' in rural culture uncovered in the Lebanese countryside, is engaging socially and sustainable environmentally and, just as significantly, aligned with the 21st century ecologically informed design and planning (Makhzoumi and Pungetti, 1999). Regardless as to whether there is or isn't a suitable word for 'landscape' in Arabic, it is evident from the investigation in this chapter that there is a clear and dynamic conception that is culturally 'rooted'. The rooted conception can inform and inspire the perceptions of architects, urban designers, planners and administrators so they broaden their city-centered outlook to embrace rural culture and vernacular, pre-colonial urban practices. Only then can the ecological and cultural (dis)continuities between the city and the region in the Arab Middle East be addressed (Makhzoumi, 2014; 2015).

Comparing the contrasting conceptions of the rural and the urban, (Table 3.4.1) illustrates the range of 'axioms for reading landscape' (Lewis, 1979) within Arab Culture just as it highlights inter-cultural differences, for example the rural and the urban. The comparison demonstrates the potential of a landscape as a framework for discussing Arab

Culture and for unraveling issues of identity and heritage, tradition and modernity at the micro-scale, the settlement, and the macro-scale, countries and regions.

If we accept that the idea of 'landscape' is a 'quasi artefact', in part nature and in part culture (Tilley, 2006), then a landscape conceptual framework can contribute towards a better understanding of the nature of culture and the culture of nature in the Middle East. Uncovering the cultural perception of nature and the culturally rooted 'aesthetics' of nature, can also benefit by expanding the search to embrace other cultures in the region, for example Kurdish, Turkish and Farsi cultures. Cross-cultural conceptions of 'landscape' can enrich the discourse of landscape in the Middle East, guide and inspire theory and practice in the landscape architecture in the region.

Table 3.4.1 The contrasting conceptions of 'landscape' in the Arab Middle East

Urban Conception of 'Landscape'	Rural Conception of 'Landscape'
• 'Borrowed', decontextualized, imposed	• 'Rooted', context specific
• Formal, shallow aesthetics, prioritizing visual perception	• Deep aesthetic, experiential engaging all the senses
• Static, managed to maintain an unchanging scene	• Flexible, responds to changing needs
• Passive, a 'product' to delivered and 'consumed'	• Engaging, a place of 'production' and 'consumption'
• Mono-functional, strictly recreational	• Multi-functional, combining pleasure and production
• Impersonal, decanted of meaning	• Invested with meaning, shared heritage

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Chapter 4
Landscape Perception and Preferences in Multi-cultural Settings

Outdoor Recreation of Turkish Immigrants in the Wienerwald Biosphere Park, Austria

4.1

A Stakeholder Process to Identify Research Questions

Anna Höglhammer, Andreas Muhar and Thomas Schauppenlehner

4.1.1 Introduction: Ethnicity and Public Recreation Participation

Migration processes are the main drivers for population growth in Central and Western European countries. In Austria major immigration processes took place between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s when immigrants from Yugoslavia and Turkey where recruited as so-called 'guest-workers'. Today nearly 20% of Austria's population have migration background (Jandl and Kraler, 2003; Statistik Austria, 2013), with the majority living in Vienna where immigration is expected to continue growing over the next decades (Statistik Austria, 2013). Multicultural societies are challenging political authorities to enhance integration processes, to provide equal opportunities and to enable access to natural resources (Jay et al., 2012; Open Society Foundation, 2010).

Living in dense urban settings increases the demand for the provision of leisure and recreation opportunities both in the city (urban parks etc.) and in its vicinity (peri-urban forests) in order to enhance health and promote physical activity (Guite et al., 2006; Hartig et al., 2003; van den Berg et al., 2003). Exposure to nature is important, and numerous studies show positive health outcomes on the physical level as well as for the mental well-being by reducing stress and improving mood and self-esteem (Bauer, 2010; Hartig et al., 1996; Kuo and Faber Taylor, 2004; Martens and Bauer, 2010; Morris and O'Brien, 2011; O'Brien and Morris, 2013; van den Berg et al., 2003).

Recreational areas should be open to all segments of society. In Austria, the Federal Forestry Act grants free access to all forest land – such as in our case of the peri-urban Wienerwald Biosphere Park – but several economic, cultural or organisational barriers can limit the access for some specific groups (Kloek et al., 2013). Biosphere Parks are publicly funded, thus openness to all societal groups becomes a matter of social and environmental justice.

Ethnic backgrounds can influence recreational behaviours and landscape perception through a set of cultural norms and values. Thus there can be different notions of concepts for green spaces and different priorities on how to spend leisure time, often shaped by childhood experiences in the country of origin (Buijs et al., 2006). For some communities

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_4, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

the social aspects of outdoor recreation are very relevant, indicating that those immigrants often visit parks in larger groups and many activities are related to social exchange and food consumption such as barbecuing and picnicking (Buijs, 2009; Jay and Schraml, 2009; Kloek et al., 2013; Peters et al., 2010; The Countryside Agency, 2005). In contrast, natives of Northwestern-European countries visit recreational areas mainly as singles or in small groups with the idea of individual outdoor recreation and nature experience (Schouten, 2005 cited in: Kloek et. al., 2013).

Recreational use patterns of immigrants can be influenced by factors such as confidence, a feeling of acceptance/a feeling out of place, cultural attitudes and by having different leisure time preferences (Edwards and Weldon, 2006; Morris and O'Brien, 2011), but also by security issues. The lack of social contacts can constrain recreational behaviour as well. There is also very often just a simple information deficit about recreational opportunities in the new residential environment caused by language barriers and the lack of advice from one's own social environment (family, peers, etc.) (Edwards and Weldon, 2006).

Leisure activities can promote cross-cultural integration processes. In sharing leisure traditions, societies with different cultures can profit by making new experiences and by enriching leisure lives (Tirone and Goodberry, 2011). However, this presupposes that individuals from different cultures are open to experience other traditions and activities.

4.1.2 Project Context

This paper presents first results from the research project 'Attitudes and satisfaction regarding the Wienerwald Biosphere Park: A pilot study towards the integrative function of peri-urban protected areas', commissioned by the UNESCO Man and Biosphere Program of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The overall goal is to gain a first insight into the relevance of the Wienerwald Biosphere Park (WWBP) regarding leisure activities for selected immigrant groups as a foundation for future target group specific strategies of the park management.

The WWBP is located in the federal provinces of Vienna and Lower Austria with a residential population of about 750.000 persons living within the park boundaries and more than two million people living in the surrounding land. The area comprises 51 municipalities in Lower Austria and seven districts of Vienna.

The 'Seville Strategy' for Biosphere Reserves[1] adopted by the UNESCO as a framework for planning and management emphasises the importance of including local communities and stakeholders in relevant processes in Biosphere Reserves (education, training, research and monitoring programmes). A main goal of the Seville Strategy is the utilization of Biosphere Reserves as models for integrated land management and as showcases

1 To avoid the negative connotation of the term "reserve" in the Austrian protected areas' system, the term "Biosphärenpark" is used instead of the literal translation "Biosphärenreservat", hence we also use "park" for the English name of this protected area.

for sustainable development where the involvement of local people is highlighted. One recommendation of the strategy on the individual reserve level is to "survey the interests of the various stakeholders and to fully involve them in planning and decision-making regarding the management and use of the reserve" (UNESCO, 1996).

Until today, little research has been conducted in Austrian Biosphere Parks on this topic. In particular, no empirical data about immigrant groups in the WWBP is available, although the population in the catchment area is characterised by a high ethnic diversity. Personal observations and experiences of the park management allow the assumption that certain ethnic groups are currently not sufficiently involved in management processes and are also not represented as visitors.

4.1.3 Methods

According to the principles of transdisciplinarity we aimed at integrating the perspectives of several stakeholder groups right in the first phase of the problem definition (Enengel et al., 2012; Pohl, Hirsch Hadorn, 2007). Using this approach we aimed at gaining practical knowledge of migration processes and outdoor recreation in Vienna and Lower Austria, identifying research fields relevant for the stakeholders and detecting common knowledge gaps.

Qualitative research methods were implemented to capture and discuss the stakeholders' views on recreational use patterns of immigrants regarding the WWBP and barriers restricting this use. Between September 2013 and January 2014 fourteen interviews were conducted. After coding the text, a content analysis was performed and themes were categorised using the QDA Software atlas.ti. Afterwards, a focus group discussion with 10 stakeholders was organised to jointly evaluate the interview results, to identify the common research interest and to determine the target group for the subsequent phases of the study.

Given the interdisciplinarity of the topic, the focus was on stakeholders from four different fields: forestry/park management, integration/diversity, health/exercise and cultural organisations from the ethnic communities (Fig. 4.1.1). The research team attempted to include stakeholders in all fields from both, Vienna and Lower Austria, to consider rural and urban aspects and differences.

Fig. 4.1.1
Involved stakeholders (source: Höglhammer)

4.1.4 Results

It became obvious that leisure and recreation activities are not a substantial part of Austria's integration policy, which rather focuses on labour, housing, education and language issues. Many stakeholders criticised missing actions regarding recreation and health issues, particularly concerning the first generation immigrants from the 1970s.

The management of the Biosphere Park expressed that disparities concerning the visitors of the park do exist. They wanted to address all groups of society actively and they intended to design and implement activities that target underrepresented groups such as people from immigrant communities. However, they also reported a lack of information about currently underrepresented groups, their unmet needs and the lack of knowledge in how to address them.

Figure 4.1.2 summarises the main aspects and interrelations identified in the interviews and discussions. However, there has not always been consensus on the relevance of each single item. For instance, in the interviews not all stakeholders reported injustice in access to outdoor recreation and some of them explicitly emphasised that recreational areas can be freely accessed and appealed to the individuals' motivation and responsibility. There were also different views of the main public interest in the overall topic: While some stakeholders mentioned the need for action particularly concerning health awareness within the Turkish community, others highlighted aspects such as education for sustainable development and conveying knowledge about nature.

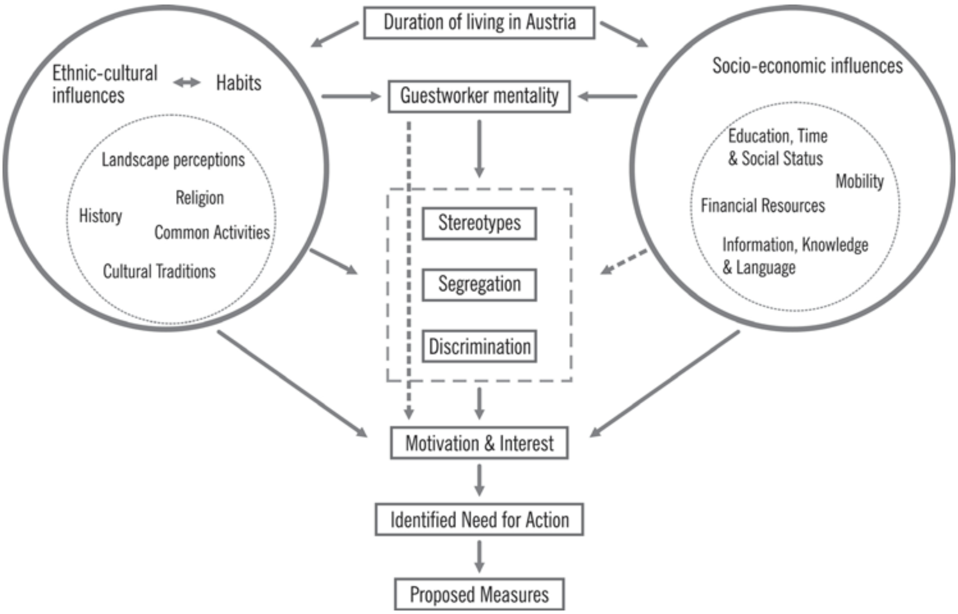

Fig. 4.1.2 Influencing factors derived from the stakeholder process (source: Höglhammer)

4.1.4.1 Past and Current Living Situation as Determinants for Leisure Behaviour

Long immigration processes along with insecurity and existential fear are seen as major factors restricting leisure time and activities. Stakeholders critically reported that during this period little time is left that could be spent in nature or for recreational purposes. The working conditions of most first generation Turkish immigrants are also perceived as a restriction, as many of them work in jobs with low qualification requirements, conducting physically demanding work tasks, often under shift, night or weekend work schemes (see also: Huber, 2010; Statistik Austria, 2009).

During the interviews it emerged that these first generation Turkish immigrants are highly influenced by the image of the "guestworker" status (Fig. 4.1.2), perceiving working and earning money as the main reason to live in the host country. Saving money has a high importance for this group and leisure activities are therefore often regarded as a waste of time.

Subsequent generations are not affected by the existential fears and insecurities of the parent generations and fewer barriers to visit recreational areas are perceived. Stakeholders regard second or third generation immigrants to be well adapted to Austrian society, but to be struggling between two ethnic identities, often being confronted with their cultural background. The interviews revealed that even if people from the second or third generation have lived all their life in the host country they are facing discrimination and it is not always possible for them to improve their social status (Fig. 4.1.2) (see also: Ambrosch et al., 2010; Riesenfelder et al., 2011).

Austrian mentality was described as not open towards foreigners, which complicates integration attempts and processes. Interviewees identified strong segregation processes in Vienna and Lower Austria (Fig. 4.1.2), and ideas to promote interactions among social groups were supported, though stakeholders emphasized that first measures should be tailored especially to address people from the Turkish community to raise the awareness about the importance of outdoor recreation and health, thus to prepare the ground for more integrative measures in the future.

4.1.4.2 Determinants Influencing Outdoor Recreation of Turkish Immigrants in Peri-urban Forests

The WWBP provides an important recreational function for people living in Vienna and Lower Austria. For immigrants this importance was emphasised in the context of poor housing conditions and lack of private green spaces. The need for recreation or experiencing nature was assumed to be very high within the community, but is rarely realised. Children and adolescents were identified by the stakeholders to have a specific need to use green spaces for recreation and play.

Socio-economic influences on outdoor recreation

In Vienna people from the Turkish community are a prominently visible user group in urban public green spaces, but this appropriation, which is of course not free from conflicts with other visitors, is rather limited to parks close to their homes. This was explained in the interviews by financial barriers, mobility constraints and childcare needs. It was stated that people from the Turkish community rely more on private transport/cars than on public transport. As car ownership is mostly restricted to men, women depend on their husbands regarding transport and are much more restricted in their mobility. Furthermore, many women stay at home to organise childcare and household, which means that urban green spaces within short walking distances are preferred to spend their restricted time outdoors with the infants.

A lack of information and awareness, inadequate language skills and education were identified as the most important socio-economic barriers influencing outdoor recreation participation of immigrants (Fig. 4.1.2). Their relevance was particularly emphasised in the focus of group discussions. The education level was seen to be a factor interacting with others as it influences the motivation of a person to learn a language, the interest in health issues, the participation in social life or the personal development.

Ethnic-cultural influences on outdoor recreation

Stakeholders described outdoor recreation, in particular hiking, as very typical of the Austrian culture, but also regarded it as an indicator of individualisation processes in society. In Turkish society a lower degree of individualisation was presumed where the family plays an important role and traditional social patterns are sustained. Young people from the Turkish community tend to stay longer in their parental homes partly also due to their employment situation which does not provide the financial means for establishing an own household.

Interviewees linked typical leisure activities of Turkish immigrants with a strong focus on being together with family and friends, mostly related with food (picnic, barbecue) or picking fruits and therefore, places where gathering and socialising is possible were identified as crucial for people of the Turkish community. Stakeholders mentioned that family gatherings on weekends were also common in Austria between the 1950s and 1970s and individualisation processes supporting outdoor recreation were rather a phenomenon of the past 20 to 30 years.

It was stated that leisure activities that were not practiced in the country of origin will also not be performed in the host country without external influences or incentives. Stakeholders had different perceptions of outdoor recreation participation in Turkey and pointed at a high diversity within the Turkish society. Most immigrants of the first generation came from rural areas in Eastern Anatolia, where the cultural traditions differ significantly from those in the more urbanised European part of Turkey.

The interviews revealed different and sometimes contradicting positions of the stakeholders concerning the ethnic-cultural influences on outdoor recreation, also addressing the role of Islamic traditions. It has been regarded as quite difficult to distinguish between consciously practised cultural traditions and mere habits of individuals or groups. Traditional Turkish clothing was partly perceived as counteracting towards physical effort or sports and was related with stereotypes or traditional gender role models. Some stakeholders also insisted that cultural influences should not be generalised for the whole ethnic group as this would imply neglecting intra-cultural differences.

Stakeholders characterised people from the Turkish community to prefer visiting places that are known in the community and where one can be sure to meet other members of the community. Interviewees related this tendency to perceived security, discrimination and everyday racism or worries if one's presence can cause problems. Feeling secure, orientating one's self and knowing about possible activities in the area were further aspects supporting outdoor recreation participation.

4.1.4.3 Need for Action

While the focus of our discussions was on identifying the topics to be investigated within the research project, of course many concrete ideas for measures to improve the situation have already been proposed by the stakeholders. The most frequently mentioned aspects related to providing bilingual information material and raising the community's awareness for outdoor recreation. In the focus group stakeholders specifically underlined the importance of considerations regarding sensitive intercultural differences in information material. Word of mouth was seen as a crucial way for raising the awareness about the

WWBP, which means that persons from the Turkish community would need to be involved in the development of measures so that they can then later act as multipliers within their groups. Many immigrants are organised in associations for people from specific regions in Turkey, although there are also religious and secular associations without geographic context. The regional associations have been regarded as the most suitable points of contact.

Stakeholders stated that if people are not used to striking into new directions, such as going outside or hiking in the forest, they will need willingness, self-motivation and support. For visiting unknown areas, particularly when they are further away, support by a well-informed person was seen as essential. Schools can be places where barriers can be overcome by organising field trips for children and adolescents to the WWBP.

A certain ethnic diversity in the staff of a park administration or of an outdoor recreation association was regarded as essential. Stakeholders explained that with having people from the Turkish community working as guides or in information offices, barriers to join Austrian associations or communities would be lower.

There were mixed views on the target group for first specific actions: Most stakeholders mentioned that with regard to the relevance of health issues it would be most important to address the first generation immigrants. However, they also acknowledged that this group would be the most difficult to access. Therefore, they proposed to rather focus on children and adolescents in the context of their social embeddedness.

4.1.5 Discussion of the Process

Implementing a transdisciplinary research approach allowed gaining insight into experiences and know-how of relevant stakeholders and integrating multiple perspectives right from the beginning of the project (Enengel et al., 2012; Pohl, Hirsch Hadorn, 2007). The variety of stakeholders involved in our problem definition phase revealed very different views on influences and barriers related to outdoor recreation participation of Turkish immigrants. The problem awareness amongst the stakeholders themselves was also quite diverse as many of them had not been confronted very much with this issue before.

Conducting qualitative interviews and focus group discussions allowed both, obtaining personal opinions and knowledge from each stakeholder individually and confronting them with opinions and arguments of the others. Thus, some stakeholders, who had never met before, came into contact with each other while working in closely related fields.

In the focus group the request was specified by the stakeholders to investigate development options based on the limited leeway given by the current living situation of people. However, it also became clear that involving organised stakeholders in the problem definition phase can lead to an over-representation of their ideas and interests which might or might not differ from those of the non-organised stakeholders. This needs to be verified in the next research phases. There is always a risk of reproducing stereotypes when interviews and discussions are conducted in the context of migration and the same interview partners could react differently when contacted in a different context (Jay et al., 2012; Kloek et al., 2013).

4.1.6 Conclusions for Subsequent Research

The stakeholder interviews provided information to evaluate the importance of leisure and recreation in the current integration policy in Austria and they showed that these issues have not yet received sufficient attention. The results revealed that social inequalities and discrimination has also become manifest in leisure contexts as within this field there is a multi-faceted interaction of complex social and cultural patterns. Therefore, further research is needed to gather information on these aspects, their interaction and impacts on the individual leisure behaviour of immigrants. Results also indicated that leisure facilities and recreational areas such as the peri-urban forests of Vienna have an important potential to support integration processes as they provide opportunities for spontaneous and less controlled encounter outside the everyday social environment.

Based on the stakeholder interviews, the discussions in the focus group and a critical reflection within the research team, the following research questions were formulated for the next project phases:

- Which role do peri-urban recreational areas play for selected ethnic communities in the context of individual leisure behaviour?
- Which requirements do these communities have concerning areas as the WWBP? What is the individual or collective leeway with regard to the current living situations?
- Which use barriers are perceived?
- Which role can the WWBP play in supporting the integration of people with migration backgrounds?
- Which target-group specific measures can be developed by the management of the WWBP?
- How can awareness about the Biosphere Reserve be raised? Which community specific information and communication patterns can be identified?

Based on the hitherto existing experiences we will keep with the format of qualitative interviews. The system understanding as depicted in Fig. 4.1.2 will form the basis for the analytical framework and the structure of the interview guide.

Acknowledgements

The project ASEG (Attitudes and satisfaction of ethnic groups regarding the Wienerwald Biosphere Park: a pilot study towards the integrative function of peri-urban protected areas) at BOKU University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences Vienna is funded by UNESCO Man and the Biosphere research programme of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The authors want to thank the stakeholders for their participation and their huge effort in supporting the project.

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Urban Open Space Uses and Perceptions of Turkish Immigrants and Migrants

4.2

A Comparative Study on Germany and Turkey

Fatma Aycim Turer Baskaya

4.2.1 Introduction

Today many cities are in flux due to transnational culture flows and mass movements of people. Urban immigration continues to grow; it is associated with a mutual interaction between the host city and the incoming people. Little is known about how immigrants and their new living environments are altering and shaping each other during such cultural transformation processes. This study intends to help to understand such a mutual relationship between city and people. According to Rapoport (1977), "[T]he [built] environment… [is] a form of non-verbal communication, … a code decoded by users" (p. 4). Emphasizing on how environment is closely linked to culture, Rapoport (1977) considers the interplay between human and environment in the context of "congruence, whereby people try to match their characteristics, values, expectations … norms [and] behaviours… to physical environments" (p. 4). Armstrong (2004) examines "the way [how] [im]migrants relate to place, both places of [their] origin and new places" (p. 237) and manifests how cultural background changes immigrants' perception on sense of place, belonging and knowing one's place.

Focusing on open space uses and perceptions of Turkish immigrants, this study examines cultural backgrounds of everyday practices. One assumption is that traditional experiences and habits related to open space usage are vital for understanding the processes of socio-cultural relations influencing current patterns of use. In a previous study Turer Baskaya (2013) gives insights into westward migrations of Turks from Central Asia and points out how this migration has long been the provenance of these people's multicultural life. Throughout the centuries, being in interaction with different cultures, Turks established a multicultural way of dealing with life, as exemplified by their language and cities. Ottoman cities have always been multicultural ones, involving different ethnic groups like Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Persians and Kurds. When Ottomans captured a city, they were arranging demographic changes and bringing different ethnic groups to the new land from the other sides of the country to constitute a multicultural urban structure. Migrants were accepting the new land as their homeland and were enacting to shape the city and their future. As a by-product of that multicultural life, the Ottoman language was not Turkish, but a combination of many languages. The Ottoman language took the Arabic alphabet and Arabic words, but used both with Persian meanings. The Ottoman language also adopted words from the Balkans and combined all of these words of different origin with Turkish. Regarding this multi-cultural background, this study addresses the question of "Although immigration is not a new issue in Turkish culture, why does Inner-Turkish immigration appear to be problematic today?" In order to explore meanings and conceptions pertinent to public open spaces, this study includes results from a comparative study on Turkish immigrants in Germany and migrants in Turkey.

4.2.2 Materials and Method

In order to gain a multi-layered understanding of urban open space preferences of Turkish im/migrants that are moving to big cities in Turkey and in Germany, a two-phased approach is adopted. The first phase enables researchers to compare past and present open space. Methods include conceptual studies on historical open space types and preferences. Based on existing literature (Turer Baskaya, 2013; Hamadeh, 2007; Unlu Yucesoy, 2006), spatial multi-cultural concepts that are dating back to the Ottoman Period are scrutinized. The aim is to gain an understanding of the cultural background of current open space uses and perceptions.

Methods of the second phase aim to compare the current perceptions of immigrants and migrants. For this purpose, a questionnaire was prepared with the support of three experts from different countries who are working on concepts of multicultural landscapes and trans-nationality. In collaboration with the "Turk-German Cultural Associations" and "Turkish Student Associations", people from two cities are selected to be included into the comparative study (Istanbul in Turkey and Kassel in Germany). 45 people from Kassel and 90 people from Istanbul of different income groups, origin, ages and educational levels are included. In Kassel these people took part in an online survey and in Istanbul they are invited to take part in face-to-face interviews. Respondents are selected proportionally from three different age groups regarding the numerical balance between male and female respondents.

