

PIRET PUNGAS-KOHV

Between maintaining and
sustaining heritage in landscape:
The examples of Estonian mires and
village swings



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village swings



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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following papers, referred to in the text by Roman numerals. The papers are reprinted by permission of the publishers.

- I Pungas, P.,** Oja, T., Palang, H. 2005. Seasonality in Estonian Traditional Landscape: The Example of Large Village Swings. *Landscape Research*, 30(2), 241–257.
- II Pungas, P.,** Oja, T., Palang, H. 2009. Adaptation of traditional places in Estonia: The case of village wooden swing sites. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 63(3), 191–203.
- III Pungas, P.,** Võsu, E. 2012. The dynamics of liminality in Estonian mires. In Andrews, H., Roberts, L. (Eds.). *Liminal landscapes. Travel, Experiences and Spaces in-between*. Routledge, 87–102.
- IV Bardone, E., Pungas-Kohv, P.** 2013. Changing Values of Wild Berries in Estonian Households: Recollections from an Ethnographic Archive. *Journal of Baltic Studies*. *Accepted manuscript*.
- V Pungas-Kohv, P.;** Kesksaik, R.; Kohv, M.; Oja, T.; Kull, K.; Palang, H. 2014. Interpreting Estonian mires: common perception and changing practices. *Fennia – International Journal of Geography*. *Accepted manuscript*.

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Paper IV: The author is responsible for data collection (40%) and analysis (30%) and she participated in writing the manuscript (20%).

Paper V: The author is responsible for data collection (100%) and analysis (70%). She is participated in writing the manuscript (40%).

*For my grandmother Meeri,
who was the master of willpower.*

INTRODUCTION

People often wish that their surroundings should exist in a recognizable and functional shape in many years. However, each object, phenomenon, emotion etc. has its own way of (dis)appearing – or else staying with people either due to it being unconsciously sustained or consciously maintained. What derives from the past can mostly be defined as heritage. According to archaeologist Laurajane Smith (2006: 2), heritage is rather an idea, than a “thing”, a cultural and social process which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present.”

As in society, the “progress is inevitable, so is obsolescence. This means that all things are potentially threatened with decline and decay, and those things that persist from the past are necessarily held to be at risk of disappearance,” (as claimed by archaeologist Rodney Harrison, 2013: 26). That is why my doctoral thesis is focusing on the ways of functioning of two heritage-related processes, sustenance and maintenance, in landscape. To discuss these processes, I shall use two thematic examples related to heritage and to landscape – the Estonian people’s relationship with village swing sites and mires. Reliance on such juxtaposed examples will make it possible to provide a more extensive mapping of various factors of influence related to heritage and make theoretical generalisation.

I developed a connection with one of the examples, village swing sites, already in my childhood. I can recall being grateful for the wonderful fact that Estonians have their swings. As I was growing up and starting to travel I noticed that there were no such village swings elsewhere and started wondering how village swings as heritage have come about and what it is that is keeping them in use. Trying to find answers to these questions, led to the completion of my Master’s thesis on the topic of village swings.

Thematically, the other part of the doctoral thesis has a focus on mires. It was triggered by a couple of years of practical work as a specialist in nature education and contacts with people visiting mires. When listening to the opinions and questions of the visitors to the Emajõe Suursoo mire reserve, the topics of what people’s attitudes towards mires have been like throughout history, how these attitudes have been expressed, and how the need to preserve mires has arisen would recur every now and then.

After a certain period of concentrating on the topic, a theoretical layer appeared that had the capacity of encompassing phenomena as different as mires and swing sites that found a more clear-cut expression around the two key concepts employed in the thesis – those of *säilimine* and *säilitamine* in Estonian. For the purposes of this study, these have been translated into English as *sustenance* and *maintenance*, respectively. The discussion around sustenance and maintenance as processes was also triggered by two documents. The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia defines as one of its primary aims the *preservation* of the Estonian nation, language and culture through the ages, with

the Estonian-language original using the word *säilimine* (sustenance). On the other hand, the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage emphasises the *conservation* of heritage as a process and distinguishes between natural and cultural heritage; its translation into Estonian employs the word *säilitamine* (maintenance).

