

RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft

Diedrich Bruns
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Landscape Culture – Culturing Landscapes

The Differentiated Construction
of Landscapes

 Springer VS

RaumFragen: Stadt – Region – Landschaft

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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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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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Chapter 1

Introduction

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

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 Schuppenlehner 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 et 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-worlds¹, **multi-cultural research should and must be trans- and interdisciplinary**. Discipline specific logic and patterns of explanation ('déformation professionnelle') 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-Western² cultures³:** 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.

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.