The Ramadan period was selected for face-to-face interviews in Istanbul, because many people traditionally gather in urban public open spaces for fast-breaking. Even though it was not specifically arranged, people who took part in the online survey and in the face-to-face interviews were found mainly to be Turkish speaking migrants belonging to the Islamic religious sect of the Sunni. Thus, at least formally, there is no religious bias or differences within the respondent groups.

4.2.4 Results and Discussion

Table 4.2.1 summarizes how traditional urban patterns of use appear to generate some kind of perceptional boundaries for people of different gender and, at the same time, afford some public spaces to be open to people of all genders. According to the studies of Hamadeh (2007), Unlu Yucesoy (2006) and Kuban (1996), the interplay between privacy and public life that is based on gender issues plays a significant role in the open space configuration of the traditional Ottoman city.

In the traditional Ottoman urban fabric, close proximity between neighborhoods was evident. However, dispersion and spatial configuration of the neighborhoods of different cultural groups were enabling the interplay between privateness and publicness. In those neighborhoods where women dominancy existed, the level of publicness was up to the demand of the residents. Thus, spatial formations were transformable to eliminate any unwanted encounter with strangers through residential courtyards and backyards, cul-de-sacs and confidential passageways between residential units. Semi-public open spaces of courtyards and backyards were vital daily gathering and communication places for women besides acting as host places for tea drinking activities. Some public open spaces such as fountain plazas, mesires and bazaar areas were also available for women in case they were accompanied by male relatives or women within a group.

In the Ottoman period, open spaces pertinent to mosque campuses and coffeehouses were the major social gathering places for men. These open space usages are still available although usage of traditional coffee houses is gradually decaying within the big cities. Mosque gardens and courtyards are still popular open spaces for men as this type of open space usage is connected with the religion beyond tradition. Due to the religious doctrines, it is common for Muslim men to go to mosque for praying at the noon time of every Friday which promotes the popularity of these open spaces acting as cradles of social networks.

Table 4.2.1 Historic public open space types and their users

Public open spaces	Users
Courtyards and Gardens of Kulliyes (Mosque Campuses)	Men
Fountain Plazas	Men, Women
Coffee Houses	Men
Mesires (Promenades and Recreational Areas) Meadows (along the watercourses) Groves (on the hilly topography)	Men, Women
Semi-Public Open Spaces	**Users**
Residential Courtyards & Backyards	Men, Women (Women Dominancy)
Neighborhood passageways	Women
Residential quarters with dead-end streets	Men, Women (Women Dominancy)

"Everyday experiences expose different constructions of urban public space and reflect inclusive or exclusive spatial practices" (Unlu Yucesoy, 2006: 6). Hence, these experiences involve varying spatial and social interplays. Belonging and dis-belonging, public life and privacy, are all embedded in these everyday practices. Understanding the remnants of historic ways of open space usage helps decode the im/migrants current responses to host cities' public spaces. As they are used by a wide range of people, urban public open spaces cover many kinds and degrees of public life and privacy, belonging and dis-belonging, in relation to perceptions, conceptions and functions.

Table 4.2.2 summarises results of the two surveys with the purpose of trying to understand current open space uses and perceptions of im/migrants. Results are based on a small sample size and, nevertheless, point out some important parameters. These include "educational level", "home region" and "number of generation". Within this table, educational level and urban citizenship are inversely proportional to the parameter of age. However, such an evident inverse proportion does not exist between the parameters of age and number of generation due to the number of educated young respondents who prefer to remain in their host cities following periods of educations.

Rural or urban attributes of the home region appear to be critical issues; similarities exist between the open space uses and perceptions of people moving from rural areas to urban areas in Turkey and Germany. Within the sample groups, a majority of the first immigrants moving to Germany was found to origin from rural areas of Turkey, having no prior urban experience. Facing new and different spatio-cultural patterns in the host country, these people were apt to create clear perceptional boundaries.

Open space uses of Turkish immigrants/migrants start with some traditional forms, and spatial perceptions that are adopted from those of their home regions. A cultural tradition of uses of space appears to have been carried from the past into today's everyday practice; with some traces pointing all the way back to Ottoman times.

During the Ottoman period, cities had been hosting different socio-cultural and ethnic groups while appreciating the socio-cultural diversity by displaying hybrid open spaces. However, in the rural areas of Anatolia, each ethnic group usually had preferred to define their perceptional boundaries and to live in their own villages but to stay in proximity with others. Regarded as the centres of social integration, "mesires" involving distant public and semi-public green areas, had been welcoming families from all socio-cultural and ethnic groups for recreation and even camping. Using meadows or groves as the setting, mesires were hosting all day long recreational activities or even longer ones. Current picnicking practice of Turkish people is somehow related to the historic mesire usage, such as, for example, all day picnicking of families in city parks. These families are mostly rural originated ones who used to have contact with nature in their home regions, but currently have very limited access to green areas.

Table 4.2.2 Open space preferences of immigrants living in Kassel and migrants living in Istanbul; in order of frequency of response

AGE	KASSEL		ISTANBUL	
50+	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
	Mosque garden & club	Courtyards & backyards	Mosque garden & club	Courtyards & backyards
	Traditional coffee houses close to their neighborhoods	Neighborhood parks (tea party)	Traditional coffee houses close to their neighborhoods	Neighborhood parks and tea gardens
	Plazas where Turkish coffee houses/restaurants exist			
	Picnic with family (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)		Picnic with family (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)	
50-30	Mosque garden & club	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes	Mosque garden & club	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes
	Traditional coffee houses close to their neighborhoods	Courtyards & backyards	Traditional coffee houses close to their neighborhoods	Courtyards & backyards
	Plazas where Turkish coffee houses/restaurants exist	Neighborhood parks (tea party)		Neighborhood parks and tea gardens
	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes			
	Picnic with family and friends (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)		Picnic with family and friends (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)	
-30	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes	Mosque garden & club	Plazas & parks close to the shopping and transportation nodes
	Plazas where Turkish coffee houses/restaurants exist	Neighborhood parks (tea party)	Traditional coffee houses close to their neighborhoods	Neighborhood parks and tea gardens
	Mosque garden & club		Coffee houses close to the shopping and transportation nodes	
	Picnic with family and friends (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)		Picnic with family and friends (dependent to climatic conditions, holidays)	

Recognition of urban space has a tight connection with the repetitive activities of individuals in the urban setting. These repetitive activities, such as commuting to work or to educational and commercial facilities, constitute a link between individuals and place. Therefore, these activities bring about familiarity and sense of belonging throughout time. Plazas and parks close to shopping and transportation nodes are preferred by im/migrants as these open spaces have gradually taken root in their mental maps.

Repetitive encounters with open space are more intensive in the neighborhood scale especially for women. Proximity plays an important role for the popularity of such open spaces even though their recreational variety may be limited. Tea gardens emerge as an important type of open space at this scale. Despite some apparent similarities, respondents highlight the distinct spatial and perceptional differences between tea garden and coffee house. Lack of this type of open space in Kassel brings about an attempt to use other open spaces as tea gardens. Table 4.2.2 asserts the clear similarity between open space preferences of migrant and immigrant women while immigrants have a tendency to introduce new spatial activities within their perceptional boundaries.

People who are migrating from urban areas of Turkey to Germany appear to develop preferences that are similar to those of the host city's people. They also appear to be more open to socio-cultural interplays than the rural immigrants who are trying to define their perceptional boundaries.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Urban immigration or migration brings about a mutual interaction between the host city and incoming people, altering each other gradually. This study highlights the importance of understanding urban open space preferences of immigrants. More comparative studies are needed to deepen such understanding, and, complementing preference studies, research is needed into the conceptual cultural landscape. Both would beneficial for the furthering of multicultural understanding of spatial change. What appears to be established so far is that rather than simply receiving already provided unfamiliar spatial patterns, any incoming people naturally engage with the host city by applying their strategies and tactics for experiencing space. By examining the host city's urban fabric, im/migrants bring forward distinctive everyday practices while they formulate their mental maps. Therefore, they may introduce creative spatial practices, such as picnicking in city parks, using semi-public courtyards as tea gardens, or creating new social gathering places within their perceptional boundaries.

> These identification and classification processes are continuous as the users' social constructs change over time in each place with other users. It is in the urban public spaces that they make major confrontations and negotiations with 'they': defining and redefining their place in the city and new society (Unlu Yucesoy, 2006: 4).

Blizard (2008) highlights the importance of spatial experience. "In … experience, the city is recollected, drawn together into a unique order through memory. … [Thus,] to remember is to re-member an embodied experience" (p. 146). Risbeth and Powell (2013) indicate the importance of time passing as "integral to the relationship between local and transnational identities, encompassing past expectations of an imagined future, and ongoing generation of memories within known landscapes" (p. 167).

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Chapter 5
Inter-acculturation in Multi-cultural Settings, and in Territories in Transition

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Territories in Transition

Beirut Cityscape

5.1

Maria Gabriella Trovato

Fig. 5.1.1
Beirut cityscape
(photo: Trovato)

5.1.1 Introduction

Beirut, a kaleidoscope city reflecting a mosaic of various different overlapping images, is in continuous transformation (Fig. 5.1.1). Uncontrolled urbanization, strong development pressures, perceptual and functional degradation, the residual nature of farming, fragmentation of the agricultural areas: all characterize the landscape of its urban territories.

With the aim of investigating the changing urban landscapes in Great Beirut, I conducted a research, funded by a grant from the American University of Beirut (seed money 2013/2014), to understand the spatial and cultural transitions taking place and their multiple drivers and impacts. The research is a reading of the state of the Beirut cityscape, investigating how people with different cultural, religious and ethnical backgrounds are transforming the space they are using, while creating new landscape as an expression of their culture. The physical surrounding is considered as the result of the action of natural and/or cultural (that is, human) factors, an expression of the diversity of their shared cul-

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_5, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

tural and natural heritage, and a basis of their identity, as indeed stated on the European Landscape Convention (ELC).

So there is a close relationship between territory and population in the construction of the urban landscape, a relationship that arises from collective, spontaneous, self-organized action, additional or rather alternative to the services offered by the welfare state.

Transitional movements and population shift from one area of the city to another continue to structure the urban landscape of Beirut in social, political/religious but above all spatial terms.

There are different types of migration:

- displacement of entire ethnic groups and religious communities in search of safer territories on which to build spaces in accordance with their way of life and living space;
- movement into the city from the countryside;
- migration of communities (Asian, African, ...) in search of employment;
- flows of refugees (Palestinians, Syrians) in search of a safe place to live.

In these movements and reallocations the communities are organizing space trying to meet their housing needs, in an accelerated process of settlement that considers individuals as numbers and living simply as an occupation of the soil.

The focus of the research has concentrated on one question:

► How have migration and political sectarian organization affected and how do they continue to affect landscape change, increasing the presence of *transitional* spaces and *suspended* landscapes?

5.1.2 The Great Beirut Landscape

5.1.2.1 Territories in Transitions

Behind the superficial banality of its aesthetic appearance, Beirut is a cityscape of juxtaposed fragments that have lost value and collective identity.

The unfinished movements and transitions continue to draw new cultural geographies. Dealing with complex and hybrid conditions demands a thorough understanding of the existing situation in all its spatial, social, cultural and political reality. And in Beirut, in particular, it demands a redefinition of what a 'collective' can refer to in a city where a violent civil conflict has transformed society into an awkward coexistence between opposing ideologies, ethnic groups and religions; "into a mosaic of human settlements based on religious affiliation, ethnicity and/or political loyalty" (Kabbani, 1998).

Collectivity, in Lebanon, is today related to religious community, which gives the individual a sense of belonging to a spatial and mental community. The urban space is a production of politico-sectarian territorialisation (Fig. 5.1.2) which is particularly strong

Fig. 5.1.2 Lack of planning landscape (photo: Trovato)

and powerful in initially mixed neighborhoods and in areas adjacent to the Damascus road, the former green line that separated East and West Beirut during the civil war (Marot and Yazigi, 2012). Reflecting on the state of post-war Beirut, the sociologist Samir Khalaf lamented the "destruction of Beirut's […] common spaces. The first to go was Beirut's central business district […]. Virtually all the vital public functions were centralized there: the parliament, Municipal headquarters, financial and banking institutions, religious edifices, transportation terminals, traditional souks, shopping malls, entertainment, etc. […].There, people of every walk of life and social standing came together […]. Alas the war destroyed virtually all such common and porous spaces" (Khalaf, 1993).

The public space has now become a synonym for insecurity and/or community segregation. Each community meets in its public spaces, that have become more and more enclosed spaces and business spaces (restaurants, malls, cafes ...), controllable and often supervised, *safe* space, but also areas of segregation.

5.1.2.2 The *Invisible* Spaces and the Landscape Formalization of the Limits

Apparently organic and continuously dialoguing between the parties, Beirut is in reality the result of the combination of non-communicating islands. City in the city, organized as self-sufficient entities, these parts protect their residents from 'invasions' extraneous to the community, structuring the space with limits and more or less porous borders.

Material and immaterial boundaries continue to mark the limits between spaces and people, giving the different citizens' groups a sense of security and stability. Sectarian identity is still the chief axis dividing insiders and outsiders; all 'others' are either compelled to accommodate (e.g. Kurds gain public representation only as Sunni's) or are forced to the social margins, or simply denied a public status beyond a spectral one (non-heterosexuals) (Seidman, 2010).

Fig. 5.1.3
The urban space as a production of politico-sectarian territorialisation (photo: Trovato)

The human occupation of the territory of Beirut has, over time, built up a layering of landscapes whose existence and mutation over time is readable in its materialization of the limit.

The landscape is born with a limit where "the limit is not a spatial fact with sociological effects, but a sociological fact that is formed spatially"(Simmel, 2009).

In the Beirut conurbation the boundaries always acquire different meanings and physical and mental characteristics. They are sometimes invisible and difficult to detect, sometimes accumulators of energy where you experience transient and flexible models of urban life, sometimes tension lines that lead to a state of constant instability, materialized in the complex and varied formalization of limits.

The boundary turns space into place, in which appropriation is given a value to create landscapes recognized by the community that builds them (Fig. 5.1.3).

These limits are porous, often interfaces between different realities that maybe still want to confront and communicate their anxieties and fears into the open space of the city. Contrast and contraposition distinguish this reality at the 'limit', in which seemingly different social, cultural, religious strata overlap and juxtapose building situations of great complexity and contradiction.

The physical and material form of these key elements of space define a landscape that at first glance appears fluid and formless, but on following it and living in it every day, the sum of a sequence of split and involuntary minimum landscapes emerges. These landscapes define the new urban places of sur-modernity, in which the tempo of a daily and local construction generates configurations of individual uses, corresponding to the stratification of human activity that gives depth and meaning to the spaces. These temporary and ephemeral landscapes can easily be adapted to the changing nature and dynamism with which the use and practice of the contemporary city evolves.

The limit, as formalization of living practice, draws a physical and intangible landscape rich in thematic variations, made up of different material compositions and organizations of spaces with variable and flexible functions: small gardens with a religious or political

Fig. 5.1.4

Sectarian identity is still the chief axis dividing insider and outsider (photo: Trovato)

statue, street signs and special religious decorations, street processions and special religious events, the sound of bells and the call to prayer.

As the place of this overlay, uncertainty, unpredictability, self-organization and testing, the margin is the space in which cultures, identities and activities are interwoven. The limit is space of waiting, indecision that "is a guarantee of dynamism for any system intended to stabilize as otherwise devoid of any reference to transformative action of himself" (Jackson, 1984).

The concept of limit changes the way we read the phenomena that are taking place in Beirut (Fig. 5.1.4). The choice of the analyzed situations corresponds to the precise will to consider the concept of limit as a category of reading and interpretation of the spatial formalization of the Beirutis' ways of living. Because living "is an incisive and not simply an occupation of space. To set up and reside are parallel activities: while he lives, man builds and vice versa" as demonstrated by Heidegger in his "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" (1971).

For this, attention is focused towards the tangible and intangible aspects that organize public spaces constructing sensitive spaces that take shape and are connoted in relation to the activities of the subjects. A space made of everyday practices, of individual initiatives that form the identity, the imaginary landscape of those who live and build urban places.

The limit draws buffer zones that are open sources for the city. These 'suspended landscapes' contain more than a merely superficial meaning and may represent a deeper aspect of our contemporary way of life (Fig. 5.1.5). This does not imply that the landscapes themselves are no longer being rejected, but that they are becoming a more powerful component of our daily life.

Fig. 5.1.5
The boundaries as different meanings and physical and mental characteristics (photo: Trovato)

Instead of questioning *what we can do* to rehabilitate the urban landscape, we have to reverse the situation and ask ourselves *what we can not do.*

As a designer we are led to imagine a strategy to give new *value* to Beirut urban landscape.

But … what *value* are we talking about?

What does *value* mean in this particular context?

And … which type of *value do* we want to address to Beirut urban landscape and to these spaces in particular?

5.1.2.3 The Waiting Landscape

The landscape plays an important role in the socio-cultural processes of the city, as a constantly changing generative form and as explicit evidence of power and knowledge. The cityscape responds to societal changes, making them fundamental generators of implicit meanings and identities in which there are two integral modes of production. The first involves the official construct of the cityscape based on bureaucratic and professional processes. The second evolves from spontaneous day-to-day experience.

Thus, landscape is not merely a construction or structural composition, but it also has an intangible element that mirrors the cultures that created it. It is precisely because landscape is a cultural asset that it is living and dynamic, able to assimilate and integrate over time those elements that mark key territorial changes, provided that such modifications are not brusque, violent, too fast or of enormous impact. The problem is not the transformation of the landscape, but the type and means of the transformation (Nogué i Font, 2005).

Beirut is a 'waiting' landscape … a landscape waiting to be exploited.

Beirut is perpetually redefining itself: Mediterranean and Arab, cosmopolitan and nationalist, secular and religious, liberal and conservative, political and hedonistic, superficial and genuine: A city in search of its identity, at the crossroads of cultures from the Arabian Peninsula to the Caucasian plateaus and across the Mediterranean Sea (Haddad, 2011).

How can one see and interpret the phenomena?

- Finding the unknown, the invisible,
- Triggering the unexpected
- Immersing ourselves in the city with new eyes, walking through it, entering its flux,

encountering emergent phenomena, recognizing them as manifestations of a new form of cultural landscape.

I tried to approach these territories without prejudice, seeing and interpreting their inherent informality, publicness and sometimes banality as an important first step towards an appropriate answer and definition of the Beirut multicultural landscape. For these reasons the program addresses not only the way that lands are used, but also how they are perceived. To a certain extent it could be said that the real subject is how we could look at and conceptualize the territories in transitions that characterize the day-to-day landscape in Beirut.

The recognition of the data has been carried out on site using photography as the primary means of recording the site surveying. I tried to capture the sense of the place, the state of effervescence, the uniqueness of time on space, conscious that the static nature of a photograph is unable to convey the temporal experiences and the strange ways in which events unfold. The camera lens has allowed me to capture the most evident signs of the everyday legal and illegal appropriation of urban spaces. Hidden from view, I was able to film the progression of life and activities, attributing them to the acts as a means of linking them to the construction of the landscape forged by them. The landscape was portrayed through the photographs, revealing the specificity and the most significant and singular characteristics.

The photographic image has been an active tool for the inventory of the landscape; it has allowed me to catalog, classify, share and exalt.

The intent was to capture those signs which are considered common, trying to highlight and give them a new interpretation, in an attempt to see what is non-visible in the landscape, that is at the margin, in the shade for lack of a code of interpretation, to find the ability to see beyond. "Being able to see it means that I can still wonder, is this the traumatic force of the look that you subtract at the empire of cataloging" (Villani, 1997).

Nothing was regarded as foregone, instead I sought to explore precisely those aspects which may appear trivial and customary, and the photograph has allowed me to adopt a new way of looking, one that is able to seize and capture a feeling, an act.

Photography has allowed me to see differently, to capture the essence, the anthropological attitudes, the cultural climate and trends of these places, as well as the hopes, fears and dreams, presenting them in a universal and understandable language.

Consequently I decided to combine the photographs with maps and annotated drawings to try to measure the landscape. "Measure is intrinsic to the design, habitation, and representation of land. It underlies the variety of ways land is traversed and negotiated; it enables the spacing, marking, delineation, and occupation of a given terrain, and it reflects the values and judgments of society that live upon the land" (Corner and MacLean, 1996).

Fig. 5.1.6
The concept of limit changes the way we read the phenomena that are taking place in the city (photo: Trovato)

5.1.3 Conclusion

Cultural landscapes are the result of consecutive reorganizations of the land in order to adapt its use and spatial structure better to changing societal demands (Antrop, 2003). In the research, the issue of the changing urban landscape is declined, touching on the problem of the border and the neighboring space as a transition that characterizes the passage between the insider and the outsider, between mine, yours and ours, between your identity and my identity. It is in this space that the transitory landscape is re-built daily.

The endless movements and migrations are continuing to transform the morphological organization of the city, by creating an urban landscape as a self-organized urbanism, characterized by misuse, waste of natural resources and abnormal production of "rejection" (Fig. 5.1.6).

Refused landscapes are reserves of land, consumed but recyclable, waiting to be recognized: wasted areas not perceived, where a project action can reveal and propose unexpected landscapes.

They are:

- "suspended" spaces, with no real conformation, flexible areas for flexible uses, suspended between urban, suburban and rural.
- "no-man's-lands" that are often a laboratory of already existing spontaneous and non-codified initiatives of alternative urban spaces and sometimes illegal re-use.
- "buffer zones" characterized by limits, borders, thresholds.

This man-made landscape is a set of organic forms/images, the interpretation of which passes through the knowledge of the culture of the people who inhabit it. In the landscape, people's activities have their own language that expresses a whole culture with its latent relations and its internal relationships. Individuals, with their ability to cross and occupy the city, assign functions and give identity to the places they inhabit.

The exploration of the varied phenomenology of the uses of urban space shows that they are often an expression of the ability of people to adapt themself, to implement "the art of getting by".

All actors take part in the definition of the landscape in which they live and act in a certain territory. This landscape is the result of the joint action of the combination of the individuals' countless actions and not the result of the work of a single designer and manufacturer of a work (Nogué i Font, 2005).

This reflection leads us to assess the potential of landscape as a project in urban issues.

In general terms, the research could be seen as a visual and descriptive survey of the transitional landscape in Beirut.

The final product is a compendium of data that draws an alternative map of metropolitan Beirut. It placed attention on neglected and overlooked aspects of the urban landscape, without trying to answer any social, religious or political questions, but continuing to set new questions.

Is there any possibility of building a real public space in Beirut? Who owns the landscape? Who has the right to it?

We hope that this work may present an opportunity for opening up new avenues of knowledge, rather than reinforcing ready-made conclusions.

Acknowledgments

I'm extremely grateful to all the people who have helped me during the research period. In particular the thoughtful contributions of my collaborators Marlene Chahine and Mona Bitar, the generosity of all my AUB colleagues, and of all the students, particularly Rami Alouta. The work collected was made possible by the generous support of the Beirut DGU, the AUB library that help us in the recovering of historical maps and sources, the FAFS and LDEM department.

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Greek and Tourist Concepts of Landscape

5.2

Aikaterini Gkoltsiou

5.2.1 Introduction

Landscape is recognized as a basic component of the natural and cultural heritage and as an important part of people's quality of life (Council of Europe, 2000; Antrop, 2012). Greek landscapes are well known for their rich natural and cultural profile and for some of the most famous tourist attractions of the Mediterranean. They are characterized by an enormous biophysical diversity, a variable geomorphology that includes different tectonic forms and karst phenomena, as well as different types of beaches and great cultural richness and history. However, many Greek landscapes are also prone to tourist pressure and environmental, economic, social and aesthetic impacts (Coccossis and Tsartas, 2001). Greek landscapes also have different meanings for locals and tourists.

This paper aims to elaborate the *concept* of the Greek landscape and to analyze the Greek landscape through the eyes of locals and tourists in particular. Until today only few researchers have made contributions to the conceptualization of the Greek landscape, as well as to landscape perceptions of tourists and locals (Gkoltsiou, 2007; Stathatos, 2008; Terkenli, 2010; Vogiatzakis *et al*., 2008; Vlachos and Louloudis, 2008).

In this research it was considered important to first analyze the Greek landscape through the definitions given by Greek literature and legislation. Then, in order to understand the image of the modern Greek landscape it was thought useful to explore Greek people's (locals, visitors) landscape consciousness from the past until today and to assess the main landscape characteristics which are considered important for tourists to visit.

5.2.2 Definitions of the Greek Landscape

In Greece, the notion of landscape is quite recent. It was first addressed at the academic and governmental level in the early 1980s. The Greek language uses the word "Topio" when referring to landscape. "Topio" originates from the ancient word "Topos" meaning place

Fig. 5.2.1

Natural landscape in Goumenissa, Greece, 2011 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

and focuses on the aesthetic aspect of a natural space. Many Greek dictionaries either refer to «Topio» as an outdoor location with a special total view of aesthetic interest or to a location of aesthetic interest in the countryside as well as to a picture which represents this location. According to many scholars "Topio" was of Byzantine word meaning, originally referring to a small or specific place, a region or a country (Moutsopoulos, 2005; Voinis, 1884; Dimitsas, 1874; Hasluck, 1929).