Based on the above, I have used the sites of village swings and people's relation to them as an example of cultural heritage. Village swings have been used in Estonia for centuries, and there are specific traditions, norms of behaviour, etc. related to them. At the same time, any law or convention does not protect swing sites – they simply exist. Riding on swings is an ordinary enough activity in the global context, but large village swings of a particular shape and social function accompanying them are unique for Estonia.

As an example of natural heritage, the thesis focuses on the Estonian mires and people's relations to them as in the recent past mires would cover approximately one fifth of the Estonian territory. Mires have received main public attention in the context of nature conservation (founding of 30 mire reserves in 1981; joining the Ramsar convention in 1993); while for instance the Soomaa National Park was proposed as a candidate for pre-selection areas for the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998. Public attention has been concentrating on particular mire areas (especially reserves), not on mires in general, and the Estonians' relationship with mires that would be expressed in ordinary daily practices has remained in the background. Generally, mires have not received much positive attention and their field of meaning has been ambivalent (V¹). However, it is this ambivalence and several mire practices that have left a fascinating trace in the history of Estonia and can be determined as natural and cultural heritage.

In addition to both objects of study, mires and swing sites have been used as part of symbolic landscapes in representing Estonia² side by side with other heritage objects, practices and landscapes. This is particularly noticeable in the case of mires³; but there are also references to the Estonians' habits of using swings⁴ that we may consider as a minor example of heritage management. The continuing vitality of both research objects allows us to study them against the background of different environmental and social influences.

This in its turn can offer a contribution to solving the general question of sustainability – is it possible to employ the factors that have a holistically positive influence on heritage objects in maintaining also other heritage objects that may be in a greater danger of disappearing, or consciously create conditions for sustaining heritage. In some cases, it may appear that sustaining heritage is

¹ Roman numerals indicate references to the five articles that form the basis for writing the framing text of the thesis.

² E.g., “Curse upon iron”, music video of a famous piece of choral music by Veljo Tormis (<http://youtu.be/z8fd7RQIXus>) (accessed 12.01.2015)

³ Photos about mires (e.g. <http://brand.estonia.eu/en/>) (accessed 12.01.2015)

⁴ Photo about swing (<http://goo.gl/EEFNH5>) (accessed 12.01.2015)

not possible anymore and it can only be maintained. This leads to the **general question of the dissertation**: How have swings and mires been managed as heritage from the perspective of sustenance and maintenance? To answer the general question, however, we first need to reach the more detailed aims of the study that include:

- 1) Providing a theoretical discussion as well as a model of the differences between the sustenance and maintenance of heritage, and of the functioning of these diverging phenomena;
- 2) On the basis of the case studies analysed (village swing sites and mires in Estonia), presenting the main reasons and conditions that can affect the sustenance and/or maintenance of heritage in landscape;
- 3) Mapping the network of problems accompanying heritage maintenance and sustenance on the basis of the case studies;
- 4) Proceeding from the study, making suggestions for the sustenance and/or maintenance of natural and cultural heritage in Estonia using the examples of the case studies.

The thesis consists of a framing text focusing on the notions from the point of view of maintenance and sustenance. Five articles that are related with case studies – the village swing sites and Estonians' relation with mires – are presented in an order that derives from their content and takes into account the chronology of publication.

In more detail, the introduction of the study discusses the key concepts treated in the articles, delineating these and their interrelationships proceeding from the aims of the thesis. The main terms to be discussed are *landscape*, *place*, *heritage*, *maintenance* and *sustenance*. As a summary of the theoretical part, a theoretical model for analysing heritage from the perspective of maintenance and sustenance is proposed. The model includes the mode of managing the heritage, the natural and cultural as well as tangible and intangible aspects of heritage; the main emphasis is on the proportional significance of the form, function and context that can affect maintenance and/or sustenance.

The chapter on methodology introduces the material used in the two case studies – sites of village swings and swinging traditions as well as the history of human contacts with mires in Estonia. After that a summary of the methodological points of departure used in the study, collecting the data necessary to achieve its aims, as well as the methods employed for this purpose is given. Proceeding from the aims of the study, the best way of presenting the processes studied turned out to be an integration of quantitative and qualitative data and methods related with them. It involved both, fieldwork combined with participant observation as well as questionnaires processed with the help of content analysis.