In Greek legislation the term 'landscape' is defined as a dynamic system of biotic and abiotic factors and as aspects of environment, which create a visual experience, either alone or through interaction with each other in a particular area. However, according to the most noticeable Greek laws (Law 1469/1950, Law 1650/1985, Law 3028/2002), landscape refers to a cultural heritage or to the natural environment. The current Greek Constitution (1975/1986/2001/2008) does not contain any provision devoted to landscape in particular (Maria, 2009). The first time that 'landscape' was directly referred to is in Article 1 (3d) of Law 1650/1985 about the protection of the environment. This legislation offers a clear definition of the terms of nature and landscape (Fig. 5.2.1) and it also allows for the designation of a special zone/area for the protection of landscape, of elements of landscape and of geomorphologic formations (Beriatos, 2012).

It was only in early 2010, with the ratification by the Greek Parliament of the Florence Convention, the European Landscape Convention (ELC), that systematic work began in the sphere of Greek landscapes. This work was encouraged by the Minister of Environment, Energy and Climate Change. After the ratification of ELC by the Greek Government another Law about the Conservation of Biodiversity, 'the Law 3937/2010 (G.G. A' 60/31.03.2011) gave special credit to our national Landscape as a separate parameter, which in accordance with biodiversity and nature is protected and maintained. There is also an emphasis on protected landscape elements as parts or components of the landscape that have special ecological, aesthetic and cultural value. This Law 3937/2010 is the first attempt of the Greek State to incorporate the principles and measures of the ELC into national legislation

Landscape is also referred to as a separate parameter by spatial planning laws. The protection of any special natural, cultural of architectural landscape elements is obligatory (Law 2742/1999, Law 2508/1997 (G.G. B' 209/07.04.2000).

5.2.3 Historical Review

Starting in the ancient world antiquity "Topio" played a vital role in all aspects of Greek social life. Ancient Greeks had a holistic approach to spatial composition of buildings, forming an organic composition harmoniously integrated in the landscape. Their perception of nature clearly reflected their design. Elements of nature, the topography and the setting affected spatial conception and the relation of the architectural elements with the landscape was a creative interaction (Gkoltsiou and Pangalou, 2001). Great examples are those from the Minoan civilization (2000 B.C.) (Fig. 5.2.2) when palaces were integrated into the landscape, and the Sanctuary of Delphi (Fig. 5.2.3) where the Greek mysticism endowed the landscape with metaphysical attributes and all sorts of spiritual elements and imagination.

Fig. 5.2.2
Knossos, Crete, Greece, 2009 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

Fig. 5.2.3
Delphi, Greece, 2010
(photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

Another way to gain a better understanding of the relationship between mankind and nature is to see how nature is depicted in various forms of literature and art. For example, in ancient Greek literature the writings of Homer and Pindar (and others) provide the idea of the way in which the ancient Greeks perceived and referred to nature. A well known example is the moment when Hermes is discovering the garden of Calypso (Gkoltsiou and Pangalou, 2001). Such descriptions point to an aesthetic appreciation of, and sensitivity towards, landscape. In ancient Greek iconography nature is also represented by and interrelating with human figures. The natural elements such as trees and flowers not only introduced the idea of nature but contributed to the organization of the picture. However, no images of landscapes or gardens existed in ancient Greek iconography (Koen, 2005). The setting usually consisted of buildings or monuments (Gkoltsiou and Pangalou, 2001).

During the Byzantine times there were many landscape descriptions in written documents such as those of Kaminatos, describing the natural landscape around Thessalonica before the invasion from the Saracens or those of Justinian Prokopios describing the beauty of the landscape of the Richios River as well as other examples (Moutsopoulos, 2005). However, any depictions of landscape in real or conventional ways are still rare. The representation of landscape is mostly symbolic. It is worth noticing the Ecclesiastical iconography of the Greek Orthodox Church where landscape is presented in two-dimensional images; they are flat but actually inverted. These images remain a powerful evocative and compelling element of Greek cultural identity until today (Terkenli, 2001).

Under the Ottoman rule, from the mid-15th to the early and mid 19th century, "Greece endured a cultural stagnation and did not experience the stages of modern landscape formation and landscape conscience formation experienced by industrial European societies" (Olwig, 2001; Cosgrove, 1998 quoted by Terkenli, 2012). As a result, Greece never went through a Renaissance or any urban rebirth or a baroque phase. Greece adopted all relevant new movements posteriori, imposing them to pre-existing cultural particularities and local ways of life.

Since Greece also never experienced any industrial revolution (Terkenli, 2012) it did not develop a landscape consciousness as it was the case in other modern European countries during that period. Until today, it is true that, in Greece, there is a lack of a sense of landscape as a common good (Terkenli, 2012). This may be one of the most significant socio-cultural factors representing the origin of the Greeks' problematic relationship with their landscapes.

In the post-war period, urbanization increased, people stopped migrating to rural areas and instead rurals were transferred to big cities and became "urbanized". As a result, at that time, many Greeks lost their former connection with the land, with nature and the rural landscape. It was not until the late 1970s that "the Greek landscape was first acknowledged through interconnections then emerging between agricultural modernization and the rural landscape (nature vs. society) and through tourism" (Terkenli, 2012).

Nowadays, due to forest fires during the summers of 2007 and 2009, and through the directives of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), there is a changing attitude towards the need for 'nature' and for a nostalgia for 'Greece as it used to be', a Greece representing a contrast to current city life.

5.2.4 Tourism and Landscape: Towards the Development of Landscape Consciousness

One significant factor which helped Greek people to develop a new landscape consciousness is tourism. Tourism as one of the biggest contributors to the country's GDP. Until today tourism remains a significant economic factor for the alteration and rediscovery of the Greek landscape. Due to mass tourism, much of the agricultural landscape has changed while land was exploited for housing and other uses at an alarming rate leading to great losses of farmland near all of the major cities and many of the rural towns (Gkoltsiou, 2013) (Fig. 5.2.4). On the other hand all alternative forms of tourism helped reconstructing the Greek landscape in using it as a place of "nostalgia" (Lowenthal, 1997; Paquette and Domon, 2003; Lambrianidis and Bella, 2004)".

If we look at the Greek economy, there appears to be a direct link between the diversity and richness of Greece's landscape and tourism (Theofanides and Karagianopoulou, 2013). Landscape is an economic resource, an asset. If this asset is being cared for in a sustainable manner, it will ensure sustained revenue from tourist-related industries. Although many parts of mainland Greece are underdeveloped, the islands and coastal areas are well-developed (Strecker, 2012).

Fig. 5.2.4
A previous agricultural landscape has been transferred into a dense urbanized tourist landscape nowadays. Kefalos-Kos, Greece, 2004 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

It is true that, during the past ten to fifteen years, Greeks have been rediscovering their landscapes en masse (Terkenli, 2012). As a result, domestic tourists have slowly begun to develop a landscape consciousness, and to rediscover their landscape, their local history, and 'authentic' Greece, and 'nature' (Terkenli, 2012).

At the same time researchers have initiated work on the conceptualization of the Greek landscape. For example, the various perceptions of landscape by tourists and locals were recorded (Eleftheriadis et. al., 1990; Raptis and Terkenli, 1998; Stefanou, 2000). Using postcards and tourist leaflets produced by local authorities (to promote their places and to advertise them to tourists) as a communication medium, researchers concluded that the emphasis of Greek landscape characteristics is placed on ancient monuments, on the picturesqueness of the country (sea, sun), on elements of traditional architecture and culture (neo-classical buildings, statues, etc) and, last but not the least, on the consumption of luxury (large hotels, swimming pools) (Fig. 5.2.5).

By and large, these representations of Greece through photographs, posters, postcards, promoted an imaginary country in which the sun always shines brightly, where the sea is always blue and calm, the houses – of a uniform Cycladic style – are invariably freshly whitewashed, and the inhabitants are permanently cheerful, welcoming and colorful (Minca, 1998; Stathatos, 1996). This resulted in a distorted image that, for decades, made it increasingly difficult to distinguish truth from fiction (Stathatos, 2008).

Tourists and Landscape: the International Tourists

International tourists have been associated with Greece and with various modes of experience for decades (Cohen, 1979). Some of them are influenced by romanticism, with a focus on aesthetic pleasure (Towner, 1985). It is essential to keep in mind that visitors see and sense the tourist landscape by relying heavily on picture media such as film and television, literary texts and advertising material (Krippendorf, 1984; Galani-Moutafi, 2000). According to Galani-Moutafi (2000), the prevalent image of modern Greek landscape that has been

Fig. 5.2.5
Tourist coastal landscape in Poros, Greece, 2012 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

and still is constructed through tourism consists of a mixture of sandy beaches, bottles of retsina and ouzo, bouzouki players and dancers of syrtaki and the symbol of Parthenon.

Based on recent research (Theofanides and Karagiannopoulou, 2013), the top two criteria for selecting a tourist destination are: (a) the climate (66.7%) and (b) the natural beauty of the country (61.2%). These are followed by criteria such as culture, friendliness of the locals, tasty food and wine, Greek hospitality, historical monuments, cost of living and thermal bathes. In relation to landscape, Greece is characterized as a "Country-Coast", a country of civilization with a high quality of natural environment.

Fig. 5.2.6
"Navagio" beach in Zante, Greece, 2013 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

However, many testimonies provided by tourists may also contradict the image constructed by the tourist industry. These testimonies may be pointing at the true image of the Greek landscape (Gkoltsiou, 2007). Examples are:

«…I think all the Greek islands are unique. Each one has its own charm…»
«…The people are very friendly. The landscape is spoiling…»
«…I have the feeling that I am at home»
«…tourism is going down…»
«…the beauty of Greek islands, everyone is so unique…
«…I am sitting beside the pool. Here you guarantee the sun. It is nice that people recognize you. »

Tourists and Landscape: the Domestic Tourists

The balance between international and domestic tourism has changed constantly. Since the mid-1990s, international tourism was the most significant and it was only after the 1989s that domestic tourism increased. However, nowadays, due to the economic crisis, this balance tends to reverse again, as domestic tourism decreases.

A detailed study of domestic tourism showed that (excluding special motives such as convention or health tourism) the item 'environment' was generally among the three most significant reasons cited by domestic tourists in Greece. Environment is often confused with and considered similar to landscape and comes third in people's preferences, after 'holidays and entertainment' and 'rest and relaxation' (Tsartas et al., 2001) (Fig. 5.2.7).

Fig. 5.2.7
Coffeehouses in the historic centre of Athens (Plaka), 2013 (photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

Although, the Greek landscape was conceived as a cultural image of tourist consumption mainly for the international visitor, for locals, the landscape was representing part of their home, or a place of work, or the cultural hearth for the rest of the Greeks. The top priority for locals was to modernize, substituting older forms and functions with contemporary ones, according to the dictates and necessities of post-industrial, service-oriented leisure societies. For the rest of the Greeks, mainly due to the economic crisis, landscape is basically seen as a product of and means to protect the traditional way of life and to promote local culture and resources (Terkenli, 2012).

5.2.5 Epilogue

Landscapes are undergoing rapid transformation (Terkenli, 2001) and the Greek people currently find themselves unprepared to familiarize with these changes. Today, more than ever, the Greek coastal landscape is especially prone to tourist pressure and environmental, economic, social and aesthetic impacts (Coccossis and Tsartas, 2001). Greek tourist landscapes are characterized by an insensitive use of space and land; extensive rebuilding and expansion of tourist infrastructure along the seashore; uncontrolled urbanization and multifunctional land uses; excessive road network extension; spatial fragmentation; as well as the homogenization of landscape elements resulting in the loss of place identity (Green and Hunter In: Johnston and Thomas, 1995; Antrop, 1998; Terkenli, 2002). Many foreign operating standards (e.g. golf) (Briassoulis, 2002), which are contrary to any form of sustainable development, are adopted, leading to landscape homogenization without any respect to the diversity of the Greek landscape. These elements are often foreign to local architectural peculiarities and local nature (e.g. trees).

However, more than ever, more Greek people are sensitive towards landscape and seek for its protection. There is a strong feeling of mistrust and scepticism against any development (wind farms, solar panels). Based on the idea that landscape is threatened, the locals' opinion is not taken into consideration seriously, and landscape's multifunctionality and sustainability are both endangered now.

Fig. 5.2.8
Voidomatis River. Epirus. Greece, 2010
(photo: Aikaterini Gkoltsiou)

The current financial and national crisis creates a strong need to promote our local culture and resources. This is why, nowadays, there are several movements for alternative forms of tourism or alternative tourist destinations, enabling tourists to visit places, landmarks and people of the new era. Not all of these may be pictured in standard advertising leaflets.

The ELC has recently been ratified by the Greek Government, and first attempts for its implementation occur. People are getting more familiar with the term and concept of landscape, seeking landscape protection and management more actively. Greece faces the challenges to introduce landscape at every level of planning, to ensure active public participation in policy making, as well as the formulation of landscape objectives and to create a new administrative system at a central and regional level in order to allow the effective implementation of the ELC in Greece (Maria, 2009).

However, many local and regional authorities still lack the resources required to successfully implement the Convention's obligations in the management, planning and protection of landscapes. Furthermore, local and regional authorities are often viewed in a negative way when landscape planning and protection are concerned (Strecker, 2012).

For the effective implementation of ELC and the development of greater landscape consciousness, more thorough education about and research on landscape are needed. Moreover, the creation of cooperative governmental agencies, administrative bodies, academic and professional networks (Terkenli, 2012) that are responsible for landscape matters and the formulation of a unified landscape policy are needed.

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National Parks for a Multicultural Society

Planning Israel's Past and Present National Parks

5.3

Tal Alon-Mozes

5.3.1 Introduction

The Israeli society is extremely diverse. Its eight million citizens are divided along various axes: national identity, religion, extent of religiosity, country of birth, parents' birth place and ethnicity. In 1948, when Israel was established as a state, 80% of its Jewish population was of European origin (Ashkenazi); the great immigration waves from Asia and North Africa gradually changed this proportion, and the Oriental Jews (Mizrachi) became the majority in the late 1980s. However, the one million immigrants from the former Soviet Union who arrived in Israel during the 1990s changed this trend. At present, following the arrival of 90,000 immigrants from Ethiopia, and 200,000 foreign workers predominantly from Africa, and some from Asia, Israel is a diverse country. While the potential exists for it to become a multicultural society, as each of these groups defines itself in contrast to the other groups, the essence of multiculturalism – mutual respect among the various groups – hardly exists.

In its early years, the Israeli government initiated a melting pot policy, which strove to mold the newcomers according to the model of the Ashkenazi persona: secular, socialist, an offspring of Western culture. The local hegemony ascribed great importance to the landscape in the process of culture and persona building, especially as the Land of Israel, or the biblical landscape, was one of the few elements that unified the variety of communities which gathered in Israel (Alon-Mozes and Amir, 2002). Justifying W.J.T Mitchell (1994) and J. Corner (1999), who claim that landscape is an agent in producing and enriching culture, Zionist settling authorities promoted various "landscape-based" activities among the Jewish immigrants to Palestine, even before 1948. Among them were youth fatiguing journeys to remote areas, making "homeland" studies a dominant part of the educational system from early childhood, and promoting the establishment of agricultural settlement and home gardens (Almog, 1997).

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, national parks became a perfect tool in realizing the vision of a unified nation. The idea, which was conceived in America in the mid-19th century, made its way to Europe and later to Israel. During the 1960s, the first

Fig. 5.3.1
Gan HaShlosha, mid. 1960
(a postcard)

Israeli national parks were established at prominent archeological sites, mostly of Jewish origin and in places of unique scenery. The inclusion of swimming pools in these parks was a perfect solution to bind education with leisure in the hot and dry climate of Israel. The parks were regarded as undivided pastoral grounds, tranquil meeting places for various communities united by their biblical past and the pleasant present (Lissovsky, 2013; Alon-Mozes, 2013).

Currently, with the failure of the melting pot idea and the emergence of the multicultural society, the parks have changed their role from nation building to community building. Gan HaShlosha National Park and Zippori National Park demonstrate this idea in the following chapters.

5.3.2 Gan HaShlosha National Park

Gan HaShlosha National Park, which is located at the foot of the bare Mount Gilboa, in the presumed location of paradise according to Jewish and Arab legends, is a perfect example for the early nation building period (Fig. 5.3.1). In 1955, landscape architects Lippa Yahalom and Dan Zur turned the swampish little spring of El Sachne into a lavish landscape – a modern Eden. The year-round warm freshwater pool was surrounded by transplanted

Fig. 5.3.2 Original 'tower and stockade' (right) and its contemporary replica (left) (source: Alon-Mozes)

Fig. 5.3.3
Aerial view Gan HaShlosha (photo: Doron Horovitz, source: http://www.masa.co.il/MASA/_fck_uploads/Image/masaacher/155%20new/155_P49.jpg)

old olive trees and palm trees, duplicating the nearby garden of Kibbutz Nir David, which was considered as the epitome of the Israeli-Zionist garden and Israeli-ness (Fig. 5.3.3).

The integration of a replica of the nearby first Jewish settlement within the park was another means to enhance common national identity. Visitors were invited to connect present tranquility with the bravery of the first settlers, whose 'tower and stockade' settlement was burnt down by Arabs in 1936 (Fig. 5.3.2), and the three local settlers who were killed by a mine two years later. The park's name commemorates them: Gan HaShlosha means 'Garden of the Three', replacing the original name of the site in Arabic – El Sachne with a Hebrew name.

Laura Ben David, a new immigrant who visited the park in 2007, described Gan HaShlosha as paradise (Fig. 5.3.4): "As we walked through the site, taking in the majesty all

Fig. 5.3.4

Contemporary Gan HaShlosha (source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/PikiWiki_Israel_2703_Sachne_Israel_%D7%A2%D7%9D_%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C_%D7%98%D7%95%D7%91%D7%9C_%D7%91%D7%A1%D7%97%D7%A0%D7%94.JPG)

around us, we began to notice something almost as fascinating: the people. Here, lounging in Paradise was a complete mix of Israelis and Arabs; Jews, Christians and Muslims, side by side, enjoying the park together" (Ben David, 2007).

In contrast, a critical look at the history of the park reveals that from its very beginning, the social dynamics in Gan HaShlosha National Park reflected more profound social trends within Israeli society. Esther Zandberg, a prominent Israeli critic of architecture and landscape architecture, found the park to be a microcosm of the Israeli genome, a charged junction of contesting ideologies, social relations and economic opportunities: "Gan HaShlosha represents every part of the Israeli's mosaic: Arabs and Jews, nature and cement, prophetic vision and 'Chutzpah', 'mangal' – the local version of barbecuing – and spa" (Zandberg, 2007).

In the late 1950s, kibbutz members and Beit Shean residents got together on the lavish lawns along the water. The former were "veteran" immigrants, mostly of European-Ashkenazi origin, representing hegemonic Israel. The latter were low-income new immigrants, mostly of non-European origin, Mizrachi, many of whom were employed as construction workers in the park. With very limited common cultural background, they competed for the use of space, hours of activity and style of recreation. Consequently, the park, previously a direct continuation of the kibbutz territory, was fenced, and its development directed visitors farther away from the kibbutz area.

Despite the disagreements, Gan HaShlosha continued to serve as a symbolic icon of hegemonic Israel until 1967. It was a preferred site for weekend car trips for middle-upper class Israelis, and functioned as the location of the ceremonious culmination of many arduous youth and military treks in the valley.

After the 1967 war and the opening of the border between Israel and the Jordanian West Bank, the park became very popular among the Arab residents of Nablus and nearby villages, who found the lavish grounds, and especially the water amenities, very appealing.

Since the great immigration wave of the 1990s, Gan HaShlosha has become popular among Russian immigrants, who frequent the park on weekends, arriving in the early morning hours and leaving little space for other visitors. They have made the park a center for family and community gatherings and a site for an annual Russian folk music festival.

The early struggle between kibbutzim members and the residents of Beit Shean was now re-enacted between the Palestinians and the Russian immigrants. But while the park in its early days was designed as an undivided space for all, since the mid-1990s it has been fragmented into different zones of time and space in order to avoid conflicts among its users. The local media described it as early as in 1997: "It is worth noting that the park bustles with people of every community and origin. Veteran Russian immigrants arrive by the thousands on Saturdays, Muslims arrive on Fridays, and Christians – on Sundays" (BaBika, 1997).

This voluntary arrangement was institutionalized by the park's management a few years later in order to facilitate visits of the ultra-orthodox Jewish community, as well as in order to increase revenues from a second 'shift' of activity. Twice a week the park is opened during late afternoon hours solely for the bathing of the community, and as the members of this community are strict in enforcing separate bathing for men and women, there is also a spatial separation, which was possible due to the local topographical conditions. Males bath in the cleaner and larger upper pools, and women – in the less preferred ones.

Since the 1990s, the focus of the park's design has changed significantly, reflecting park's management motivation to increase the number of visitors, to expand activity hours and to address the needs of various communities. The new design of landscape architects Greenstein-Hargil includes activity area for toddlers, spa, lighting for night activities and more. After the visit of Pope John Paul II to Israel in 2000, the site is marketed as a Christian baptism site.

5.3.3 Zippori National Park

While Gan HaShlosha National Park demonstrates the changes over the last 50 years in the design, use and management of the park, Zippori National Park, as a relatively young park, copes with multiculturalism in slightly different way (Maya, 2012).

Located on the shallow hills of the Lower Galilee, not far from the Palestinian metropolis of Nazareth, the area is famous for its rich archeological remains mainly from the Hellenistic period, spring blossoming, Jewish and Christian traditions. Six narratives are currently ascribed on the ground of the park, each composed of various tangible and intangible artifacts that represent the narrative and address a distinct community of visitors, who use the park differently. Planning encourages and prioritizes some of these narratives, and ignores, even erases, others.

The recreation narrative: Mid-1980s' early schemes for the park reflected the then common notion of a large open park designated for recreation. The park was planned to serve the

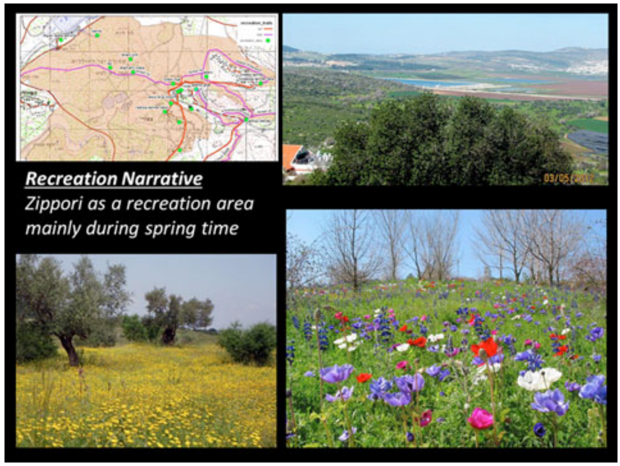

Fig. 5.3.5
The recreation narrative (source: Alon-Mozes)

needs of the young Jewish population who settled in northern Israel during the 1980s and – to a lesser degree – those of nearby Nazareth, the largest Palestinian metropolis in Israel. As the budget was limited, landscape architect Gideon Sarig proposed a modest plan, to be gradually implemented in a process lasting years. The plan was based on the scenic values of the region, especially during springtime, when the entire area is covered by carpets of flowers (Fig. 5.3.5). It included walking trails, scenic routes, observation points and picnic sites. The archeological remains of old Zippori were not perceived as the essence of the park, but only as an opportunity for another scenic route for "antiquity lovers" (Zuk, 1987).

Following the social changes of the 1990s, the park changed its character from a large open park to a small closed one. The trigger for the shift in planning was the wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union who arrived in Israel, and thousands of them settled in nearby Upper Nazareth. They looked for jobs, and the government sent them to dig Zippori – a locus for modest archeological excavations since the late 1930s.

The Mosaics narrative: When the first Hellenistic mosaics of Zippori were exposed, planning changed direction, emphasizing the archeological narrative over the recreation one. Furthermore, as archeology was found very attractive for fundraising, excavations became a prominent activity in the site.

Zippori's mosaics, the "Galilean Mona Lisa", the Dionysian feast and scenes from the Nile valley, which are world-renowned for their beauty and high artistic value, attracted both local and international tourists. The mosaics date back to the early centuries, when Zippori was a prosperous Hellenistic town with a truly multicultural society. Jews lived alongside pagans, sharing the town's amenities: theatre, market, ritual baths (mikves), and even a synagogue. Mid -1990s' planning promoted the mosaics narrative as a unique attraction for foreign tourism, in an era of peace treaties and a hope for a regional peace in the Middle East (Fig. 5.3.6).