The results are presented as characteristic factors that can be experienced in the landscape of the sample areas that have affected the maintaining and/or sustaining of village swing sites and mires. The discussion treats both sample

objects in the framework of the model for heritage analysis. In addition, problems that give rise to maintaining and sustaining as two processes that differ in principle will be discussed. Tensions explored, include a contrast between holistic and aspect-based approaches; the question of authenticity; nature-culture relations; people's internal motivation in opposition to so-called external rules; and the everyday in juxtaposition with special moments. Using the examples, the discussion offers solutions for alleviation of the problems indicated.

The synopsis is concluded by a comprehensive summary that provides each aim with a result and conclusion from the author. Short summaries of the articles:

I paper Pungas, P., Oja, T., Palang, H. 2005. *Seasonality in Estonian Traditional Landscape: The Example of Large Village Swings* presents seasonality and different levels of time quality as factors that may support sustenance of cultural heritage. Large wooden village swings and swinging traditions serve as an example.

Swinging takes place mostly in the spring and summer, forming one of the many seasonal activities that are included in the Estonian traditional calendar. The seasonal break in swinging activities contributes to the eagerness with which swinging is resumed when spring returns. Swinging celebrates spring as a valuable and long-awaited season. Although the belief-related background of swinging has been forgotten, the swing site is still special and is mostly visited on certain celebrations. This, in turn, gives an extraordinary or even liminal significance to swing sites.

II paper Pungas, P., Oja, T., Palang, H. 2009. *Adaptation of traditional places in Estonia: The case of village wooden swing sites* analyses changing socio-economic and political conditions affecting cultural heritage.

The concepts of form, function, process, and context are applied to reading 'place' and interpreting its meaning. The changes in these aspects of swing sites are studied by analysing the development and typology of 76 swing sites located in different parts of Estonia. A comparison is made with earlier descriptions of swing sites from the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum. Processes that may have affected swing sites are related to the sequence of socio-economic events over the last two centuries. Theories explaining the appearance and vanishing of swing sites and their particularities are considered in the framework of these changes. The results demonstrate that socio-economic reasons clearly affect swing sites and their sustenance. Swing sites and swinging traditions combine personal and social needs with national identity and nostalgia. This combination of characteristics makes swings capable of reincarnating in another location and at another time – this can make swinging traditions capable of adapting to new socio-economic conditions.

III paper Pungas, P., Võsu, E. 2012. *The dynamics of liminality in Estonian mires* conceptualises liminality as a part of mire heritage that is influenced by socio-economic formations.

Mire is a difficult area to use for “there is water but no ship can sail, land is but no step can be made” as a proverb puts it. That kind of ambiguity in mire perception has left both physical as well as mental traces into the heritage of local life, practices, cultural beliefs etc. In the article, the main factors are analysed and exemplified with proverbs that reflect the ecological and social liminality of mires. For instance, scarcity of nutrients, the softness of the soil, the threat of sinking, fear of becoming disoriented are some aspects in the social disregard for mires in Estonia. At the same time, the dynamics of liminality have depended on socio-economic formations, changing value judgements and attachment with the mire. That, in turn, has influenced the liminal status of the mire as a heritage phenomenon.

IV paper Bardone, E., Pungas-Kohv, P. 2015. *Changing Values of Wild Berries in Estonian Households: Recollections from an Ethnographic Archive.*

The meanings of the mire in Estonia have been fluctuating significantly in history. One of the few mire practices that still exist and will draw people towards mires is gathering. Although berries from forests and mires have not been seen as “real” food in Estonian history, they have been enriching the local diet for centuries and simultaneously have been enhancing people’s relations with mires. In order to provide a more detailed description of gathering traditions and changes that have occurred in them, responses from the correspondents of the Estonian National Museum that concern gathering have been studied. Two main topics could be detected on the basis of the answers – those of the practices of berry picking, and of preservation. It appears that there have been no significant changes in the practices of gathering, while the context and aim of picking berries has been varying. What has mostly reduced berry-picking during the past hundred years has been the increasing proportional importance of garden-grown berries. In addition, the availability of sugar and the biochemical properties of the berries themselves that affect their preservation have been directing factors in gathering. Among technological innovations, the invention of the deep freeze has sharply increased the various modes of preservation of the results of harvesting in the woods.