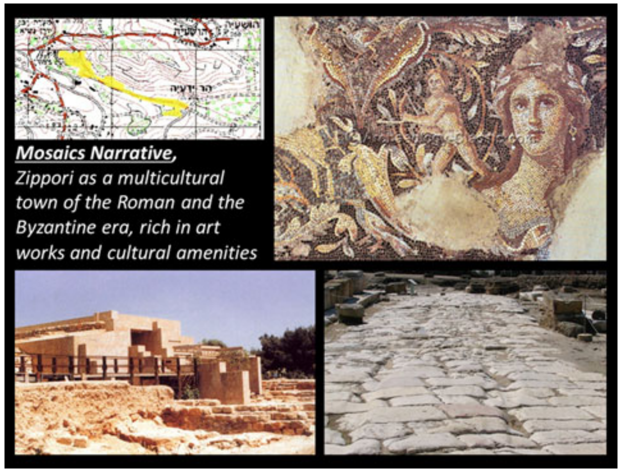

Fig. 5.3.6
The mosaics narrative (source: Alon-Mozes)

The Christian narrative is based on the belief that Zippori was frequently visited by Jesus, whose grandparents lived in Zippori. The narrative is popular among Christian pilgrims who stop at Zippori on their way to Nazareth, those who follow the "Jesus trail" from the Sea of Galilee westward and many others who are familiar with this narrative through films, books and websites[1]. In the period leading to the new millennium and in anticipation of the visit to Israel of Pope John Paul II, the Ministry of Tourism proposed a comprehensive scheme, aiming to preserve the surrounding landscapes of Zippori as they existed during the time of Jesus (Fig. 5.3.7). In practice, very little was done at the site, and proposals to rebuild Mary's parents' house, or to connect the upper town of Zippori with the remains of the nearby Franciscan church, were left on paper. The Palestinian upheaval of 2000 ended the dream of peace, led to a severe crisis in foreign tourism to Israel, and put an end to any further investments in Zippori National Park.

In addition to the Christian narrative, two other religious narratives are inscribed on the grounds of Zippori National Park.

1 The debate among Christian theologians and archeologists geared early excavations on site and numerous books such as Jesus and the Forgotten City by Richard Batey (1991).

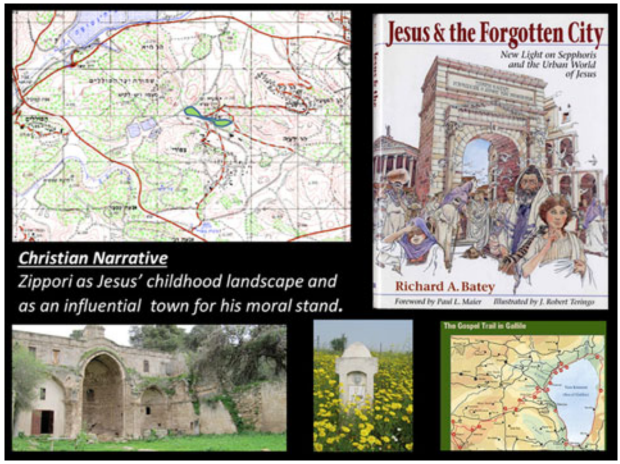

Fig. 5.3.7
The Christian narrative (source: Alon-Mozes)

The Jewish sacredness narrative is recorded on the outskirts of the park, around the presumed burial site of Rabbi Yehuda HaNasi, the editor of the Mishna – the written redaction of the Jewish oral traditions – or one of his offspring. The site was renovated during the 1960s by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and local organizations, and serves as a pilgrimage site for orthodox and ultra-orthodox Jews. Individuals visit the grave to pray, and once a year thousands gather for a night festival (Fig. 5.3.8). Unlike other segments of the population, this community refrains from visiting other parts of the park, particularly the area of the mosaics, which represents idol worship.

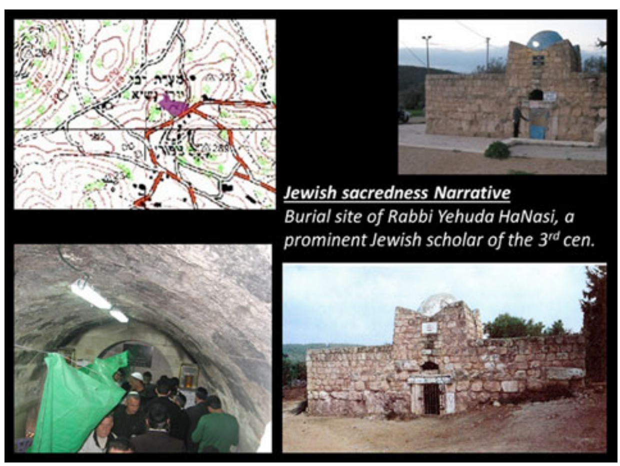

Fig. 5.3.8
The Jewish sacredness narrative
(source: Alon-Mozes)

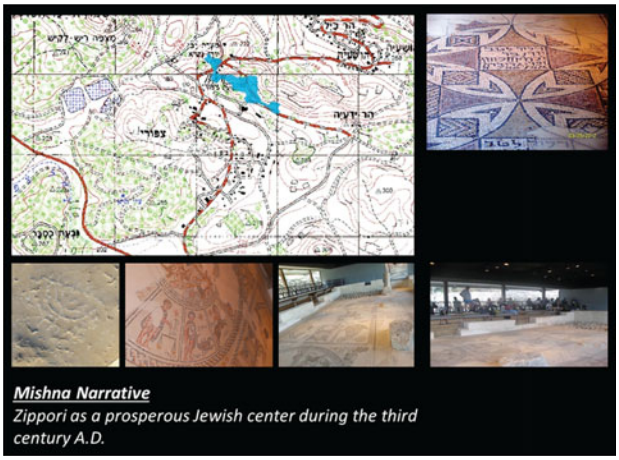

Fig. 5.3.9
The Mishna narrative (source: Alon-Mozes)

The Mishna narrative: The third religious narrative in Zippori is connected to the lifetime of Rabbi Yehuda HaNasi and to the town, with its synagogues, ritual baths and relatively autonomous life – a vibrant Jewish center after the destruction of the Second Temple. The territory that the narrative relates to is almost identical to that of the mosaics and the Christian narratives; however, while Christians envision Jesus and his pupils walking the streets of Zippori, the Mishna narrative identifies the walkers as "Rabbi" and his pupils. Today, the Mishna narrative is promoted by the park's management and its educational division (Fig. 5.3.9). This reflects contemporary trends of increased nationalism within the Israeli society, which emphasize the thread of continuity from biblical times to the present.

The Palestinian narrative: The last narrative in Zippori National Park belongs to the Palestinian community, and mainly to the offspring of Saffuriya, a prosperous Palestinian village of more than four thousand inhabitants, which was located at the center of the current park (Fig. 5.3.10). During Israel's War of Independence and Palestinian disaster – 'Nakbba' – the residents of the village were expelled, their houses were later razed, and Israel National Fund planted a conifer forest above their remains, leaving the old cemetery and the fortress that served as a school, as a testimony to the village's existence. Official planning ignored the Palestinian narrative, and its former residents' appeal to prevent the expansion of the park was rejected by District Planning Committee.[2] At the site, stones from the village were used as authentic local building material for walls and sitting circles, and the remains of the Palestinians orchards became picnic sites. In response, the Palestinian community found creative and subversive practices to leave a mark of their narrative at the site. These included picnicking along the entrance road to the park, and especially at Zippori spring; printing a calendar with the village's photo, distributing soil from Saffuriya,

2 For a detailed account of the Palestinian perspective see Egoz and Merhav, 2009

Fig. 5.3.10
The Palestinian narrative (source: Alon-Mozes)

and more. In 2008, a memorial parade brought thousands to Zippori-Saffuriya in what began as a peaceful event, but turned into a violent one. Currently, park's management is collaborating with the local Palestinian schools on more neutral subjects.

Landscape narratives and planning: Zippori National Park is a condensed landscape, in which various narratives are inscribed in the same ground. Amongst themselves, these narratives maintain complex relationships of competition, compliance and indifference. Fig. 5.3.11 describes the intricate relationships among the six narratives.

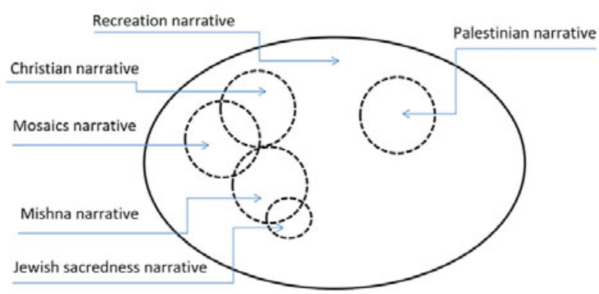

Fig. 5.3.11
Spatial relations among various narratives in Zippori National Park (source: Alon-Mozes)

In spatial terms, the recreation narrative is the largest and most inclusive as it incorporates all of the others. The majority of visitors to Zippori National Park find that combining a visit to the archeological site (the mosaic narrative) with recreational activities in the pastoral landscape makes for a perfect day trip. Other narratives bear significant linkages as well but as their audiences are different they avoid conflicts. The only rivalry over the meaning of space is between the Palestinian narrative and those which relate Jewish significance to the site, i.e. Mishna, and Jewish sacredness. While the six narratives are deeply rooted within the site's geography and history, planning plays a crucial role in their manifestations.

5.3.4 In Conclusion

Both case studies demonstrate the power of the landscape as an agent in fostering first national and later communal identity. Early planning of Gan HaShlosha and Zippori national parks emphasized the role of the biblical/Hellenistic pastoral landscape in reinforcing a common national identity among the Jewish settlers of Israel. Consequently, the Palestinians' past was erased from Zippori grounds, as in other places in Israel, and their narrative was silenced.

Due to the failure of the melting pot policy and the emergence of Israel as a multicultural society, contemporary Israeli national parks are designed and managed in order to address the needs of various communities of visitors, and not solely the hegemonic ones. The new clientele includes veteran Jews and new immigrants, various Jewish ethnic groups, ultra-orthodox Jews, Christian pilgrims, and the Palestinians. Currently, planning strives to increase the profitability of the parks by recruiting new communities, by enabling mass gatherings and communal cultural events, and by mitigating conflicts among participants. Various stakeholders promote parallel narratives within and surrounding the parks, advancing the parcelization of the area based on time or space zones. Within this relatively enabling system, even the Palestinian narrative of Zippori is marked on the land, in spite of objections based on nationalistic considerations.

Acknowledgement

This paper is part of a comprehensive research on Israel's National parks as Homeland museums, which was supported by the Israel Science Foundation. The chapter on Zippori National Park is based on the thesis work of Matania Maya, Technion.

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Multiculturalism
Learning from the Mistakes of the Past

5.4

Józef Hernik, Robert Dixon-Gough and Michał Uruszczak

5.4.1 Introduction

A community is not only the basic unit for the regional division of the country, but it also has a number of important tasks for spatial planning, landscape and society. For a municipality to operate efficiently, it is important to unify its area in the fields of the defined settlement system with spatial as well as social and economic ties to ensure it has the ability to perform public duties. Conversely, "multiculturalism" influences the "uniformity of the area" at a particular time, acting as a "foreign body (tissue)". However, with time the "foreign body" assimilates with the area thereby adding value to the community.

5.4.2 Multiculturalism and Cultural Landscape

Multiculturalism also wields enormous and evident influence on landscape. Due to the fact that the term "landscape" is very ambiguous, which can significantly hinder the analysis of multiculturalism influence, the analysis in this paper was restricted to cultural landscapes. The term "cultural landscape" is understood in this article in the manner adopted by the Bogdanowski et al. (1981), i.e., the landscape in which the changes introduced by humans reached such a stage that its existence can be maintained only through constant human treatments. As a result of these constants we create, sometimes unconsciously, changes in the landscape (Hernik, 2011). The effects of these changes are eventually reflected. This can be explained as another change in the landscape, which is another 'layer'. Under this assumption, we interpret and equate the essence and the concept of cultural landscape to an onion (Fig. 5.4.1). The example of Silesia as a significant area in Poland and Europe meaningfully presents how Polish-German multiculturalism of this region has been influencing its cultural landscape for ages (Fig. 5.4.6). Each culture leaves its imprint on the landscape of this area. In this region there is observed accumulation of the oldest architectural objects existing in this area created by people of various cultures (fortified

Fig. 5.4.1
Interpretation of the cultural landscape. The layers of an onion are examples of the evolving new culture based on a tissue of earlier civilizations (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

castles, churches, the centres of old towns, fortified towns) (Uruszczak, 2003; Uruszczak, 2010) and far beyond, such as steel mills or even socialist housing estates. At present the "effects" of multiculturalism become the "asset" of this region, although this area requires special care and deliberate efforts also for other reason. If you mix the operating areas for industry and housing over a large area, this entails the expansion of communication networks. This is reflected in the landscape as a conglomerate of unmatched entities, divided by the arteries of different forms of communication.

Another such problem exists in areas with a past or present mining industry and the subsequent subsidence. For example, a large urban area of the city Bytom had to be abandoned by its inhabitants because of subsidence causing a dangerous collapse of buildings.

In this article we analyse multiculturalism in terms of the cultural landscape on the level of the municipality. The municipality, as a unit of territorial division of the country, tends directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, to have a homogeneous area. To avoid multiculturalism causing "conflicts", it should become more cohesive in the settlement system and spatial municipalities, as well as in social and economic aspects. This idea is presented in Figure 5.4.2. Only then, will the municipality be able to perform its functions without causing any conflicts.

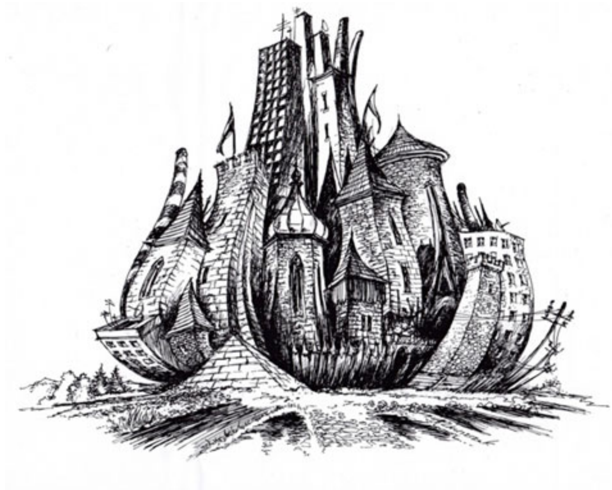

Fig. 5.4.2
The interpretation of landscape multiculturalism based on the example of the previously presented "onion". New quality grows at an earlier cultural-civilizational background (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

5.4.3 Groups of Multiculturalism

The authors distinguish four main categories of multiculturalism at the municipal level, which have been historically recognized and accepted in Poland: 1. religious; 2. boundary changes (adding to the nation's territory); 3. workers; and 4. post-war.

These groups of multiculturalism are discussed based on Polish examples:

1. Religious: the example of Kazimierz, currently a district of Kraków and formerly a separate town with the same name. Kazimierz was created by Polish King Casimir the Great in the fourteenth century for Jewish residents;
2. Workers: shown on the example of the present district of Kraków, Nowa Huta, which was conceived in the early 1950s as a separate, "working-class" city created for the Metallurgical Combine called Huta im. Lenin;
3. Post-war: the example of Action "WISŁA". An example of this is a consequence of the post-war deportation of the inhabitants of the Lemko culture from their native land from the south-eastern Poland, to the western areas of Poland; and
4. Borderlands: the example of the Silesia region, belonging in the last millennium, initially to Poland, then to Germany – and finally after WW2 "reverting" to Poland.

5.4.3.1 Multiculturalism of Religious – Kazimierz

The religious category of multiculturalism will consider the present district of Kraków – Kazimierz, a previously independent city of the same name, which was created by King Kazimierz the Great for the Jewish people who migrated to the region (1335). There are no

Fig. 5.4.3 Multiculturalism of religious – Kazimierz (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

detailed records of early Jewish settlement, but it is probable that Jews lived in and around Kraków since about 965 and it considered that by the 11th century about 11,000 Jews lived in the area now occupied by the Jagiellonian University. In 1304, the Brama Żydowska (Jewish Gate) was referred to in the Town records (Tighe, 2001). The city gathered together two nations: Poles and Jews. In many parts of Europe, particularly the lands of the Habsburgs, laws governed the dress of Jews but this was quite different in Poland and particularly in the city of Kazimierz. Although they were forbidden to 'imitate the nobility', they were clothed in a similar style to the citizens of Kraków and indistinguishable in any way (Tighe, 2001).

This concept of integration is still visible in one district – in the area of this Casimir, where a number of synagogues and churches can be seen. These objects are Skałka complex, St Catherine Corpus Christi, Old Synagogue, Remu Synagogue and others. Here was once a city with numerous monuments of Jewish architecture, which had supra-regional importance. In the second half of the 15th century, and the first part of the 16th century, intense intellectual activities of great significance for the whole of Jewish culture were developed here. With a highly developed Talmudic studies and rabbis, the city became a famous centre of Judaic religious knowledge for the whole of Europe (Rączka, 1982).

At present many tourists from different countries from Europe and the rest of the world (sometimes also school trips) come to Kraków only to see Kazimierz.

Illustration a) (in Fig. 5.4.3) presents a fusion of a new city of Kazimierz with an already existing medieval Kraków. Kazimierz was initially created as an autonomous city inhibited mostly by Poles and Jews. They had the most distinct cultural indicators (symbols) in the form of: synagogues (Illustration e) in Fig. 5.4.3) and catholic churches (Illustration f) in Fig. 5.4.3). However, this city became over the course of the years a district of Kraków. Illustration b) and d) (in Fig. 5.4.3) show very appreciated local "climate of the place", which determines a high attraction of the district. Illustration c) (in Fig. 5.4.3) shows how students of different universities educating architects create in their practical classes projects of making this district more attractive for example by modern synagogues.

5.4.3.2 Multiculturalism of Workers – Nowa Huta

The case of the Workers will be presented, which relates to the inward migration in another district of Kraków – Nowa Huta – a separate town created during the late 1940s to early 1950s to support the industrial complex of iron and steel production. This was established through pressure from the Soviet Union and originally named the Lenin Ironworks. Here the authors will consider whether this approach has led to the integration or exclusion of the workers who migrated into this area compared with the greater area of Kraków (Fig. 5.4.4). Illustrations for the Ark of the Lord church in Nowa Huta show the contrasting, symbolic connection of the spiritual and the social-productive pragmatism (chimneys in the background). Shrines, monuments, and crosses commemorate the battles and martyr dom of many people demanding their rights as citizens who expect from their government freedom of worship and religion.

Multiculturalism of different type, having its origin well after WW2, is associated with the creation of a new socialist reality in the city of Nowa Huta in the immediate vicinity of Kraków. It is atheistic in assumption (the statue of Lenin was to be replaced) and had a counterweight to the culturally rich university town. Nowa Huta (now one of the districts of Kraków), drawn and built from 1949, is one of the rare examples of socialist city created from nothing: as a steelworks and housing estates for workers.

In today's world, this agglomeration is appreciated for its urban layout, monumental socialist realist buildings, and a popular object to explore in its oldest and historical part.

The project of Nowa Huta included a creation of a new secular city for the 'workers' in a completely new location. The city was to be a socialist alternative, an agglomeration created from nothing, in contrast to historical and Kraków, with its cathedral, churches and ecclesiastical buildings. At the same time the city was built on a grand scale based on a precise and interesting urban project with an attractive opening view from the Central Market over the southern direction – the valley of Vistula.

The plan and photographic view of the oldest part of Nowa Huta can be seen in Illustrations a) and d) (in Fig. 5.4.4). One of the major avenues (Aleja Róż – Roses Avenue) led into Metallurgical Combine. Its administration buildings were stylized to resemble Kraków Cloth Hall (Illustration e).

a) Nowa Huta. Designed and built from scratch a city which began in 1949. At first it was an independent town, and then it was included into Kraków as one of its districts.

b)The church of Holy Mother, Queen of Poland (Matki Bożej Królowej Polski) - Ark of the Lord, is the first church built in the working-class district of Nowa Huta.

c) In 1982, the martial law was tragically ended with the fight between the police and citizens.

d) Central Market („Plac Centralny") in Nowa Huta - the so called „Old Nowa Huta" (photo: M. Uruszczak)

e) Sędzimir Steelwork (Huta) - main entrance (photo: M. Uruszczak)

f) The „Arka Pana" Church ir Nowa Huta - in the city „plannec as atheistic" (photo: M. Uruszczak)

Fig. 5.4.4 Multiculturalism of workers – Nowa Huta (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

Illustrations b), c) and f) in Fig. 5.4.4 demonstrate a problem that appeared the moment inhabitants of Nowa Huta declared their will to have a catholic church in their city. At first it met with government reluctance, categorical refusal, repressions and harassment towards the originators of the idea. However, the government gradually yielded and in the seventies of the twentieth century a church called the Ark of the Lord was built on the outskirts of Nowa Huta (Illustrations b) and f) in Fig. 5.4.4. At the time of martial law and repressions of early eighties of the twentieth century in the close vicinity of this building there were clashes with the militia often brutally contained. Illustration c) shows the crosses that were spontaneously placed by the inhabitants to commemorate those tragic incidents often connected with casualties (among others B. Włosik died in one of the clashes).

Fig. 5.4.5 Multiculturalism of post war – Action "Wisła" (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

5.4.3.3 Multiculturalism of Post War – Action "WISŁA"

This example of multiculturalism is the historical event and its consequences. Figure 5.4.5 illustrates the irreversible effects of expulsions, as exemplified by the "Operation Wisła".

Action "WISŁA" was a military action of an international character aimed at the structures of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). It was also a displacement action taken in order to remove selected groups of people among other Ukrainians, the population of Sanok (Dolinianie), Boykos, Lemkos, as well as mixed Polish-Ukrainian families – mainly from the south-eastern terrains of Poland – mostly to the Recovered Territories. The action largely took place from April 28 until the end of July 1947, although the last displacement was in 1950.

A map is presented of the post-war Polish borders in Illustration a) in Fig. 5.4.5 showing the movements of the displaced people. The problem, however, was more complex. On the south-eastern areas of post-war Polish there was still resistance to Soviet occupation, referred to as bandits and criminal organizations, OUN-UPA (Sokół and Sudo, 2005). On the other hand, there was a problem of a quick settlement of the western lands allocated to Poland, which was the result of the WW2 and post-war arrangements, where the Poles were marginalised during the negotiations. In 1947, two years after the end of WW2, an action was scheduled, code-named "Wisła". It concerned the forced deportation to the western territories of the Lemko people from south-eastern areas of Poland, leaving behind only those of Polish and Russian mixed marriages. During the resettlements the Lemko people were deliberately dispersed. Sometimes villagers found themselves spread across 30 towns a situation exacerbated by the fact that they were the final wave of settlers. They received farms destroyed by the war, or those whose tools had been "cleared out" by previous owners. In addition, the Lemko people were sometimes treated with hostility, since their arrival was preceded by a rumour that they were "Ukrainian bandits" (Reifuss, 1987).

Longing for a quick return, the Lemko initially approaching their situation passively, limiting their efforts to the most basic steps. However, when their hope to return gradually dissipated, they began to engage in the new situation, renovating buildings, taking jobs in local agricultural cooperatives or industrial areas, and earning good praise. Thrifty and industrious, they began to spread rapidly, while educating a new generations and gathering funds to enable them to purchase from the Polish settlers farms in their own homelands. Unfortunately, over time the abandoned villages fell into disrepair, being plundered, burned or simply left unattended. Until nowadays, only the mound where a Lemko Orthodox church, or one graveyard has survived.

Illustration a) in Fig. 5.4.5 shows the outline of Action "Wisła". The arrows show from where (south-eastern Poland – marked with dots) and to where (checked) the populations were displaced. Illustrations b) and c) present the loss of cultural goods in many cases. The first shows inhabitants attention to their church and its devastation after their displacement in Illustration c). Illustrations d) and e) in Fig. 5.4.5 are the evidence of the present inhabitants' and local authorities' attention to survived sacred objects. Illustration f) shows the place after the village Świątkowa Wielka, behind which there was symbolically left specially mown meadow.