V paper Pungas-Kohv, P., Kesipaik, R., Kohv, M., Kull, K., Oja, T., Palang, H. 2015. *Interpreting Estonian mires: common perceptions and changing practices* follows major changes in the attitude of people towards mires occurring over the last century in Estonia by merging landscape semiotic and ecological perspectives.

The paper examines how (much of) the current popular perception of mires diverges from the landscape ecological definition. Common associations with the mire are today mostly shaped by experiencing it in the context of sightseeing. The mire appears as undisturbed wilderness offering possibilities for various recreational as well as traditional activities. In its orientation towards aesthetic

and emotional values, the popular perspective diverges from the technical definition offered by landscape ecology that is built upon quantifiable features. Three general paradigmatic frames can be observed over the twentieth century: the traditional one in which the mire appears as a liminal landscape; the industrial one in which it is (potentially) encultured; and the ecological one in which the mire is aestheticized. Reconciling the landscape ecological and common perception of mires facilitates planning their protection and management.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The general theoretical frame and aims of the doctoral thesis presume that several terms taken as key concepts need to be explained in further detail. That will help to understand reasons for the current usage of the terms. Considering the focus within which the present study falls, that is, the relations between humans and the surrounding environment, a suitable approach to the topic could employ concepts such as landscape and place, as well as their perception. In order to provide an in-depth discussion of these it is necessary to observe their development that can be described using the concepts of tradition and heritage. As the study focuses on heritage-related processes in landscape, the central concepts emerging in this context will be those of maintenance and sustenance (for the purposes of this thesis referring to the Estonian concepts *säilitamine* and *säilimine*, respectively).

1.1 Landscape and its perception

People perceive their surroundings in several ways and have employed different umbrella terms to refer to this relationship. In cultural geography, the relationship between humans and their surroundings has been formulated using the concept of landscape. At the same time, the field of reference for the term has been changing, depending on different background factors (social-economic formation, the predominant scientific paradigm, etc.). In the framework of the current thesis, the term *landscape* is used proceeding from the views that were launched in the 1970s when “the so-called cultural turn in geography brought along a “heightened reflexivity towards the role of language, meaning, and representations in the constitution of reality and knowledge of reality”, as well as attention to economic and political aspects, identity and consumption” (Lindström, *et al.* 2013: 99, *ref.* Barnett, 1998: 380).

A plurality of modes of thought has become increasingly more acceptable in any field. Proceeding from the approach that is dominant in cultural geography today, Antrop’s (2000) interpretation of landscape, according to which the essence of the landscape is perceivable, holistic and dynamic, seems appropriate. “Components” of landscape are also presented by Keisteri (1990: 46) as she describes landscape via “material visible factors and underlying factors describing functional processes, or the non-material, invisible experience of landscape produced in the mind”. **(I, II)** Differently from land, “landscape above all implies a collective shaping of the earth over time. Landscapes are not individual property; they reflect a society’s – a culture’s – beliefs, practices and technologies. Landscapes reflect the coming together of all these elements just as cultures do, since cultures are also not individual property and can only exist socially” (Crang, 1998: 14–15).

Based on Antrop’s (2000) understanding of landscape the question of the interaction between humans and landscape and the related possibilities of

landscape perception arise. The importance of perception in defining landscape is also emphasised in the much-referenced European Landscape Convention (2000) that 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”. And, as Antrop (2000: 18) adds, “the perceptive aspect is important as it also determines the way that we consider the observed environment as holistic and relative”. During the last century, the variety of landscape perceptions has brought along debates, solutions, divergence and interdisciplinary cooperation of researchers, planners etc. (see for further reading Wylie, 2007; Jones, 2003; Duncan and Duncan 2009; Widgren, 2012; Antrop, 2013). During the development of landscape research some authors have been systematising different approaches to landscape study – for instance Jones (1991) distinguishes the scientific, applied, and humanistic approaches; Oja (2001) divides approaches to landscape into natural scientific, humanistic and phantom (imaginary) ones. Some of the approaches first and foremost value what is visible and perceivable in reality; other approaches may also focus on symbolic meanings in addition to what can be perceived (see further Lindström, *et al.* 2013). I stress the symbolic aspect of landscape as used by Keisteri (1990), yet I am also considering its visual characteristics.

The other basic characteristic of landscape, its holistic nature, has been discussed by Antrop with his co-authors (Snacken, Antrop, 1981; Antrop, 2000; Antrop, van Eetvelde, 2000) referring to Gestalt-laws (see also Chandler, 1995). Antrop (2000: 18) interprets the holistic point of view as follows: “Our perception works in a holistic manner. What we perceive can be described as a “gestalt”, a whole that is more than the sum of its composing parts”. At the same time, a holistic approach to the surroundings can function the best way on the personal level, for the perception of landscape of more than one person is already shared experience. However, noticeable common characteristics emerge in analogous experiences due to the cultural environment. As Rodaway (1995: 22) puts it: “Whilst individuals differ in the precise details of their perceptions, there is nevertheless an identity or similarity of sensuous worlds shared”, in which the possible contradictions that have arisen or have been created within a group are considerably smaller and that can be defined as a (more) common perception.

Technically, we can describe perception as a process (Saarinen, 1974; ref. Downs, 1970), in which our brain interprets physical parameters (wavelengths of light or sound etc.) that come from outer world and reach us through our sense organs. After interpreting these parameters, we start to act. Referring to Gibson (1979), Ingold (2012: 2) suggests that the perception-description is visual-centred; yet he admits that still we need our whole moving body to be attached to our surrounding that supports the perception. The more numerous are the ways in which we perceive the surroundings and the more actively we do it the more information we get, and the closer the result is to the “real world”. To refer to the experiencing of the surroundings with the whole body, Ingold already

earlier had been using the concept *dwelling perspective*, where “organism as an embodied centre of agency (human and non-human) is in a mutually interactive relationship with its material surroundings: the organism is constantly changing the environment but at the same time needs to adapt to the same changing environment” (V: 6). As a side note, it might be mentioned that Granö (1924) stressed the need to include other senses besides vision in landscape perception already in the early 20th century. He called the result of the sum of sense perceptions *proximity* (*lähestik* in Estonian); a more contemporary treatment of multisensory holistic bodily experience has been proposed by, e.g., Wylie (2007), who states:

“an especially notable feature of recent landscape work has been the increased attention paid to *tactile*, as opposed to visual, landscape experiences. The conceptual shift from landscape-as-image to landscape-as-dwelling correlates with a substantive shift from *horizon to earth*. In general, the proliferation of research on the body and embodied experience turns landscape from a distant object or spectacle to be visually surveyed to an up-close, intimate and proximate material milieu of engagement and practice.” (Wylie, 2007: 166–67).

Landscape perception is continuous (and/or dynamic, as Antrop, 2000 has stated). The landscape geographer Kenneth Olwig (2004: 51), who has paid his main attention to Scandinavian landscapes, explains continuity referring to circularity, adding “representation of a landscape” into the whole perception process: “The landscape is not simply a form of representation, but rather an expression of a circular, dialectical, interaction between differing modes of representation and processes of social and environmental change that transform both.”

In general people tend to move around in the landscape. As a human being moves, his or her landscape perception is re-positioned on a scale of insideness and outsideness. A vivid example of outsideness can be presented by the tourist gaze – as explained by John Urry (1990/2002), the object of the tourist gaze is a set of characteristics that need to be provided to tourists with constructed authenticity and comfort existing in parallel.

Based on the proportion of the use of the visual and other senses above, a problem of perception appeared in landscape studies that Wylie (2007: 4–6) calls the tension between observation and inhabitation, asking: do we observe or inhabit landscapes? Taking these aspects into account Cresswell (2004) separates landscapes and places, claiming that landscapes are for looking at, not living in – places are for living. For me, this division is too radical – people can live in landscape as well as observe places. Rather, place and landscape could be separated by the intensity of meaning. People generally cannot or will not pay equal attention to all of the surrounding reality for different reasons (ecological conditions, their needs, resources, etc.) Areas that receive more, and more varied, attention can be called places. The longer people are attached to a place, the better they can read their surroundings. Relph (1976) calls this understanding insideness. The latter emerges with immersion in an environment

through practices that facilitate relating to the surroundings (both the place as well as the landscape around it). The more active a person is in carrying out his or her practices and the longer these last, the more intensive the interaction of the person and the surroundings becomes – an identity connected with a landscape/place arises and the perception of the surroundings reaches closer to the “reality”. At the same time, if there is no earlier experience (e.g., one has never visited a mire), the person can rely on representations (in case he or she has such representations at his or her disposal). The influence of representations and immediate experience (being-in-the-world through practices, as Heidegger uses it) is in a reverse proportion. The meaning of a landscape is a continuously emerging result of an ongoing perception of it.