5.4.3.4 Multiculturalism of Boundary Changes (adding to the nation's territory) – Silesia

It examines the issues of international boundary changes upon the municipalities within the region of Silesia to evaluate the impact of those boundary changes upon multiculturalism or multi-exclusion (Fig. 5.4.6). Polish Silesia belonged in the Middle Ages to the Casimir the Great, and now following the end of WW2 is part of Poland. It is difficult to fully comprehend the interwoven destinies of Germany and Poland in this region (Service, 2012).

a) Silesia region in Poland is mainly associated with various forms of industry, metallurgy and mining.

b) Silesia is a region with numerous monuments (often located close to the terrible buildings of contemporary architecture). In the figure the castle in Będzin – the link of the former Polish border region of Silesia (XIV century).

c) Style of monuments, residential and industrial architecture looks very unusual.

d) The industrial areas are very common on the Silesia area (photo: M. Uruszczak)

e) The blocks without soul - post-communist sullen heritage (photo: M. Uruszczak)

f) The castle in Będzin, in the background the post-communist blocks of flats (photo: M. Gałek)

Fig. 5.4.6 Multiculturalism of boundary changes (adding to the nation's territory) – Silesia (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

Furthermore, there are few recent comparisons in terms of loss of human life, widespread suffering, and the consequential adverse and harmful changes than WW2.

Within the current Polish territory whose borders were established after the war, included Silesia, which had been part of Poland during the middle ages. This area, because of his wealth based upon an abundance of raw materials – particularly coal, was one of the principle industrial regions of Europe. The area was associated with the mining, metallurgical industries and, in the post-war years also the car industry. There are also numerous monuments in Silesia dating from the middle ages, including churches, castles, and stately homes. Unfortunately, planners often ignored these artefacts during socialism. One such situation was the medieval castle in Będzin, which is a standard and valuable example of military architecture of the middle ages, and, ironically, also a model of very poor planning during the communist period. One on side blocks of high-rise flats were constructed and on the other, an industrial plant (Bogdanowski et al., 1981).

These huge blocks of flats are currently a problem not only of Poland, but also the whole group of the former socialist countries. Their location in many places is the reason for serious criticism by landscape architects and effective solutions are being explored to effectively "hide" similar objects in the landscape.

Illustration a) in Fig. 5.4.6 shows "typical landscape of Silesia": mills, refineries, factories and others. At the same time the region has many monuments (Illustrations b), c), and d)) both of Polish origin, when this area belonged to Poland, as well as of German origin, when ruled by the Germans. They are all accepted and often preserved. Half-timbered wall or military objects such as castles and defensive walls resembling the Małopolska' walls are "next-door neighbours". Many wrong landscape decisions were taken in the socialism period. It is well presented by the example of the castle in Będzin (Illustration c) and f)), which was surrounded by blocks after the war (Illustration e)).

5.4.4 Conclusion

These four groups of multiculturalism were illustrated during the presentation together with the problems they have created in terms of the assimilation of multicultural values with Polish communities. All three examples are historical and have resulted in solutions that have, in effect, increased the perception of multiculturalism within allowing future generations to benefit from it and adding to the values of the communities.

Multiculturalism was, is, and will be a phenomenon in society and space. However, new approaches are required to learn (research) and practice the multiculturalism at the commune level, which does not exist in many places, thereby causing problems not only spatial, but also at a social level. Whilst many of the pressures of multiculturalism and relatively new and extremely dynamic in terms of spatial planning and land management, it is believed that a scientific evaluation of past practices based upon the examples given above, can provide a template that will prevent the mistakes of the past from being perpetrated in the future, whilst accepting that an appropriate forum at a community level can help to mitigate the negative effects of the past and provide a means of developing the added values of multiculturalism to the full benefit of the community.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that Poland has a turbulent and difficult history, especially over the last 230 years. They have shared the partitions of the state, the nation was found within three different cultural zones (the Austrian partition, Prussian annexation and Russian annexation): it is hard just think about the "official" problems, for example, the Cyrillic spelling in the Russian zone.

Kraków can be an example of the city that without major conflicts gathered different cultures together (Fig. 5.4.7): the town of Kazimierz and the connection between Poles and Jews, difficult times and decisions partitions of Austro-Hungarian Empire i.e. fortification of the city as the "Fortress Kraków" (Bąk-Koczarska, 1986).

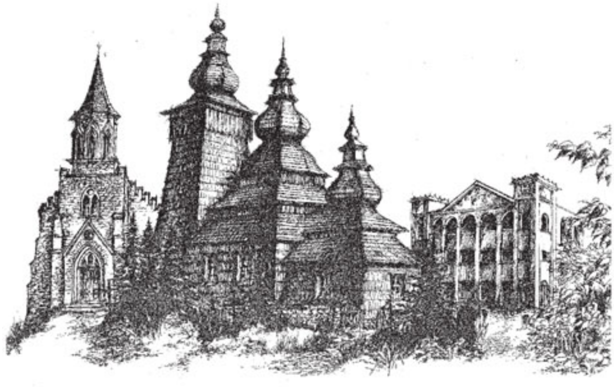

Fig. 5.4.7
Multiculturalism in the future must respect different social identities: cultural, ethnic, religious and many others. Years later architecture becomes a silent symbol of mutual tolerations of cultures (source: Hernik J., Dixon-Gough R., Uruszczak M., drawing by Michał Uruszczak)

After WW2 a massive city of Nowa Huta, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kraków was created. Today, not only do Kraków citizens accept a new, different district, but also depict it as a successful designed, new city, including it the program of excursions.

Multiculturalism causes changes that are also visible in the cultural landscape of a given area. Based on the carried out analysis it is observed that when multiculturalism brings about "lack of permanent existence of community area" then conflicts increase – example of action "Wisła". Whereas when multiculturalism does not bring about "weakening of permanent existence of community" then it contributes to the creation of "added value" of this area or community – example of Kazimierz, Nowa Huta or Silesia.

In order for a multicultural agreement to exist there must be a mutual understanding and respect also for different religious rituals. Workers' multiculturalism, widely understood community in Nowa Huta, does not have hallmarks of conflicts thanks to a significant mixing of different social groups in the whole district.

In the first two examples joining together occurred almost spontaneously, in the case of the deportees within action "Wisła" it was connected with a high reluctance to authorities, tremendous sense of injustice and harm. Big longing for homeland resulted sometimes in coming back after 1989 to old homeland (after political transformation in Poland).

Long-standing mutual co-existence of different cultures positively influences mutual acceptance, toleration and a simply true friendship of different societies in a given area.

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Chapter 6
Migrants and Non-Migrants Perception and Preferences

European-Asian Cross-referencing Landscape 6.1
A Case Study in Sweden

Na Xiu

6.1.1 Introduction

Religion is an extremely complicated term for definition, and its basic reference is a "belief in, or the worship of, a god or gods" (Chambers, 1998). Religion can be seen virtually in many ways, depending on the various religions and their followers. One of the most obvious characteristics is the religion's physical appearance: for example, Christians build churches, Buddhists build temples, and so forth. All of them are made visible by their cultural landscape and help to spread their religion and culture at their locations.

A temple (from the Latin word *templum)* is a structure reserved for religious or spiritual activities, such as prayer and sacrifice, or analogous rites (Cawley and English, 1999). In the case of Buddhism, temples include the structure called stupa, wat and pagoda in different regions and languages. Temples in Buddhism represent the pure land or pure environment of a Buddha. They are designed to inspire inner and outer peace. Where the temple stands, the figure of God is enclosed, and the God is present there. This presence is in itself the extension and delimination of the precinict as a holy precinct (Heidegger, 1971). As a landscape architect, I have been deeply interested in "understanding" temples, as related to the fields of architecture, urban design and landscape architecture. The aim of this paper is to emphasize the urban context of temple landscape through contemporaty cultural conditions. Their urban context depends on "religious conciousness" and independent formative horizons. Therefore, in this research interconnections between different perspectives are explored, looking for the answers to the following questions: How and what perceptions on Buddhistic landscape can be established in Sweden? What is the perspective in a global and local interpretation? What are the potential global and site-specific planning tools and opportunities? To find the answers, interviews in three different groups were conducted: with Buddhists (people who are believers or sympathise with Buddhism for at least two years), with people who had the experience of visiting temples in Sweden at least once, and with people who are neither believers nor have visited Buddhist temples before. And in these three groups, an equal number of immigrants and local residents were analyzed respectively.

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_6, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

Through the case studies provided, the paper closely examines the connection between the religious and cultural landscape and its recognition through analysis of materials and images used, as well as via the contribution to the design of the setting. The aim of this investigation is to study, analyze and explore those interconnections between landscape, religion and culture, which determine the contrapositons of the global and local in the landscape, exploring the approach of value and perceptions of space as a complicated network of relationships.

Moreover, Buddhistic landscape is a spreading phenomenon not only in Sweden, but in the whole of Europe, and the temple is the main symbol of this. The research is concluded by drawing attention to the temple landscape which is based on and results from Asian religion, in order to characterize cross-referencing landscape and its interpretation in European countries.

6.1.2 Buddhistic Landscape in Sweden

Buddhism is a relatively small religion in Sweden, and most of the practicing Buddhists have Asian (mostly Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese) heritage (Gallmo, 1980). However, along with most western countries, interest in religion and philosophy of eastern origin is increasing in Sweden year by year. In the early seventies of the last century, Sweden began receiving refugees from different parts of the world, and out of this various ethnic Buddhist groups came into being all over the country. Today the official number of Buddhists in Sweden is over 8,000 out of a population of 9 million. Of these, the number of native Buddhists is estimated to be 2,000 (Baumann, 1995). The religion is recognized by the government, and special graveyards are offered.

The main principles of Buddihism are: first, a monastery temple is the place for the monks' residence, for meditation, Buddhist chanting and other ceremonies; second, monasteries are always built on a hill or on the outskirts of a town. The various buildings are mostly used for ceremonies and for the practice of meditation. In order to spread Buddhism and honour Buddha's memory, a stupa or pagoda (to contain a relic) is built and decorated with paintings and recollections of Buddha; thirdly, the goal of monks is for enlightenment through observing precepts, chanting, sitting in meditation, and so on. One of their responsibilities is to disseminate Buddhism by explaining it to lay people. Last but not least, all of the monks and Buddhists are equal in terms of personality, no matter what their caste, social status, and so forth.

There are many large or small temples in Sweden today, and the Thai Pavilion in Jämtland, where construction started in 1997 and which was inaugurated in 1998, is the first Buddhist temple in Sweden to commemorate the visit of King Chulalongkorn of Thailand to the town in 1897. The buiding is a typical Thai pavilion with a spire reaching to a height of 26 meters, and this is the only pavilion of its kind outside Thailand. Another one which has been under construction in Fredrika since 2004 is called the Buddharama Temple,

Fig. 6.1.1
Wat Sanghabaramee in Eslöv, Southern Sweden, based on an apartment and rebuilt by monks and their family, with Buddhistic and residential function (photo: Na Xiu)

and this is also a Thai-style temple which is planned to be the biggest Buddhist temple in Sweden, possibly even in the whole of Europe.

Besides the typical temples mentioned above, some temples integrate native patterns of style from a landscape perspective. One example is Wat Sanghabaramee in Eslöv, which was founded by a Thai/Swedish family and then rebuilt by Buddhists and their partners living in Southern Sweden with the help of monks from Copenhagen. It is not a conventional type of temple, but combines temple elements with a residential function (Fig. 6.1.1). This situation is also reflected in other Buddhistic landscapes, mainly due to lack of funds in the various small congregations. An apartment or office building with typical Buddhistic decorations may serve as a temple, such as Wat Santinivas in Stockholm, Buddha Saddha Dhamma in Göteborg, Wat Dalarnavanaram in Bortänge, and so forth.

6.1.3 Estimation and Perception of Temple Landscape on Account of Different Background

In the everyday usage of the word, landscape is understood to comprise visible objects, or a way of looking at the world (Cosgrove, 1984) or literary texts (Duncan and Duncan, 1988), and landscape experiences are usually taken to be something consciously perceivable or generating value (Newman et al., 2013). A survey was conducted to investigate the understanding and recognition of Buddhist temples, in which landscape is integrated in a populated area, so as to connect with culture and religion.

6.1.3.1 Focal Points of the Survey

Normally speaking, temples are regarded as manifestations of religion and philosophy. Parallel to this, there could be other aspects about them from a landscape perspective. For example, temples often appear with the dual purpose of fulfilling their conventional functional requirements as space for worship or religious services, whilst also corresponding to spatial requirements, such as for residence. The fulfillment of such different purposes raises multiple issues. First of all, what do the people mentioned above recognize in them, the physical or the conceptual? There is also uncertainty regarding familiarity and aspirations concerning the ontological role of religion and landscape. The first point is the main focus of this survey, which is thus directed beyond the boundaries of temples.

6.1.3.2 Distinguishing People with Different Religion and Philosophy

The author proposes to distinguish between people belonging to three groups: Buddhists (believers or sympathisers with Buddhism, who have at least accepted or understood some Buddhist thoughts for more than two years), people who are not Buddhists, but had the experience of visiting temples in Sweden at least once (no matter which ones and where), and people who neither believe in Buddhism nor have visited Buddhist temples before. In every group an equal number of immigrants from Asia, immigrants from other countries and local residents were analyzed respectively. The reason for this classification is to differentiate between backgrounds related to Buddhism, assuming that it matters whether people had the experience of going to these temples or not. Immigrants are here defined as people who moved from Asian or non-Asian countries to Sweden within the last 10 years or less, because they retain a higher degree of background heritage, and their reflection of perception and understanding could be more direct and revealing.

6.1.3.3 Design of Survey

From the points discussed above, highly detailed interviews appeared suitable for the aim of this study. Therefore, the approach is oriented towards quality rather than quantity. The surveys were designed and conducted as follows.

The main survey concentrated on understanding and recognition of temple landscapes, the times when visited, reasons for visiting, function of temples, differences compared with what they saw in their own countries or in Asian countries. Subjects were asked to respond freely and this interview involved people living in Uppsala: N=27 (3 people in each group, irrespective of age or other factors).

6.1.4 Results

Background directly affects impression

People with local and immigrant background indicate different responses towards interview mentioned above. To immigrants with Asian heritage, temples are not only the place for prayer or visiting, but also a place for living. This group spends more time visiting and praying compared with native and non-Asian immigrants. Even normal (non-Buddhist) people appreciate temples as a place for inner quiet and meditation, show that they are quite familiar with Buddhist activities, such as morning and evening prayer. Temples are regarded as a symbol of Buddhism and part of own culture, a way to preserve and spread Buddhism, and a place to meet people with same or similar Asian background.

Religion directly affects impression

Our survey results also show that people with a Buddhist background reacted with more thoughts and opinions about temple landscape, irrespective of whether they were natives, Asian or non-Asian immigrants. Especially for those from eastern countries, temples are places that are closer to the God and where Buddhist texts can be expounded with other people. The first time they went to temple was for prayer, and some of them (3 out of 9, 1 from Sweden and 2 from Asia) insisted on praying morning and evening every day, complying with Buddhist rules, such as vegetarian diet, helping people in need, and so forth.

As for people not regarded as Buddhists in this survey, the visiting times varied, but those of Asian heritage visited more often. Only the cause of the first visit was prayer for the Asian group, but sightseeing for the others. All the Swedish and Asian immigrants knew of the Buddhistic landscape in Sweden, which was not the case for people who had come from other countries. Moreover, temples are usually considered as places for praying and sightseeing for people without Buddhist religion. Meditation through inner peace is more recognized and accepted in Asian heritage. People show curiosity toward these temples in Sweden, but again, local and non-Asian immigrants will go for touring, Asian immigrants for praying and meditation.

Table 6.1.1 Survey of temple landscape perception with different groups

		Native	Immigrants from Asia	Immigrants from non-Asia
Buddhist	Times	Visited temples for varied times but at least one time	Visited temples for at least two times	Visited temples for varied times, one or two times
	Function	Praying place, expound texts of Buddhism	Worship place for praying in the morning and evening, living place, place closer to own heritag, expound and communicate the text of Buddhism	Worhsip and praying place, expound texts of Buddhism but with language problem
	Differences	Limited number and space	Limited space compared with temples in Asia, not-the real ones, for instance an apartment	Limited space with interior buddhistic staff
People visited before	Times	Visited temples for varied times but not more than two times	Visited temples for varied times but less than three times; first time was for praying	Visited temples for one time, first time was for touring
	Function	First time was for sightseeing; meditation and praying place	Meditation and inspiring place for inner quiet, closer to own country	Worship and sightseeing place
	Differences	Less monks and space, not the real temple from the appearance	Less space and number, not formal	Less space and less monks
Neither Buddhist nor visit (show them pictures)	Times	Never visited before; know the temples in Sweden	Never visited before; know them	Never visited before, one did not know them
	Function	Maybe visit them for touring	Will visit for meditation and praying	Not sure visit them or not, if so, for touring
	Differences	Less number and space, less monks	Less space and number, not real temple from appearance	Less number and space

6.1.5 Implication and Distribution

As the results of survey above show, perception and recognition of temples relate directly to background and religion. Cultural background is the foundation for the possible existence and dissemination of religion; religion manifests itself through different landscape patterns, like architectural appearance, landscape gardening history and even urban planning methods. This survey focuses on direct interpretation of temples in Sweden, compared with

Fig. 6.1.2
Lerab Ling, a Tibetan temple in France (photo: Na Xiu)

native Buddhist ones, and the responses from different people towards function and value of temples through their own experience. The research is concluded by drawing attention to the temple landscape which is based on and results from Asian religion in order to characterize cross-referencing landscape and its interpretation within Sweden and European countries.

There are now between 1 and 4 million Buddhists in Europe, the majority in Germany, Italy, France and the United Kingdom (Baumann, 1995). Russia and Austria are the only two European states that recognize Buddhism as an official religion. In academic circles in modern Europe there has been an interest in Buddhism since the 1870s, but not from a landscape perspective. At present, many Buddhist temples are being erected all over Europe, accompanied by an increase in the number of Buddhists. However, different Buddhistic branches and categories lead to different landscape patterns, for example Lerab Ling in France, which is a Tibetan Buddhist center (Fig. 6.1.2).

6.1.6 Conclusion

It has been shown above how religious background influences the perception of landscape, and it is clear that people with Buddhist belief perceived temples as places of chanting, meditation and worship rather than residences. However, Buddhistic landscape was regarded by ordinary people more as a tourist place. Expounding texts of Buddhism is a unique function shared by both native and immigrant Buddhists, since it is one of their responsibilities.

Cultural background decides on religion, and religion leads to religious landscape pattern. Usually, in landscape planning and design, landscapes are intended to be discovered and enjoyed, definitely including religious landscape. With the process of globalization, more and more cultural-spreading will be interpreted and indicated through landscape patterns. Buddhistic landscape is not only a demonstration of culture and religion, but also and more significantly a category of referencing landscape. This idea of spatial, cultural and religious value should be considered in practices and researches on environment, and in finding satisfying ways to share multi-cultural landscape values.

Buddhistic landscape is a phenomenon that is spreading out not only in Sweden, but in the whole of Europe, and the temple is the main symbol of this. As for the interpretation of temples, appearance is the most understandable, since there is a lack of sponsorship and donations. Language is another means of interpretation, which differs according to country.

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Landscape Perception as a Marker of Immigrant Children's Integration 6.2

An Explorative Study in the Veneto Region (Northeast Italy)[1]

Benedetta Castiglioni, Alessia De Nardi and Gianpiero Dalla-Zuanna

6.2.1 "Using" Landscape: Research Questions

Over the last 20 years Italy has changed from a country of emigration to one of immigration (Gabrielli et al., 2007). Immigrants have arrived from a number of different countries: Romanians alone exceeded 20% of the foreign population living in Italy, and Albanians and Moroccans surpassed 10% (2011 data). People have come to Italy in search of job opportunities. After immigration they spread across a variety of contexts including big cities such as Milan and Rome (where immigrants mainly work in the service sector), industrial districts (working mainly in medium-small firms), and rural areas (mainly as labourers on farms). After an initial phase with the prevailing immigration of singles, many immigrants have been joined by spouse and children, or were married in Italy, mostly with fellow countrymen or -women. Consequently, a large proportion of foreign people living in Italy at the beginning of 2011 are young: foreigners aged 0-17 living in Italy numbered only 59,000 in 1991, compared to 993,000 now. This is equivalent to 9.7% of the population of the same age and 22% of the total foreign population living in Italy.

The astonishing rapidity of immigration, the variety of origin, the spread of the immigrant population to diverse areas, and the significant proportion of young age groups make Italy an interesting context for studying the integration of young immigrants and second generations. The literature demonstrates that processes of integration have been – generally speaking – fast (see the review published in Gabrielli et al., 2013). After just

1 The research presented in this paper was developed within the framework of the "LINK" project – "Landscape and Immigrants: Networks/Knowledge" – a two-year project (2009-2011) based at the University of Padua (Italy), and financed by research funds from the same university. The research group is made up of scholars from a variety of fields: geography, urban planning, anthropology, sociology and demography. The authors acknowledge the contribution of colleagues – in particular Tania Rossetto, Viviana Ferrario and Davide Papotti – in the preparation of this paper. More information on the project can be found in Castiglioni, 2010 and Castiglioni, 2011. The present work is the result of the authors' close collaboration and content discussion. As for the compilation, B. Castiglioni edited paragraphs 6.2.1, 6.2.3.3 and 6.2.4, A. De Nardi paragraphs 6.2.2 and 6.2.3.1, G. Dalla-Zuanna paragraph 6.2.3.2.

a few years of living in Italy, the great majority of children of immigrants develop very similar attitudes and behaviour compared to their Italian peers: they feel Italian, claim to speak Italian well, and have a good number of Italian friends. This is probably due to the near absence in Italy of systematic segregation of foreigners and the largely inter-ethnic composition of Italian kindergartens and primary schools. One salient issue, however, for foreigners' children concerns school results (worse than those of their Italian peers) and – after primary school – their "segregation" into vocational schools (Barban and White, 2011).

Within this context, the study presented here aims to increase our understanding of the integration process of immigrants, focusing specifically on immigrant children living in the Veneto region (Northeast Italy). This research puts the focus on the concept of landscape, using the latter to investigate the relationship between teenagers (both Italian and foreign) and their everyday-life places. The questions addressed through this research are, how do children perceive and judge their daily landscapes? Are there evident differences between foreigners and Italians in their relationships with landscape?

In accordance with the so-called *médiation paysagère* approach (Fortin, 2007; Joliveau et al., 2008; Bigando et al., 2011), landscape is considered here not only an "object" but also a "tool" for research and action. Landscape – being, at the same time, a material reality and an immaterial set of images (1991) – allows for an exploration of both physical places and the meanings and values attributed to them. Landscape, therefore, provides a useful "tool" for studying the relationships between a local population and its surroundings, while such relationships are considered one of the aspects of immigrant integration processes.

Landscape is understood as reference in the processes of building individual and community identity. Landscape fulfills this role in exceptional as well as in everyday surroundings, and even in degraded areas. This has, in recent years, been highlighted by the European Landscape Convention (Firenze, 2000). According to the ELC, landscape is considered an important expression of local culture and identity, and a contributing factor in determining the quality of life (Luginbuhl, 2006; Nogué et al., 2008; Roca et al., 2011; Stobbelear and Pedroli, 2011; Egoz, 2011). However, the Convention itself and its implementation process raise questions that require further investigation within the context of landscape studies, for example the ways in which people relate and assign value to their places of life (Lowental, 2007; Castiglioni and Ferrario, 2007; Sevenant and Antrop, 2010) .

Focusing on the experience of immigrants is particularly relevant to these questions. As immigrants leave their homeland, they lose the direct relationship they had with their native landscapes which, in turn, become *locus memoriae*. Indeed, the host country is often a totally new reality for immigrants. This new reality requires learning to understand it better. This learning process involves not only satisfying "practical" needs, such as acquiring the capacity for orientation within a new environment. It also includes "developing individual and communal identities in the new place" (Ng, 1998). In this perspective landscape plays a potentially important role. For example, Tolia-Kelly (2010) argues that, for immigrant women, the new landscape constitutes a "material signifier of identification with land, territory and environments that contribute to formal and informal connectedness with national cultures and citizenship". From landscape studies and immigration studies a number of different interdisciplinary branches of research have emerged[2], including the study of place attachment on the part of immigrants through landscape experience (e.g. Rishbeth and Powell, 2013; Rishbeth and Finney, 2006; Armstrong, 2004). This area remains, however, underexplored, including the context of children's geographies.[3]

This paper puts the focus on immigrant children and builds on previous studies, while also allowing for a broadening of understanding about children's "places of belonging" (e.g. Olwig, 2003), about the ways children use public spaces (van Lieshout and Aarts, 2008; Woolley and Ul Amin, 1995), and how they live in and value their neighbourhood (den Besten, 2009; Faulstich Orellana, 1999).

Finally, true to the perspective of using landscape as a tool, the research activities carried out in the field are also relevant in terms of intercultural education. Children increased their awareness of the value of their landscape, allowing for exchanges with schoolmates regarding their landscape experiences and perceptions and a shared "vision" of their surroundings (De Nardi, 2013; Castiglioni, 2012).

6.2.2 Field Research, Case Studies and Methods Applied

Two case studies are presented that are placed in the territorial context of the province of Padua within the Veneto region, Northeast Italy. This area is home to nearly 5 million people, mostly concentrated in the plain area (about 56% of the larger territory). This area is particularly suited for the purposes of this study because it underwent, in the last two to three decades, substantial territorial and social changes. This period has been characterized by relevant economic growth based on middle and small-size companies (many of them currently facing crises) (Fuà and Zacchia, 1983; Bagnasco, 1984). Historically, the region has developed as a polycentric spatial structure without clear contrasts between large urban areas and the countryside. Instead, industrial and residential areas have expanded very quickly, mixing with existing rural areas and settlements (Indovina, 1990). Furthermore, villages, small and middle-size towns (like Padua) are scattered across the plains. The landscape has undergone profound changes, losing its more traditional rural features with the development of a densely constructed mix of rural and urban qualities

2 Many of these studies are from English-speaking countries. Notable are studies on immigrants' use of parks (Byrne and Wolch 2009), and on how different ethnic groups prefer diverse landscape types and hold diverse "images of nature" (Kloek et al., 2013; Buijs, Elands and Langers 2009).

3 In the field of children's geographies, children's perceptions of their surroundings and the processes of building relationships with the latter are relevant issues (e.g. Vanderstede, 2011; Loebach and Gilliland, 2010; Rudkin and Davis, 2007; Matthews et al., 1998), as are the ways children develop feelings of belonging, attachment, "insideness" and "friendship" toward everyday-life places (Ramezani and Said, 2013; Leyshon and Bull, 2011; Gordon, 2010; Lim and Calabrese Barton, 2010; Chatterjee, 2005; Dodman, 2004; Chawla, 1992).

Fig. 6.2.1 The urban neighbourhood of Arcella seen through some children's picture (reproduced from the "LINK"-project, photos by interviewee)

(Munarin and Tosi, 2001). Today, this diffused and jumbled "urban sprawl" is viewed in a number of different ways. Experts tend to criticize the "consumption of land" and the loss of cultural heritage (Bianchetti, 2003; Vallerani and Varotto, 2005), while most inhabitants seem to accept the latter as the 'normal' and 'ordinary' landscape of the area (Castiglioni and Ferrario, 2007). From a social point of view, other relevant changes have taken place as well, including a general and considerable improvement in the economic conditions of the population and rapid growth in the number of immigrants (Tattara and Anastasia, 2003).

The two case studies carried out for this project include "Arcella", a neighbourhood on the periphery of the city of Padua (Fig. 6.2.1), and Borgoricco, a rural village located 14 km north of Padua, in the "urbanized countryside" (Fig. 6.2.2). Both locations are characterized by a high percentage of foreigners at the beginning of 2013: 21% of the total population in Arcella (33,527 inhabitants) and 11% in Borgoricco (8,352 inhabitants) – the same proportion was 7% in Italy and 10% in Veneto.

More specifically, one school was selected in each of the two localities. The study focused on one class group in each school. The study sample consists of 40 pupils aged 12: 10 Italians and 11 foreigners in Arcella and 14 Italians and 5 foreigners in Borgoricco.

Auto-photography was selected as the main research method. Researchers gave a camera to each child and asked them to "tell us about the place you live in with 12 pictures". The children presented their pictures within a photo-diary, writing a caption for each photograph. This method has sparked increasing interest among geographers (Bignante, 2011; Rose, 2007) and it has been used by scholars from a range of disciplines in studying the relationship between people and places (Lombard, 2013; Garrod, 2008; Dakin, 2003;

Fig. 6.2.2 The village of Borgoricco seen through some children's pictures (reproduced from the "LINK"-project, photos by interviewee)

Dodman, 2003; Young and Barrett, 2001). The method creates distance between the child and the place. Indeed, the camera forces children to *look at* the place in which they live, creating a sort of "detachment", or distance, considered necessary to achieve a broader awareness of the place (Olwig, 1991; Proshansky et al., 1983; Tuan, 1980). The method allows children to *see* the landscape both in terms of physical place and meaning. Researchers subsequently carried out semi-structured interviews with each pupil using photo-elicitation, i.e. employing the student's photo-diary as a starting-point for discussion. Researchers also conducted focus groups in which the children discussed several salient issues that had previously emerged[4]. The combination of auto-photography, interview and focus group methods allowed a greater understanding of the relationship between each student and "his/her landscape" to be achieved (Cardano, 2011; Simkins and Thwaites, 2008).

4 For example: the values children attribute to green spaces, their knowledge of the neighborhood/village, and their reference points within the territory.

6.2.3 Classification of Children Photographs and Data Analysis

6.2.3.1 Landscape Elements and Meanings, Denotative and Connotative Categories

Data were analyzed with the aim of identifying landscape elements that children chose to describe their places of everyday life, including the meanings attributed to them. The analyis also aimed at learning how the selected elements relate to a number of the children's personal characteristics, including their status as Italian or immigrant.

The children took 462 photographs in total. These photographs were classified according to two groups of categories, denotative and connotative. The denotative categories include landscape elements, places and objects portrayed in the picture (e.g. "school", "house", "green space", "outdoor space", "shop", "natural details")[5]. The connotative categories include the meanings and values associated with photographed elements[6]. The connotative categories are explained in table 6.2.1.

Table 6.2.1 Connotative categories used in picture classification

Connotative category	Explanation – examples
Aesthetic value	Importance of formal aspect (colour, form, etc.); explicit judgment of places/elements as beautiful or ugly
Collective sense of place	Typicality and symbolical character of the neighbourhood/village; importance as representative places and meeting points for inhabitants; references to an idea of "common heritage";
Ecological value	Identification of ecological function; examples of respect/disrespect towards the environment;
Functional value	Usefulness in satisfying practical needs;
Personal place attachment	Importance of affective bond, personal memories or experiences; sense of ownership;
Social relationships	Importance of the relationships which occur in a particular place, especially with peers

Table 6.2.2 shows a bi-dimensional cross-referencing of denotative and connotative categories. When considering the denotative categories, the landscape elements that occur most frequently in the photographs are green spaces and shops, followed by outdoor spaces, churches, natural details, and schools. When looking at the connotative categories, one may

5 Some of the photographs contained in the photo-diaries don't exactly represent places or landscape elements, but concern people, animals, personal objects, or "selfies"– images considered by children to be relevant to their descriptions of their places of life.

6 Since each picture presents a complex and wide range of meanings, two researchers worked together to classify the latter into connotative categories, so as to best identify the most prevalent meaning expressed by the child for each place/object. Clearly, photographs of the same place taken by different children could be assigned to different connotative categories.

observe that personal place attachment clearly prevails, followed – at a distance – by collective sense of place and social relationships. Aesthetic value – often thought by experts to be one of the primary values in considerations of landscape – here appears of minor importance. The table highlights the relationships between landscape elements and the values attached to them. Among the most represented categories, we see that green spaces are primarily places of social relationships, house and school denote personal place attachment, squares and shops have a high functional value, and natural details and gardens an aesthetic value.

Table 6.2.2 The relationship between landscape elements and assigned meanings: crossing denotative and connotative categories

WHYs WHATs	Aes-thetic value	Col-lective sense of place	Eco-logical value	Func-tional value	Personal place attach-ment	Social relation-ships	TOTAL
Church	7	16	-	-	14	7	44
Square	-	15	-	-	-	5	20
School	2	3	-	-	33	4	42
Sport	1	3	-	1	8	2	15
House	1	2	-	-	18	5	26
Outdoor space	4	4	2	17	15	9	51
Shop	5	13	-	22	10	5	55
Other built-up space	8	7	1	2	2	2	22
Green space	-	7	2	3	14	30	56
Natural detail	24	4	4	-	11	-	43
Garden	7	-	-	-	2	-	9
Rural area	6	12	4	1	1	5	29
Other	-	5	-	1	34	10	48
TOTAL	65	91	13	47	162	84	462

6.2.3.2 Looking for Landscape Dimensions

Results presented in table 6.2.2 show that the decision of children as to what they would photograph in their everyday surroundings, and the meaning assigned by them to the photographed objects, are to some extent different from common representations and ideas on landscape. Therefore a correspondence analysis (Fig. 6.2.3) was performed in order to identify "landscape dimensions" or the "hidden" drivers that guide the pupils in their perceptions and the choices they made. Such methods are often used to try and simplify the interpretation of large two-dimensional tables; the aim is to explore the type of dependence between the column and row variables (Greenacre, 2007). This statistical technique (1) allows us to consider synthetically the statistical dependence between the two

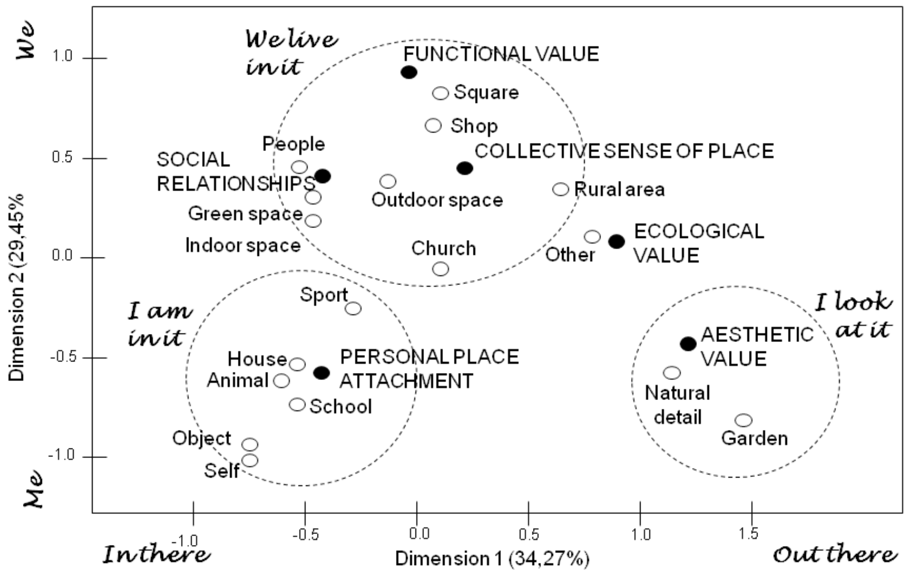

Fig. 6.2.3 Correspondence analysis (source: authors' elaboration)

variables of the row and column of Table 6.2.2 (Why & What), minimizing the problems due to the low number; (2) measures the relative distances between the row and column conditioned frequency distributions of a bivariate table; (3) using these distance matrices, identifies principal factors, or the linear combinations that best summarize the statistical assocation between the column and row variable; (4) assigns to each row and column modality factorial coordinates that can be represented on one or more levels: when two row-points (or column-points) are near one another, then they have similar conditioned frequencies. For example, in the case of this study, the children clearly assign similar meanings to the row-points "Square" and "Shop" (see table 6.2.2). In addition, given that each row (column) coordinate is the weighted average of the column-points (row-points), when a row-point is near to a column point, this means that the two modalities (row and column) heavily influence one another. This happens, for example, in the case of the row-point "Shop" and the column-point "Functional value": as seen – once again – in table 6.2.2, where it is quite common for children to give "Shop" a functional value.

Looking at the chart, the Y axis contrasts personal place attachment and aesthetic value (together with object, "selfies", house, and natural detail) at the bottom, with social relationships, functional value and collective sense of place (along with green and outdoor spaces, rural area, squares and shops) at the top, ranging from what we might call "Me" – a personal and individual dimension – to "We" – a collective and shared dimension. On the other hand, the X axis contrasts personal place attachment (with house, school, animal, object) and social interaction on the left, with aesthetic value (with natural detail and garden) and ecological value on the right: ranging from what we can call an "In there" dimension to an "Out there" dimension.

These results must be read with caution, since the total sample is small. The findings do, however, reflect the important additional value of the statistical multivariate analysis. Two identified dimensions were not easily discoverable through either the adoption of a theoretical deductive approach or by simply looking at the crosstable. The correspondence analysis shows that the two dimensions "Me & We" and "In there & Out there" appear as two independent forces shaping the landscape of the children who participated in this study. In addition, the two dimensions have approximately the same explanatory strength, amounting to 2/3 of the variability in the self-definitions of landscape.

The factorial plane can be divided into 3 areas, allowing for the identification of diverse styles of how children are relating to landscape:

a. On the bottom left side, a first area of cluster elements appears to be linked to the individual and the inner life of children around the value "personal place attachment". This first style –called "I-am-in-it" – concerns mainly the individual and shows a sort of "introverted" or "self-centered" relationship with places.
b. The second area includes elements linked to a collective dimension, somewhere between the "inner reality" and the "outer" one; it includes several landscape elements and values associated with different aspects of the everyday lives of the children. This second style – called "We-live-in-it" – may be characterised by different levels of awareness but generally suggests the building process of a "collective identity".
c. The third area, at the bottom right, emphasizes the aesthetic value children give to natural details and gardens, and includes those landscape elements that children seem not to be directly involved with. The third style –called "I-look-at-it" – represents an approach to landscape "at a distance", from an "out there" or "other" point of view.

6.2.3.3 Italians and Immigrants

The sample is not numerous enough to achieve a sufficiently robust correspondence analysis, either when considering the photographs taken by Italian and immigrant children separately, or when differentiating them using other characteristics, such as place of residence (Arcella and Borgoricco) or gender[7]. However, carefully observing the data relative to the connotative categories and splitting the sample into four groups – cross-referencing citizenship and place of residence – (Fig. 6.2.4) shows interesting differences between Italians and non-Italians. While we observe personal place attachment and collective sense of

7 In addition, the small number of immigrant children does not allow differentiation of the analysis inside this group, even if it is obviously heterogeneous.

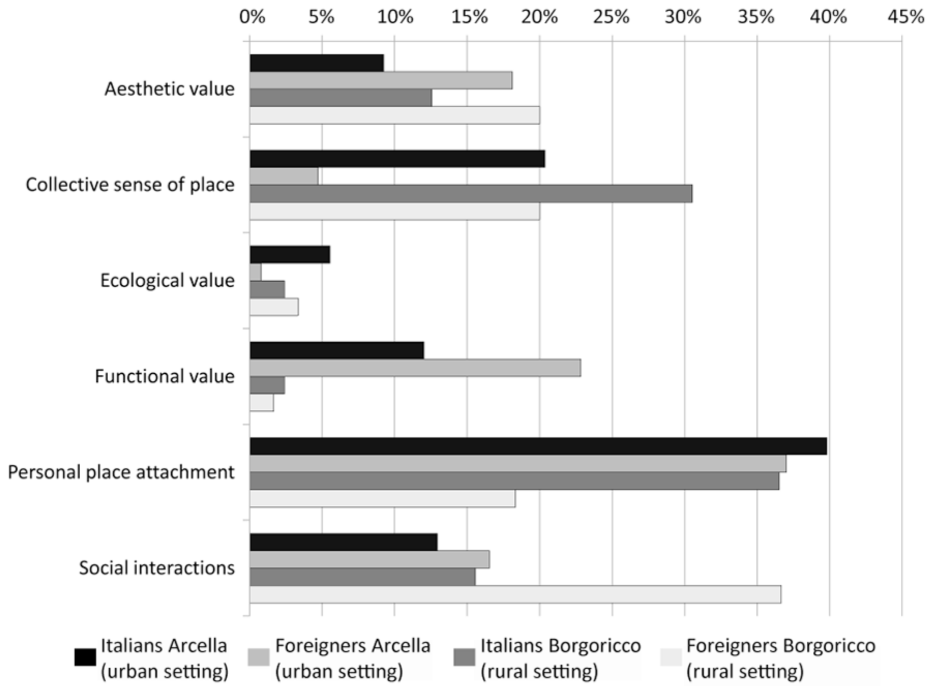

Fig. 6.2.4 Connotative category results divided into four groups (source: authors' elaboration)

place as prevalent meanings among Italians, non-Italians often assign meanings of social interactions, aesthetic value and functional value to landscape elements[8].

With regard to the three styles described above, one may observe that the first (a) is quite common among both Italian and immigrant children. This is likely due to their age, given that at this early life stage teenagers are defining their personal identity and tend to take place for granted (Hay, 1998). The second style (b) concerns both groups, although in different ways. As highlighted above, collective references are less frequent among immigrants compared to Italians. However, immigrants do place great importance on social relations and this could be read as an attempt to find and build a "shared dimension". Significantly, the third style (c) is that mostly chosen by immigrant children. They observe nature, plants, flowers, etc. more than Italians do and tend to have both a greater "aesthetic orientation" (Faulstich and Orellana, 1999) and territorial competence, observing landscapes in their surrounding more carefully, compared to their native school companions (Castiglioni et al., 2011; De Nardi, 2012). The attention to natural details and the tendency to attribute aesthetic value to their sourroundings can be understood in two complementary ways.

8 With regard to the denotative categories, Italians take pictures mostly of green spaces and churches, while foreigners pay more attention to natural details and outdoor spaces.

On the one hand, one might interpret the latter as reflecting a feeble relationship with the place of life and a difficult integration process. Natural elements are relatively simple to understand and can be similar to those in the foreigners' homelands, possibly sparking children's memories of those places (Rishbeth and Finney, 2006). Furthermore, assigning aesthetic value is a relatively basic way of relating to a still partially undiscovered place of life, where building more complex relations is demanding – personal place attachment and collective sense of place need time to grow (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976) while social relations can sometimes be problematic (Cologna et al., 2007). On the other hand, these attitudes indicate that immigrant children tend to pay greater attention to details, observing elements that natives don't notice. Foreign children's gaze seems more uncertain and hesitant, and yet also more curious and careful than that of Italians.

Finally, one might ask: is "ethnic origin" or "place" more important in determining children's perceptions of landscape? Answering such a question in a valid way would require carrying out a more thorough quantitative study than was possible here because of the small numbers. However, figure 6.2.4 does show very relevant differences both between the two settings (urban vs rural) and between the two groups of immigrant children when assigning meanings to the landscape: personal place attachment prevails in Arcella, while social relations prevail in Borgoricco. This finding – confirming the results obtained from the qualitative interviews to pupils involved in the auto-photography activity – suggests that immigrants' children relate differently to their surroundings, depending on the places themselves: being an immigrant child in a town neighbourhood or in a countryside village seems to be different. This finding calls for more in-depth studies to be performed.

6.2.4 Conclusions

In drawing conclusions, the most significant aspects are highlighted from exploring landscape from the point of view of local inhabitants. This is a perspective that is rarely considered in scholarly work. The children involved in this study build their relationships with everyday places mainly through personal experiences and memories, but also through their most significant social relationships. A collective sense of place and an aesthetic appreciation might both be expected to prevail in terms of landscape; but they do not appear as the most important meanings assigned to everyday places. Based on empirically derived results, it seems prudent to further explore, through relevant studies, the approach proposed by the European Landscape Convention, which highlights the role of lay people's perceptions in the relationship between population and landscape. The aim would be to also develop theoretical concepts that are able to interpret complex realities better than existing concepts do, and also to build more effective landscape practices.

Results from the analysis of urban and rural contexts demonstrate how children perceive their surrounding landscape in diverse ways. There are perceptional differences between native Italians and immigrants, too. Indeed, differences linked to the contextual setting are as significant as differences connected to cultural and ethnic origin. Considering that relationships with everyday life places depend on both the characteristics of the people and the landscape, it is important to avoid making generalisations. At the same time, the integration process of first and second generation immigrants should not be observed and managed in a univocal way; one must consider that every landscape can mould individuals and communities differently.

The focus on differences between Italian and immigrant children reveals that the latter take an approach to landscape that appears, in this research, to be more "distant". Immigrant children appear to be observing formal aspects of everyday environments more than Italian children would, using what may be called an "I-look-at-it" style. Interestingly, this style is, to a certain extent, similar to that described by Tuan (1980) and Olwig (1991) who state that, in order to consciously attach meanings to landscape, it is necessary to distance oneself from it. Quite possibly the immigrant children can, in this study, maintain this "detached attitude" precisely because they come from another country, while Italian children, being unconsciously rooted in their everyday life places, have more difficulty in being detached. Tuan and Olwig also explain, however, that a mature sense of place is developed only when a "detached/decentering" phase is followed by a "recentering" one, in which people "return" to their landscape and observe it with greater awareness. The immigrant children who participated in this study appear not to be "entering" this recentering phase yet, thus remaining somewhat less involved in their places of life. In the meanwhile, their Italian peers "are part of the landscape and therefore are not able to detach themselves from their physical surroundings" (Jutla, 2000). Thus, while native Italians seem to lack a sense of detachment which would facilitate their ability to *see* the landscape, immigrants lack the rootedness that fosters the building of a stronger relationship with everyday places. Their detachment can be interpreted both as a careful and mature gaze upon their place of life, as well as a difficulty in developing a closer relationship to it.

Given that Italians and immigrants have different perspectives, it follows that encounter and dialogue between these two groups "through" landscape, and a shared and collective vision of the latter, could help foster the integration process. Indeed, during the study reported here, children were observed discussing their different perceptions as well as the cultural features of landscapes. These discussions provided the opportunity for children to share experiences, opinions and feelings, as well as to deconstruct stereotypes. As such, landscape can be considered an effective tool for intercultural mediation while, simultaneously, providing a valuable instrument for investigating these topics. Moreover, the set of methods used in this study seems to be effective in highlighting the main facets of the relationships between young people and places. Applying these methods to larger samples would contribute to gaining deeper knowledge of these issues among different groups of children.

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Perception of Cultural Landscapes by Different Ethnic Groups in Romania

6.3

Johannes Gnädinger, Katalin Solymosi, Inge Paulini and Dóra Drexler

> "… the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and […] is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity …"
> (The Council of Europe 2000, European Landscape Convention)

6.3.1 Social Structures of a Landscape Deserve Special Attention: An Ethnic Landscapes Approach

From 2005 to 2008 an international study project was run in the Szekely Region, southwest of Sovata/Szováta, Mureș County, Transylvania, Romania[1]. The project focused on landscape protection and regional development strategies with consultations by economic and social experts as well as with inhabitants who have detailed knowledge of the area. Not least driven by these project-related interactions, the political and religious leaders of twelve villages and the cultural organizations of the area established an association in order to foster the process of regional development (Sallay et al., 2006; Gnädinger and Drexler, 2005). For hundreds of years the investigated the investigated Firtos Region served served as a living place for various ethnicities, with Hungarians/Szeklers as the majority, and Roma and Romanians as minorities. Each of these groups plays a specific role in land use and landscape management, and this is why in the course of the project it turned out that the social structure with its different cultures of the area requires increased attention (Gnädinger et al. 2006; 2011).

1 In collaboration with the Chair of Landscape Ecology at Munich Technical University (Germany), the Department of Landscape Planning and Regional Development at Corvinus University of Budapest (Hungary), and the Department of Economic Sciences, Sapientia University Csíkszereda (Romania).

Accordingly, for the development of a landscape research approach with special consideration of the inhabitants and actors, results of studies in the Transylvanian regions also show that:

- most parts of these regional landscapes contain characteristic structural elements and patterns (hedgerows, terraces, orchards, meadows, deciduous forests etc.), and they include a variety of landforms and types that provide an enormously rich biodiversity. Such richness not only remains in small and isolated patches, but exists throughout widely extended regions;
- landscapes of the region still exhibit traces of their historical development, including traditional and characteristic land use patterns;
- because of the aforementioned aspects the landscapes of the region convey identity and afford "homeland" to be felt by inhabitants of the different ethnicities, and even by visitors;
- as a consequence, those landscapes must be considered very special, and also very susceptible to land use changes; they are not restorable and thus worthy of protection.

If one asks "what makes a landscape unique, authentic, peculiar, unreproducible or unrecoverable?" the answers cannot just be found by looking at physical phenomena, such as "their manifold elements and structures". In practical applications of landscape planning, it is mainly these physical and material landscape characteristics that are regularly inspected and assessed by experts. However, from the expert's view it is difficult to define which kinds of characteristics make a landscape unique, for uniqueness may not only consist in certain combinations of physical elements, but also of meanings that these elements bear.

6.3.2 Landscape Contains Different Meanings for each Group

To understand landscapes and to be able to encompass their values, one may need to go further and investigate the people's knowledge, perceptions and points of view. The subjective relations inhabitants feel with their surroundings (Fairclough, 2003; Moore and Whelan 2007; Drexler, 2010) have to be examined. In those areas where several local cultures live together, different ways of perception, interpretation or representations of the same territory are possible. The "landscape" of the same area can have a different meaning for each group, so the investigations have to be done from a multiethnic perspective as well.

The psychological or emotional relationships of inhabitants with their environment are also referred to as cultural perception of a landscape that makes one's identity stronger (Bürger-Arndt and Reeh, 2006; Weil and Trepl, 1998; ANL, 2009).

In planning, there is usually not much emphasis on the specific way *inhabitants* themselves perceive or experience their landscape, and what they consider or experience as unique or characteristic. Their proper perception will mainly depend on their socio-cultural disposition and on socio-political experiences. The "*insider's view*" is different from the "*expert's view*" (Solymosi, 2011). Both do not necessarily contrast or contradict, but

Fig. 6.3.1
Meadow manuring in winter, village of Énlaka/Inlăceni (photo: Gnädinger)

the insider's view will provide additional information that the expert could never gain without consulting with insiders.

6.3.3 Romania a Peculiar Example

The assessment of cultural landscapes as well as the implementation of regional development requires the consideration of the specific social conditions of the region. The presence of various ethnic groups as well as of extended traditional landscapes, often in remote or marginalized regions, is typical of Romania:

- on the regional level the cohabitation of different ethnic groups for centuries (in the case of the Firtos region: Hungarians as the main group, Romanians, Roma)
- on the national level the neighbourhood of different ethnic groups with their historical and sociopolitical peculiarities (Romanians as the main group, Hungarians as a large group, Saxons as a nearly completely emigrated group, Roma as a relevant and growing group distributed throughout the country).

In order to meet the different concepts about landscape of the respective local or regional ethnic groups better, we proposed to use the term "ethnic landscapes".

The notion "ethnic landscape" opens a whole field of new ideas for research as well as for practical approaches, like landscape planning and regional development strategies and environmental policies. This is why since 2008 the ethnic landscapes approach was discussed and conceptualized by a wider, international team of researchers at regular workshops, the ETHLAS group.

Fig. 6.3.2
Gardens and orchards near Énlaka/Inlăceni (photo: Stolzewski)

Fig. 6.3.3
Species-rich meadow at Énlaka/Inlăceni (photo: Heinemann)

In order to address the uniqueness of European landscapes, and thus to be more specific, we propose the term "ethnic landscapes". It may emphasize that it is a special social group and culture which perceives the landscape they inhabit, shape or manage. Likewise, a multiethnic landscape is a landscape where different cultures live together, where they perceive it in different manners, and where they shape it in different forms of usage or in division of labour.

Table 6.3.1 Definitions

DEFINITIONS
The following main definitions were discussed and recorded by the ETHLAS group:

Ethnic group: Ethnics groups should be regarded as socially constructed units (Barth, 1969) and not as essentialistic entities. An ethnic group is "a society of people, who distinguishes itself from other groups of people due to culture, language, religion, history, identity or other characteristics." (Federal Union of European Nationalities, 2002; UN Statistics Division, 2003)

Landscape: In order to cope with the conceptual diversity throughout Europe we adopted the definition of the European Landscape Convention: Landscape means "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors". (European Landscape Convention, The Council of Europe, 2000)

Cultural landscape / historic landscape: A landscape which is historically influenced by cultural activities, like agriculture, silviculture and urbanism, in contrast to a natural or pristine landscape that is mainly influenced by natural factors. In comparison to ethnic landscape, cultural landscape is a more generalizing term, and it focuses on the physical and aesthetical results of human activities in interaction with natural factors.

Ethnic landscape / multiethnic landscape: A cultural landscape where the specific perceptions by one or several ethnic groups are focused: "Ethnic landscapes are areas perceived by one or several ethnic groups in a particular way. This perception is frequently connected to the characteristics of the area, which are the result of activities and interactions of human and natural factors." (ETHLAS group: Gnädinger et al., 2011)

6.3.4 Analysing Landscape Perception

Landscape is not a naturalistic object, but a social construction, because a multitude of experiences are attached to it ("…an area, as perceived by people…"). While landscapes exist physically as an object, referring to a "landscape" carries different meanings and values to different people and groups of people.

In order to detect what we hypothetically call "ethnic landscape" it is necessary to identify the uniqueness of landscapes from an anthropological point of view – i.e. the subjectively and intersubjectively perceived meanings of landscapes – instead of just labelling them "cultural landscapes" or "complex ecosystems" as well.

We propose to adopt a method (Korff 2005, modified by Solymosi 2011, Fig. 6.3.4) where the psychological perception of a person is subdivided roughly into three operational levels: conceptual-cognitive, functional-utilitarian and emotional-aesthetical. This set of levels is not uniformly developed in each person or social group, rather there are individual, milieu and situational factors having an influence upon those levels of perception. Among the milieu factors, cultural, temporal and social ones may be distinguished. Ethnic aspects influence the cultural and social factors. When perceiving the spatial structures of a landscape (input) this information is filtered and modified according to the specific structure

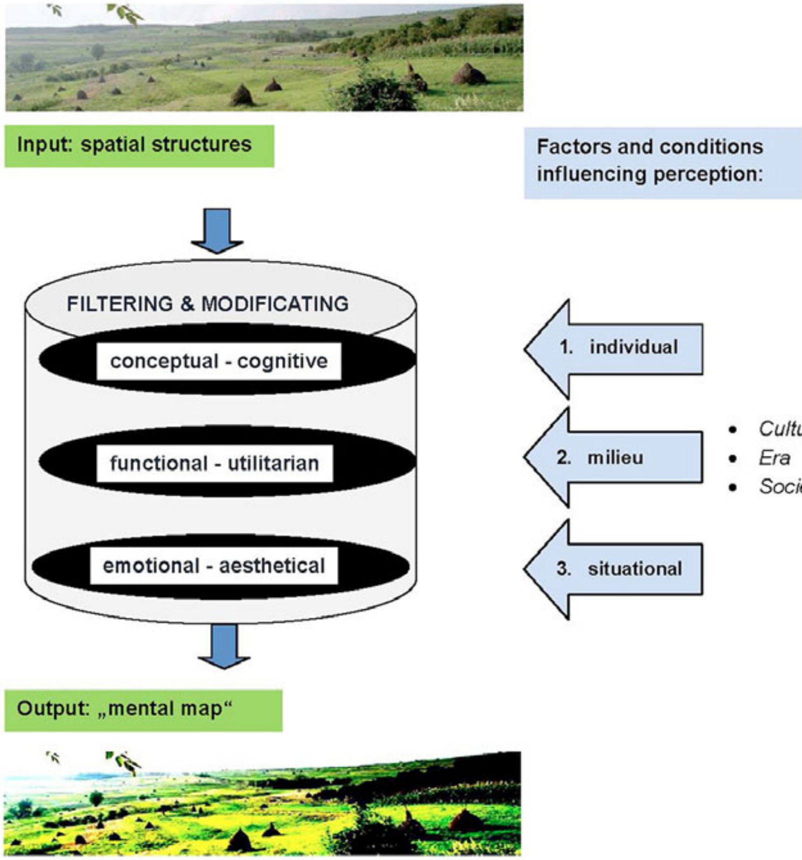

Fig. 6.3.4 Diagram of perception, method by Korff, 2005, modified by Solymosi, 2011. The received spatial structures are processed and modified by three filters in the recipient's perception. These filters are coined individually and constantly by different influencing factors. The output is a recipient-specific mental map of the perceived spatial structure. (photo: Heinemann)

of the levels of perception. The result of this mental process is a "mental map", providing individually specific or group-specific contents.

Based on this theory of perception, an empirical study was carried out in the Gyimes region in Romania, asking inhabitants to what extent landscape perceptions of a group of "outsiders" (tourists) had an influence upon their own traditional landscape perceptions, those of the "insiders" (Solymosi, 2011). The Gyimes region is inhabited by a marginalized ethnic group of Hungarians, the Czango. The Czango have a set of active living traditions and possess a strong self-consciousness. From results obtained by conducting a series of semi-structured interviews (with a total of 116 people), the outsiders exhibited a number of idealised perceptions of the Gyimes landscape. These include the following:

- the landscape fulfills all expectations;
- the landscape should stay as it now exists;
- the farmers should not use modern machines, but continue traditional land use forms;
- there is a "typical Hungarian landscape" etc.;
- traditional landscape does not seem to be threatened by land abandonment or intensification.

All in all, the Gyimes region – as the tourist's mental map – was considered to be an idealised romantic place where the inhabiting minority appears to be still living in harmony with nature and managing to keep its rich folk culture alive amid the surrounding majority of other people.

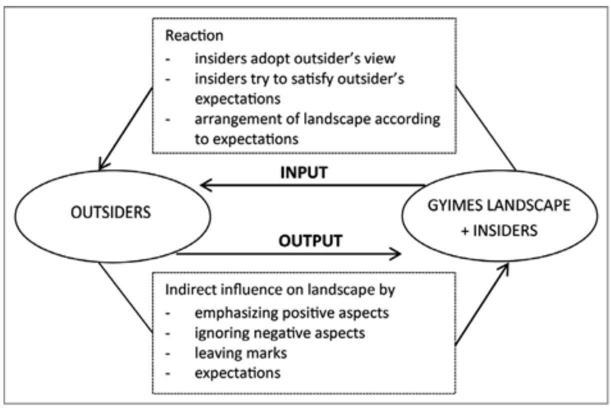

Fig. 6.3.5
Influence of outsiders upon insiders
(source: Solymosi, 2011)

Several inhabitants, although a minority, showed reaction to the outsider's views. They adopted the outsiders' view and tried to arrange the landscape according to their expectations (Fig. 6.3.5).

As the survey by Solymosi shows, the insiders' perceptions are not independent from those of the outsiders. Similarly, some authors claim that the perceptions of different groups of insiders, such as different ethnic groups, do also influence each other (Finke, 2006; Pelican, 2006). Nevertheless, each group has its own dispositions because of its specific history, traditions, values and self-consciousness, which can be very persistent over generations (Inglehart and Baker, 2000).

6.3.5 Relevance of Research on Ethnic Landscapes

Globalizing markets, urbanization and modern technologies lead to an ongoing change of societies and to homogenization of lifestyles. This can, in turn, lead to a chain reaction that affects landscapes. Effects may include the following:

- Decrease of isolation (infrastructural, social, political) of formerly remote areas;
- Loss of locally passed-down knowledge and special competences regarding land use and land management;
- Loss of characteristic elements and values of traditional rural areas;
- Loss of biodiversity;
- Land abandonment or intensification of land use (industrial agriculture, urbanization).

On the other hand, and at the same time, these significant changes increase the awareness for regional identities, cultural heterogeneity and the values of unique landscapes ('glocalization' cf. Robertson, 1992). There are large areas throughout Romania where extraordinarily exquisite landscape quality is still maintained by local people who continue to live in traditional ways. In many areas the landscapes exhibit only slow changes. This is the motive for the ETHLAS group to follow up a research programme with the following research aims:

- to open up the generalising concept of "cultural landscapes" by special consideration of the inhabitants/insiders, their perceptions of and their specific influence upon the shape of landscape;
- to develop a theoretical and methodological foundation based upon landscape analysis, landscape perception, ethnological and anthropological approaches;
- to apply the aforementioned methods in interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary projects in order to differentiate ethnic landscapes on scientific levels (psychologically, ethnographically, ecologically, aesthetically, legally, land use-oriented etc.) and to synthesize these outcomes.

As a consequence of this research programme, the results shall be implemented in regional development, land use policy and landscape policy.

What kinds of research questions are there? The photos below (Fig. 6.3.6, 6.3.7, 6.3.8) illustrate some examples of Romanian landscapes, each one mainly inhabited by a specific ethnic group (Romanian, Hungarian, Saxon, etc.). It is important to select the study sites on the basis of similar, comparable characteristics, e. g. on the same levels of altitude (lowland, hilly or mountainous). The following questions shall be comparatively addressed:

- In what ways and to what extent are the considered regions isolated?
- How far is a population marginalized or exists as a minority inside the region?

- What is the economic and infrastructural situation of the members of the considered ethnicity/ethnicities?
- Which types of land use and which detailed features of land use exist in the considered region/landscape?
- Which rights of use of property, soil, forests, water etc. exist in the considered region/landscape?
- Is there a characteristic biodiversity on a small scale and landscape level, giving hints to specific land use practices of the ethnicities considered?
- Are there special landscape structures, patterns or elements, resulting from group-specific land use practices?
- What are the meanings of landscape for insiders? How do local populations perceive landscape by tradition as well as by consideration of external or "modern" influences?

Fig. 6.3.6

In the Maramures traditional landscape inhabited by Romanians still exists (photo: Gnädinger)

Fig. 6.3.7

Gyimes region, inhabited by the Czango, a Hungarian minority (photo: Demeter)

Fig. 6.3.8
Village of Saschiz in the Saxon area (photo: Paulini)

6.3.6 Conclusions

Considering the ongoing rapid change of cultural landscapes and their characteristic elements, and facing the loss of traditional knowledge and practice of local land use, the concept of "ethnic landscapes" may help to boost the awareness of cultural diversity in Europe and to strengthen regional identities. The concept "ethnic landscape" might also help to investigate the way landscape is perceived by local communities better than up to now. In order to demonstrate the usefulness of the "ethnic landscape" approach, this chapter provided results from studies where landscape perceptions of different ethnic groups in Romania were analysed and compared. This work is based on the theory of landscape perception by Korff (2005) and on the survey conducted by Solymosi (2011).

The research presented in this chapter gives more emphasis to local residents than is commonly done. In the current practice of landscape planning it is mainly the expert who assesses landscapes and proposes aims and measures for landscape management. The term "ethnic landscape" is committed to the statutes of the European Landscape Convention and may help to provide answers to the question of how we, as people, can shape our living environment when facing the manifold connections between people and natural factors.

Acknowledgments

We are particularly grateful to Sabine Toussaint and Larissa Danschina from the Centre for International Affairs at Munich Technical University, and for generous financial support by the German Academic Exchange Fund (DAAD Programme Eastern Partnerships) from 2005 to 2013.

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Chapter 7

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A Condition of the Spirit

Mapping Landscape, Language and Culture[1]

7

Kristin Faurest and Ellen Fetzer

> "We are the children of our landscape; it dictates behaviour and even thought in the measure to which we are responsive to it".
> Lawrence Durrell

7.1 Origin and Philosophy of the Course "Language, Culture, Landscape"

In the introduction to the course "Language, Culture, Landscape" we try to impart a sense of the vast range of concepts contained in one word:

> "The word landscape was first recorded in English in 1598. It is a loan from Dutch where it is a term used by painters who were around that time becoming famous for their skills in the landscape genre. The Dutch word landschap means 'region' or 'tract of land' but in the 16th century obtained artistic significance as 'a picture depicting a scenery on land', which meaning then was brought over into English. It took 34 years after the first recorded use of landscape in English until the word was used for natural scenery, the description of the direct landscape as we see it before us. The word for landscape is similar in the Germanic languages: Landschaft in German, landskab in Danish, landskap in Norwegian and Swedish and lânskip in Frisian. The root of the word landscape (land) was translated into the Romance languages as pays. The word was borrowed from the Northern countries to transfer the same double meaning of tract of land and a picture thereof. Thus, the words paysage (French), paesaggio (Italian), paisaje (Spanish), paisagem (Portuguese), paisatge (Catalan) and peizaj (Romanian). Basque uses the loan from Spanish paisaia. Also the Finno-ugric languages Finnish (maisema) and Hungarian (tájkép) use the root 'land'. In Latvian it is ainava and in Lithuanian it is krastovaizdis. In Greek the word is topío referring to locus or site. In Slavic languages such as Polish (krajobraz) and Czech, Slovak and Slovene (krajina) the root for region or territory is used (kraj-). Serbian uses krajolik and the very similar Croatian nowadays prefer krajobraz. An exception is Russian which has both peyzazh and landschaft – which are loans from French and German… the first word peyzazh refers to the subjective aspect of landscape where the poetical, pictorial

1 None of the material here has been previously published or is under consideration for publication in print or on the Internet.

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_7, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

> and emotional values are emphasised. The second meaning landschaft refers to an objective, technical approach, which makes it possible to change the landscape" (Groter, 2006).

But even though the above passage cuts a broad swathe through the European consciousness of landscape, it appears narrow in comparison to the diversity offered by students of the "International Master's in Landscape Architecture" (IMLA), which is a joint program based at two German universities, Nürtingen-Geislingen University and Weihenstephan-Triesdorf University of Applied Sciences. Each group in the two-ECTS credit course averages around 15 different nationalities, including, for example, Japan, Brazil, Iran, Colombia, Mexico, Malaysia, the U.S., Vietnam, Jordan, Lithuania, India and Honduras.

Further, many students come from countries with borders that are artificially or recently imposed, and whose cultures, ethnic regions and civilizations either stretch unchanged across national borders or exist simultaneously within one sovereign nation. Others come from island nations where immigrant or colonial culture exists parallel to native culture.

7.2 Structure, Learning Objectives and Learning Tools

The course is presented online because it is designed for the incoming new students, for whom this study term is the internship semester. This means that many of these students are not physically on campus. The primary communications tools are Adobe Connect and Moodle, with individual student-instructor consultations and student group work taking place mainly via e-mail and internet telephony.

The course objectives are to build sensitivity towards the differences in landscape architecture terminology from one language to another and achieve a deeper understanding of the concepts of landscape in the students' respective countries and in other cultures. We encourage the students to broaden their understanding of the concept of landscape and all of the subtopics it encompasses.

There are two assignments, one individual and one group, with both consisting of a concept map and a written essay. The first assignment is to choose ten landscape-related terms and structure a concept map from them, including both the native language and English, with illustrations if possible. The second assignment requires working in groups of two or three to create comparative maps and essays. Questions that help move the thought process along include: What are the words' etymological, cultural, historic, mythological, social roots? How do they relate to one another? Which are foreign (including colonial), which are indigenous? Are there significant differences in the concepts between urban and rural populations? Following these and other questions, students create a concept map displaying the visual relationships of the terms and the driving forces that influence them. In the group essay students also have to contemplate and analyse the differences in the maps produced by each group member and propose the cultural, historic, ecological, religious or other reasons underlying them. Students present their concept maps and essays online, with lively discussion following. As teachers we give students a free hand in interpreting assignment results in order to open up the assignment to a broad range of possibilities. We strive to avoid pedantic etymological exercises or generic structures that merely depict a standard set of landscape-related terms in another language. Many countries are too large and diverse to yield a single, culturally-specific concept map and essay. Taking this into account, students may narrow or broaden the focus as they see fit: they may want to concentrate on, for just a few examples, the rural or vernacular landscape, urban planning, the landscape of a specific region/tribe, or a certain spiritual or religious dimension that determines the landscape.

7.3 Concept Map Methodology and how it Supports Pedagogic Approaches

Knowing the difficulty of the task explained above, two complementary representation methods were offered to participating students: the written essay and the concept map. Essay writing is of course a widespread teaching method and probably needs no further explanation here. However, concept mapping is not yet part of standard pedagogic tool boxes. Concept maps are not to be confused with mind maps as the latter usually have one core concept in the centre from which the related sub-concepts emerge. These are sorted in hierarchical order.

Concept maps are not supposed to represent hierarchies, even if such type of order often appears in them. Instead, concept maps allow for representing various cross-relations between concepts including circle relationships. With this characteristic, they are particularly suitable for explaining complex relationships. The method applied here was first devised by Joseph D. Novak (see also Novak, 2008; Novak, 2010). According to his approach, concept maps consist of concepts, i.e. the main terms and relationships between them. Relationships are usually represented with arrows on which linking words are placed. These form propositions through which the concept relationship becomes explicit. In addition, every concept map relates to a core question to which it is supposed to give an answer. The concept mapping approach responds well to new demands in adult education following cognitivist (Vygotsky, 1962) and in particular constructivist learning theories (Reich, 2012).

In the context of the intercultural tasks of this course, concept mapping was used in order to offer students an additional tool for expressing their thoughts. Essay-writing would particularly support those students who already have a very good command of English and also advanced writing skills. As teachers, we cannot expect either of these competences to be fully developed among a group of students who graduated from any of the many different planning or engineering programmes offered around the world. Additional tools are needed in order to allow for knowledge representation across different backgrounds. Concept mapping proved to be a very good instrument for collecting and sorting thoughts, for preparing the essay and also for presenting the respective findings to others. It also proved to be considerably useful during the comparative part of the exercise because each party was able to make his/her thoughts explicit. In addition, concept maps even work without language, which can be very helpful. A concept can easily be replaced by an image which takes away the need for a translation. This can be very constructive, in particular when there is no English word for some locally specific terms.

7.4 Insights

In many cases the results from course assignments explained above offered an understanding of landscape and the multitude of related aspects as a sort of palimpsest. The essays and concept maps reflected the many stories of countries or cultures whose borders and identities have changed over centuries. Usually, the student groups of this programme are extremely diverse. It sometimes happens, though, as it did in one semester, that we have several students from region, in this case Iran. From such groups we may gain deeper insights into one culture. For example, in this case, we all learned how familiar terms such as 'paradise' may originally may mean one thing, in this case 'a garden', and then be transformed as the word crosses through centuries and civilizations (Fig. 7.1). In Iran this particular word is used when referring to an enclosed garden; it originates from the word that we now know as 'paradise' in Persian, which passed, in various forms, through Greek, Sanskrit, Latin and French, before becoming the word (paradise) we recognize in English.

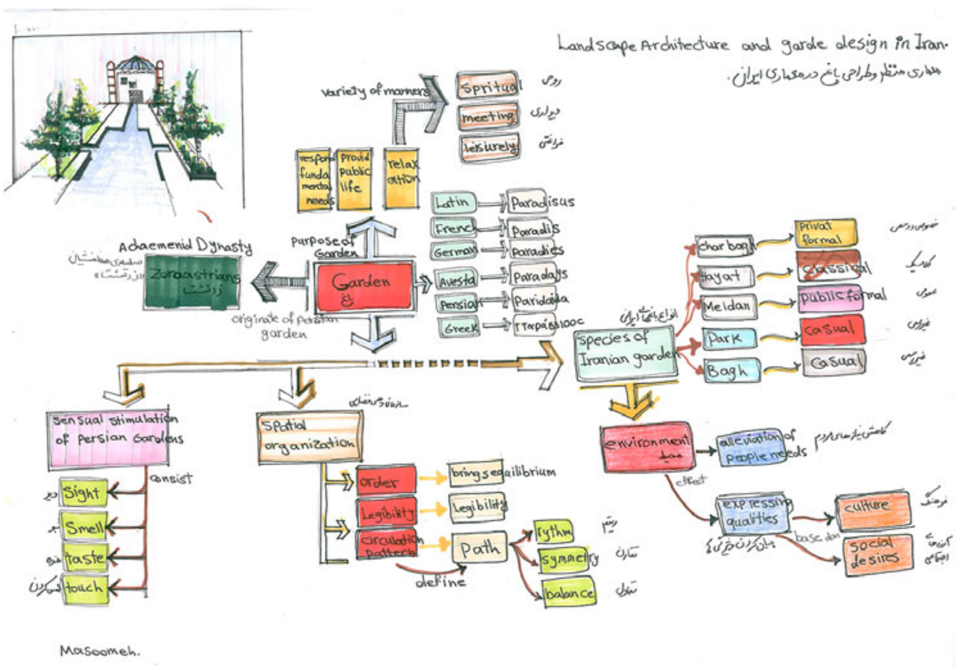

Fig. 7.1 Landscape architecture and garden design in Iran (Reproduced from Masoomeh Rajabi, IMLA programme, 2013)

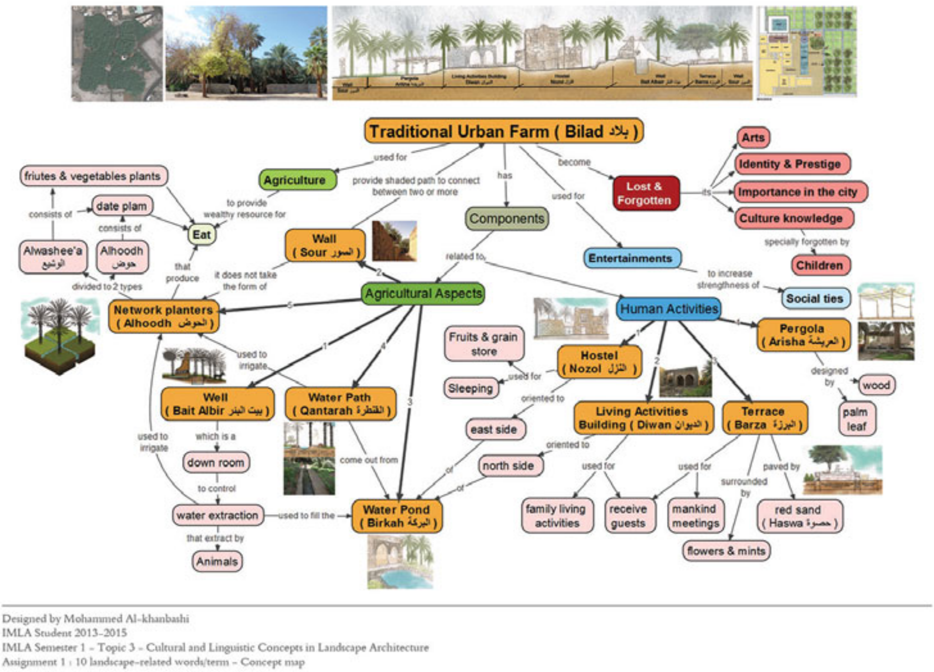

Fig. 7.2 Concepts of landscape in Saudi Arabia (Reproduced from Mohammed Al-khanbashi, IMLA programme, 2013)

We can also see from the concept maps some ancient ideas for adaptation to local conditions and climate that could be seen today as innovative. The term 'urban farm', now widely perceived as a new trend, is a centuries-old concept in what is now Saudi Arabia, where it was a highly sophisticated system known as a 'bilad' (Fig. 7.2). This form of urban agriculture is not just an intelligent model for sustainable urban planning that could be informative for other cultures as well, but also a local cultural value in immediate danger of being lost.

Sometimes it is the gaps themselves that offer the most telling detail – frequently we have found the missing words and ideas just as informative as the existing ones. Some students have difficulty narrowing down their thoughts to fit within the scope of the assignment, whereas others struggled to move outside of their own culture in order to be able to understand their culture's perception of landscape. The Vietnamese example that we observed was intriguing not so much for its contents but for its empty spaces: many landscape terms simply do not exist in the Vietnamese language. In Jordan, the sudden urban development of Amman superimposed an oversized, alien structure on a rural civilization (Fig. 7.3). Because of this, to this day, rural, small-scale words are all that are available to describe many modern urban features: a linguistic reminder of how urbanization did not happen in

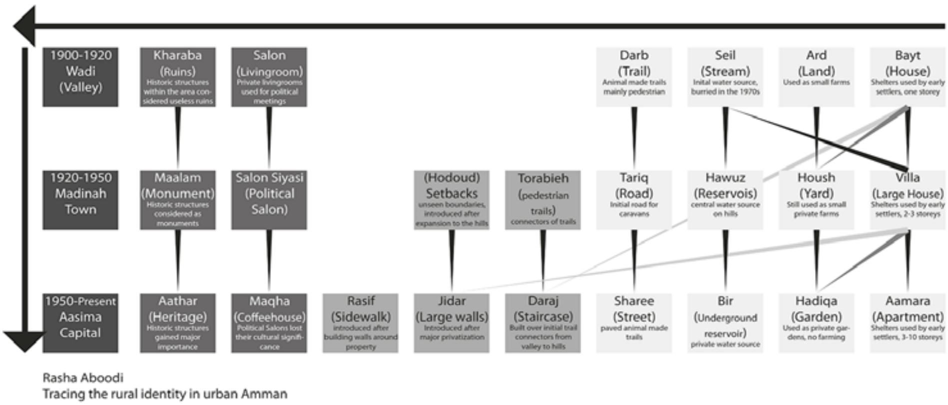

Fig. 7.3 Evolution of the urban centre in Jordan (Reproduced from Rasha Aboodi, IMLA programme, 2013)

this place as an organic process. The words for describing the city fit it oddly, awkwardly, like someone else's discarded clothing[2].

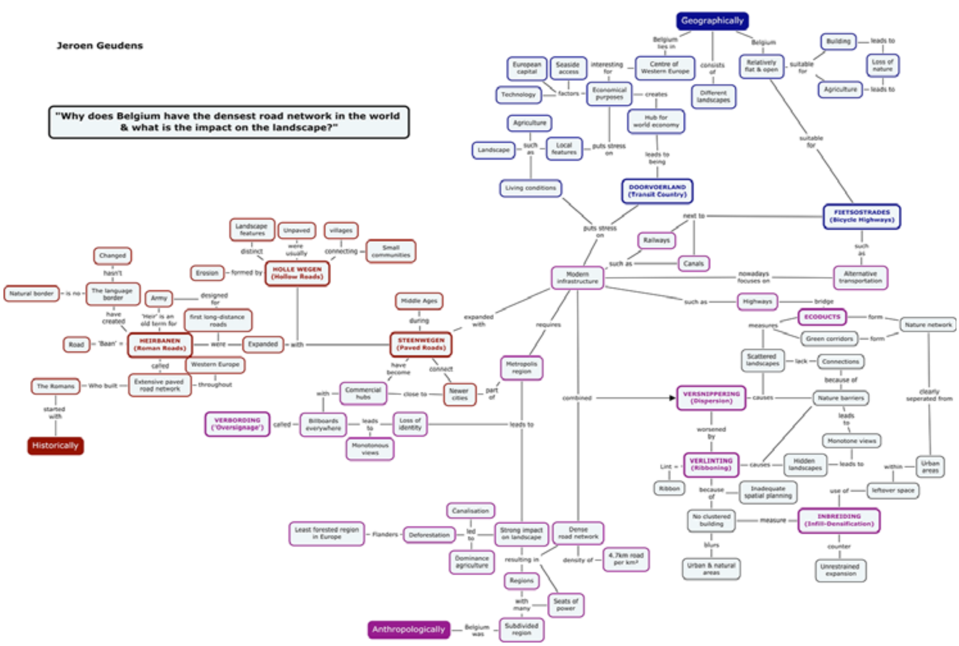

Fig. 7.4 Presentation of the Belgian landscape through the prism of its road infrastructure (Reproduced from Jeroen Geudens, IMLA progamme, 2014)

2 It is similar in Thai, see Jiraprasertkun in this volume.

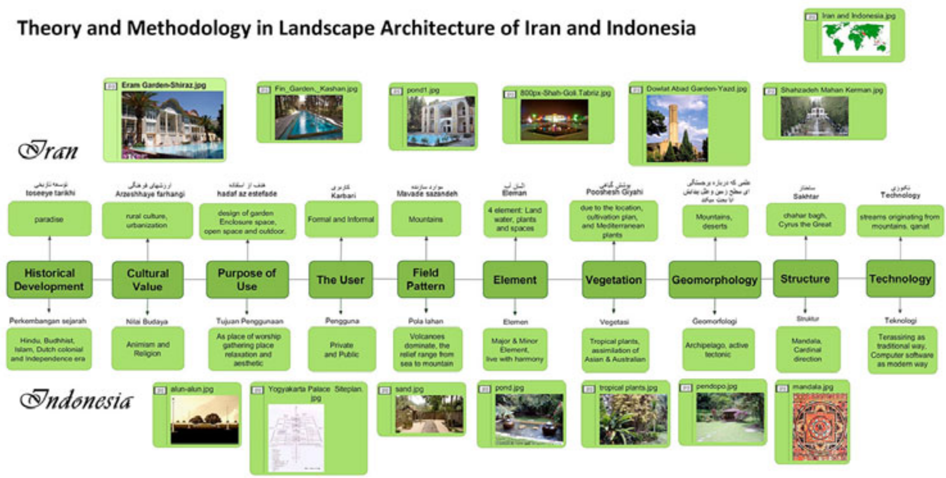

Fig. 7.5 Concept map comparing two different civilizations' notion of landscape (Reproduced from Melissa Puspitarini Abas and Masoomeh Rajabi, IMLA programme, 2013)

In some instances, it seemed that people perceive landscape as anything that is not like one's homeland. Some Belgian students initially expressed a difficulty in conceiving of anything distinctive or defining in their own native natural or built-up landscapes (Fig. 7.4).

One Egyptian student expressed the sentiment that landscapes were something that existed somewhere else, or if they existed in Egypt at all, were built up from imported elements; the native desert itself was considered emptiness and not a landscape in its own right. In both Indonesian and Malaysian the term for landscape is clearly derived from Dutch and thus a foreign, colonialist concept, but yet the words within the profession are indigenous and quite similar between the two languages (Fig. 7.5).

It was intriguing to see the many ways that students interpreted their task and the choices they made. Nepalese landscape perceptions appeared to be unique, detailed and inseparable from social notions of caste, spiritual elements such as mandalas, and small-scale constructions such as the traditional stone spouts that have served as water sources since ancient times. These descriptions were intimate, local, and felt blissfully isolated from the larger world. The Colombian coffee landscape, on the other hand, is iconic and unique as well, but also inextricably connected to and affected by multiple global factors (Fig. 7.6).

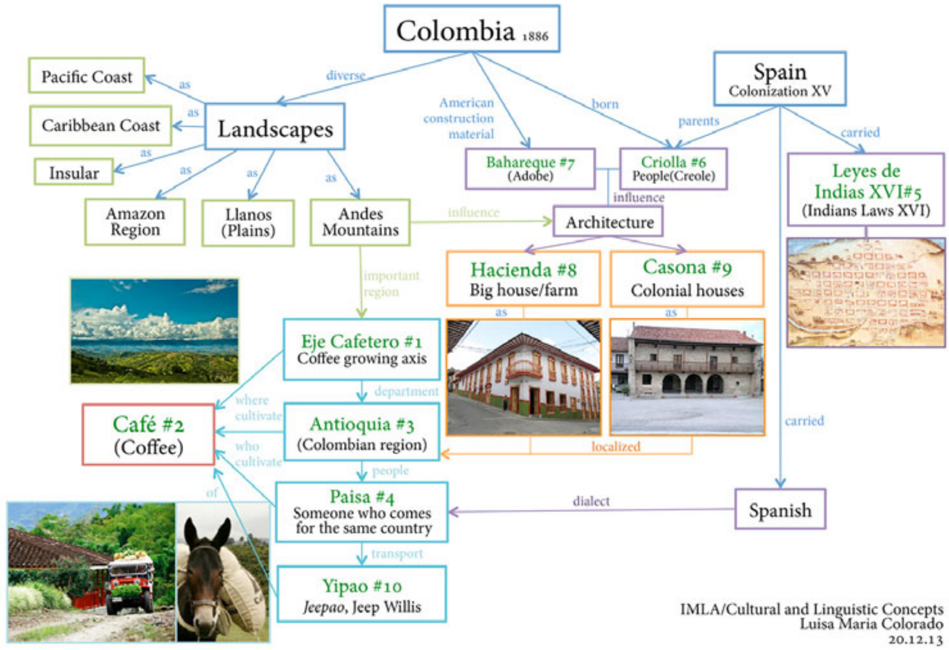

Fig. 7.6 The Colombian coffee landscape (Reproduced from Luisa Maria Colorado, IMLA programme, 2014)

Some students who represent smaller and more homogeneous countries such as Hungary were able to include the whole of their country into the scope of the task. They created maps tracing the paths of agricultural words absorbed over the centuries from far-flung language families. A Honduran student utilized the map as a means of visually representing the problem that the student observed: the disconnectedness between society and the landscape architecture profession. Specifically, the country's history, the imposition of foreign religions and governmental structures has led to the current social inequality and poverty, which produces an uneducated populace with a paucity of public spaces and therefore a lack of understanding or advocacy for the concept of landscape architecture. The comparative essays also offered many interesting revelations. In general we observed a strong relation between Farsi and Hindi, in particular in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent.

7.5 Conclusions

Although the IMLA students come from a variety of different professional and socioeconomic backgrounds, they are, after all, communicating as experts with other educated experts. In mapping out and narrating their stories, some students are representing their own original ideas. Others are explaining what they perceived to be national/regional/local notions of landscape; regardless of such attempts to achieve representativeness, the results are still one person's response alone. Any investigation among groups of lay people would most likely bring in many new and different stories, an exercise that would certainly be worth pursuing. The maps and essays described above represent the perceptions of individuals who are part of the planning profession; they are not meant to be understood as an in-depth anthropological survey.

The course described here differs in form and content from most landscape architecture courses. The course puts the focus on academic writing, abstract thinking, historic analysis and other areas. How might we, the teachers, justify this course as an important element of planning education? How does exploring the cultural and linguistic underpinnings of landscape influence us as planners? Some thoughts:

- The course should contribute to opening the minds of the next generation of planners – in multiple directions. It should expand students' perspective and help them appreciate the rich diversity of landscape and culture that makes up the world, so that they accept and absorb new ideas. But it should also encourage them to strengthen their self-awareness and the appreciation of their own local diversity and specifics. In the context of our own students, they have decided to take up studies in Europe, more exactly in Germany, because of a specific interest in our education and engineering practice. They should be encouraged not simply to 'copy-paste', but to integrate new concepts with their own background and create something new. This model is applicable and relevant to other globally-oriented landscape architecture programmes as well.
- A frequent topic of discussion during the running of the course was the lack of the concept of wilderness/nature in many concept maps. It seems that for many cultures landscape is a place of cultivation. However, preservation of biodiversity is a global issue, and the question of where nature belongs in the concept of landscape remained unanswered in many cases.
- Globalisation – in landscape architecture – will not stop. In particular on account of the global challenges we are facing: climate change, biodiversity loss, quality of life, water management, etc. Landscape architecture plays a key role in all of these grand challenges, and this is why the profession needs to go global. The seminar should help in this context in so far as it supports the idea of 'intercultural syntheses' – innovative interpretations and practices on a local scale.
- The landscape terms encountered could be regarded as a form of intangible cultural heritage that is currently under threat because of the rapid transformation of landscapes all across the globe. Will our grandchildren still be able to express their environment with such a rich diversity of terms? This diversity of terms – the vocabulary of our environment, so to speak – is a cultural heritage. Landscape might be conceived as an umbrella term for this – but clearly not all cultures need such an umbrella term. There are still other ways of expressing the 'superior layer' – still spiritual in many places. The concept of landscape already implies the existence of some hierarchical system in

perceiving our environment. There are still cultures left that do not need this hierarchy. There is possibly much to be learned from what is going on without using the landscape concept.

Acknowledgments

This article would not have been worth writing if it had not been for the rich and thought-provoking visuals, essays and discussions that the students gave us. We can only hope that they gained as much from the course as we did. We are also grateful to those students who gave permission for their work to be used in this article.

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Chapter 8

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Current Demands on Landscape Research by the Growing Importance of Hybridization 8

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8.1 Introduction

The increasing mobility of society, new technologies, as well as the individualization, fragmentation and pluralization of lifestyles in the postmodern, globalized world lead to a heterogeneous composition of regional and national populations and to a more fluid cross-border exchange. Many cultural aspects are being formed and changed, including the perception of landscape. Fischer (2008) describes the development as follows: "Changing mobility practices are leading to new landscape conceptions. People are no longer acting therein as a contemplative audience, as was true in the bourgeois era, but much more as mobile, transitory stakeholders, moving from one place to another." The way that we perceive landscapes is significantly socially and biographically constructed (Kühne, 2006; 2008; 2013; Kühne and Schönwald 2014; Lehmann 2001) and as these areas are localized in cultural contexts and culture is to be seen as a process (Wimmer, 2005), the processual nature of landscape perception becomes apparent. The examination of cultural, social and biographical backgrounds of this perception is thereby an indispensable part of landscape research. It also becomes clear, that current international landscape research may not limit its analysis of landscape perception to the comparison of various nations, but must take hybridization processes into account. This will be further justified, below.

8.2 From Multiculturalism to Hybridity – Concepts on the Description of Cultural Practices in Heterogeneous Societies

With changing mobility and increasing migration movements in the second half of the 20th Century, the concept of multiculturalism came into the public eye. The debate was often judgmental and characterized by being either extremely positive, in terms of its assessment and a stronger negatively connoted description of emerging parallel, ethnic societies. However, and especially within the social sciences, new concepts of explaining

D. Bruns et al. (eds.), *Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes,* RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-04284-4_8, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2015

developing lifestyles developed between these two poles. Cosmopolitanization concepts (Beck and Grande, 2007) or the approach of transnationalism (Pries, 2008) fall under this category. Concepts such as the parallel society are seen critically by these approaches, as they imply that the migrants in their own country represent a 'closed society' (Römhild, 2010; Kaschuba, 2007). The concept of hybridity explicitly turns away from such multiculturalist concepts "which are based on a cultural diversity and therefore raise cultural phenomena to essentialist politologemes" (Manzeschke, 2005), in that it looks at the concept of culture from a constructivist perspective and thus exposes it as a process of constant influence and mixing. In multiculturalist models, according to Nederveen Pieterse (2005), "it are 'the half-breeds'; which are not taken into account, who have no place." Hybridity, however, is now largely understood as a "cultural strategy of mixing and a negotiation of differences" (Hein, 2006) in the sense of "transcending binary categories" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2005). Welsch, however, disputes the term 'mixing', in favor of other terms such as 'connections', which more strongly accent the fact that cultures are not 'merging' but 'crossing over', a process in which differences remain visible (Zapf, 2002). Thus arises from hybridization not a "homogeneous mass, [...] but a heterogeneous mixture" (Struve, 2013). Hybridity, according to Nederveen Pieterse (2005), is "commonplace" and therefore "not worth mentioning". However, it is "interesting from the point of view of essentializing borders". Thus, it is not hybridity which is problematic, but "border fetishism" (Nederveen Pieterse 2005). Nederveen Pieterse (2005) describes ethnicity as the newest form of border fetishism, after nationality. Multicultural landscape research is in danger of falling into this trap, where a border fetishism is also to be found. However, some newer concepts of (landscape) research are finding ways of getting around this dilemma. The concept of hybridity, for example, turns away from essentialist definitions. How the softening of these categories and borders is being discussed in landscape research and how the concept of hybridity may be worked into studies will be shown in the next section, using some examples from landscape and hybrid research.

8.3 On the Importance of Hybridity Concepts in Landscape Research

Bhabha (2011) discusses the spaces created through hybridization, in which differences are not hierarchically ordered, and calls them 'third spaces'. These third spaces are, according to Bhabha (2012), characterized by their spatial unboundedness and their specific temporality, and may be understood as a threshold. A third space is, therefore a "space of continuous crossing over […] and less of a journey, whose goal is known." Persons in third spaces act, therefore, in a phase of liminality, in which polarizations are rejected. Such a hybrid space, like Bhabha's third space "belongs to all inhabitants equally, independent of origin, culture, religion" (de Toro 2007). Such spaces offer dangers, as well as opportunities. Bachmann-Medick (1998) notes that, other than in the course of a ritual, which, according to van Gennep (1986; Turner, 1989) is divided into adjourning, liminality and reintegration stages, third spaces do not afford the reintegration phase, but inhabitants rather live in a constant state of transition and thereby in a "constant, conflict-prone state and remain without 'homeland'". We know from Bauman (1996), however, that this phenomenon is a general attribute of postmodern identity processes, but liminality is not always perceived as alienating, disorienting or as homelessness. According to Bauman (1996), there are winners, who can use this new freedom, as well as losers, who have been involuntarily put in a position of constant reorientation.

Soja's (2003) concept varies from Bhabha's. It defines it as the "attempt […] to bring the basic triangle of historicity, sociality and space into harmony" (Soja, 2003). This concept may provide a change in perspective on the perceived space (first space), the "world of direct spatial experiential, empirically measurable and cartographically expressed phenomena" and the anteceding mental space (second space) of "cognitive, constructed and symbolic worlds (Soja, 2003)"

In German speaking landscape research, the most recent studies have been done by Sieverts, who analyzed the Zwischenstadt (literally translated: "in-between city") and Kühne, who examined urban-rural hybrids (Stadtlandhybride). Each has developed concepts, which describe hybridity. Sieverts (2001) analyzes settlement forms, in which neither category – city nor country – apply, but exhibit characteristics of both. He calls these "Zwischenstadt". Characteristics of such a place include "a structure without a clearly defined center, but therefore with more or less functional specialized areas, networks and crossroads," which have developed due to the fact that "the historical, city-building powers have reached their limits" (Sieverts, 2001). Similarly, Kühne (2012) uses his "urban-rural hybrids" with the example of Los Angeles to illustrate the necessity of challenging existing, uniformly delimitable categories. The urban-rural hybrid is also neither a city, nor is it countryside and is a new category of postmodern settlement form.

Distinguishing from other known postmodern settlement forms (e.g. Soja's 'postmetropolis', Sievert's 'Zwischenstadt'), Kühne (2012) stresses "the constitutive hybridity of postmodern settlements, which cannot merely be described as suburban (as rurality is also constitutive) or post-metropolitan (as they would have to be derived from the metropolitan). They represent a new postmodern level of emergence in spatial development, which presupposes an extensive suburbanization." According to Kühne (2012), pastiche in varying concentrations, use and structure is characteristic of urban-rural hybrids. The characteristic of these hybrids as being "influenced by a manifold authorship both in relation to the physical basis, as well as the social meaning of landscape" (Kühne 2012) is interesting in the context at hand.

In the following section, examples from an empirical study in the greater San Diego area will be used to illustrate the influence of hybridization on lifestyles and their (landscape) perception.

8.4 Hybridity on the US American-Mexican Border

Yildiz (2011) describes migrant quarters not as an effigy of the place of origin, but rather as a reaction to conceptions of the native people of that place. Hybridization develops in the minds of many individual people. This could also be seen in a study in the US American – Mexican border region San Diego – Tijuana (Kühne and Schönwald 2015). Staged attempts at ensuring the survival or revival of customs, e.g. in Chicano Park or at a Barona Indian Powwow unveil such hybridization processes. These practices always demonstrate a reaction to the conceptions of the outside "other", or to that which one imagines, and the custom or, as in the case of Chicano Park, the place is adapted to those conceptions or made distinguishable from other practices, which do not fit the desired image of the custom or place.

The perception of landscape, as shown by the border region study, is decisively influenced by the (hybrid) biographies of the perceivers. Each subject is influenced by various social and cultural conceptions, which are, in turn again hybridized by that subject. Longings, memories, stereotypes, images or benchmarks are constructed by selection, amalgamation and realignment of various cultural concepts. How this selection, amalgamation and realignment takes place is dependent on the biographical experiences of the individual. Social and biographical influences become entangled and lead to each subject having an individual experience, and every experience representing a unique case. Because biographies are embedded in social contexts, however, we are nonetheless able to identify patterns and analyze landscape perception pattern development process structures and hybridizations.

Apart from the social and biographical influences on hybridization, these hybridizations also have a temporal component. The subjective tie to symbols happens in context, and is thereby temporally dependent. This is wonderfully demonstrated by the meaning of the Aztecs to the Chicanos, questioned. The Chicano movement was established in the end of the 1960s in the southern part of the USA. It is closely related to the emerging United Farmworker Union, which was committed to the interests of the mostly ethnic Mexican farm workers. The movement created the new term 'Chicano/Chicana' as an alternative category for the self-identification of all inhabitants of the US who are either unwilling or unable to identify themselves as 'Mexican' or 'US American' because their heritage, language proficiency, appearance or cultural differences compared to the existing ethnic categories 'Mexican' and 'US American' do not allow it. The creation of the new category 'Chicano' freed them from feeling stuck between two categories and the feelings of inferiority that go along with such a state, thereby constructing a new self-awareness and confidence. The Chicano movement used the symbolism of the Aztecs from the beginning, as they saw themselves as their successors, and invoked the Aztlán myth, with which they also deny the current political border: They see the Southwest USA as a part of Aztlán, the mythical place of origin for the Aztecs, in which US Americans are "foreign Europeans" who "have unrightfully seized the land" (Löffler, 2005). For many Chicanos, the Aztecs stand for the marginalized people's fight against oppression, and thereby symbolically for the rights of ethnic Mexicans vis-à-vis the white majority. Because the interpretation of symbols is context-based, contradictions, such as the fact that the Aztecs were, themselves, the oppressors and imperialists of their day, may be overlooked.

8.5 A Plea to Future LandscapeRresearch

While the concept has been picked up by Literary Studies and Cultural Science, especially by Bhabha (Babka, Malle, Schmidt, 2012), the geographical and Landscape Science discourses have yet to fully tie it in, other than those few examples shown above. The work of Sieverts, Kühne, Bhabha and Soja show that novel processual, interdisciplinary thinking can also and perhaps most of all in the spatial sciences lead to new interpretations of individual and social perception about attitudes in spaces.

Future Landscape Research should incorporate current concepts of hybridization, in order not to fall into the trap of essentialistic patterns of explanation and binary codification. A targeted examination of third spaces or an analysis of the possibility of spaces becoming such is recommendable for Landscape Research, not only in border areas. To neglect these would mean to neglect the processes "by which the articulation of cultural differences are produced" (Bhabha, 2011) and thereby an ignorance of current every-day social realities. As the processes triggered by cultural differences cannot be categorically determined, quantitatively, the examination of hybridization processes must be done, qualitatively.

Meanwhile, painting, literature, music, periodicals, film and Internet all act nearly boundlessly with another and contribute continuously to the process of cultural differentiation described by Bhabha. Of course, certain, cultural-historically contingent differences in landscape perception can be seen in varying nations, as Drexler (2013) showed with her analysis of the cultural-historical importance of landscape in England, France and Hungary, or Bruns (2013), with his impressive comparison of Chinese and Thai with western connotations of landscape. However, we have reached a point where it has become important to analyze current hybridizations, especially for landscape perception research. Landscape (Term) Research, which is more strongly influenced by cultural history, such as those mentioned above, are laying that important groundwork. The results from research into third spaces will be very interesting for land use planning, as its goal should also be to shape spaces in a way that deconstructs hierarchies.

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