1.2 Places in landscapes

According to Relph (1976: 31) “place can be interpreted and experienced in the direct and obvious sense of a landscape whose visual properties display tangible traces of human activities, or else a landscape in a more abstract sense that reflects human values and intentions.” At the same time, not all experiences related to places (e.g. nostalgia; yearning for home) need be interpreted as landscape experiences.

Based on Relph’s discussion I have proposed the following definition of place in which “places may be seen as areas in the landscape that are interconnected by a denser field of meaning and are produced by human action, experience, perception and evaluation” (I: 244; see also II: 192). This also means that many properties of landscape and place are similar. What differentiates them is mostly the concentration of meaning (both in the qualitative and in the quantitative sense) as well as the physical scale – a place is usually experienced as smaller than landscape. All of landscape is covered with meaning, and meaning can be attributed to it via a negative evaluation. In this sense, the view differs from Augé’s (1995) understanding that differentiates between places and non-places, the latter referring to motorway junctions or airports that do not contain meanings in Augé’s estimation. However, Augé (1995: 79) also admits: “Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed; they are like palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten”. The concentration of the meaning(lessness) of places varies in time.

Recognizing places in a landscape can be difficult. In the sense of meaningfulness a place, stresses the concentration of meaning – there the human “trace” is felt more clearly than elsewhere [see Tuan’s (1974) division of places into public symbols and fields of care]. At the same time, the concentration of meanings has its own quantity as well as quality (I, V). In case of quantity it is possible to speak of, e.g., the frequency of using a place in the context of one person or several people (e.g., if someone uses a swing or visits the mire very

often or else does this only once in a lifetime, or if a place is visited by one or numerous people.) The less experience a person has in using a place, the more representative influence on the place perception his or her each visit has.

In case of a more qualitative approach the possibility of experiencing temporal-spatial change appears in which the time and the space are not equal in significance (I). Eliade 1992 (referring to Eliade, 1959) divides space and experiences of the surroundings in a meaning-wise qualitative sense into ordinary or profane ones on the one hand, and holy or sacral ones on the other hand, while the latter has a higher quality and, in general, involves different behaviour. The former involves the landscape of dwelling, by using which one satisfies one's primary needs (see, e.g., Maslow, 1970) and the latter rather refers to places with a sacred purpose.

If the natural conditions do not create favourable conditions for separating a place from landscape, either humans themselves create visual differences in order to delineate the place (e.g. marking the vicinity of the swing site by cutting the hay) or the perceivers have to decide on their own where a place ends and merges into the landscape (e.g. a bog island becomes a bog). Researchers in human geography using phenomenological point of view as Tuan (1974), Stefanovic (1998) have stated that, the creation of boundaries between place and landscape depends on the particular place and the story of its origin, necessity. However, Tilley (2006:14) has written, "Landscapes and place are often experienced as a structure of feeling through activities and performances which crystalize and express group identities to the outside world through passing through and identifying with particular places and particular histories".

In addition to there being spatial boundaries of landscape and place, a temporal boundary exists in the use of places – or, to put it more simply, when one goes where. A possibility of treating temporal boundaries in a more qualitative way is offered by the use of the concepts of liminality (I, II, III, IV, V) and seasonality (I, VI, V). Anthropologist, Victor Turner, a well-known scholar of liminality, has expressed the idea that in today's context *liminality* could be replaced with the concept of the *liminoid* in the framework of the symbolic systems and genres, which developed before and after the Industrial Revolution (Turner, 1969). Thomassen (2011: 28) interprets the concept of the liminoid in the 21st century with the following "liminoid experiences are optional and do not involve a resolution of a personal crisis of a change of status". The concept of the liminoid can be related to more every-day contexts.

Using the swings a couple of centuries ago can really be considered liminal in the original meaning, as young people being allowed to go to the swing unsupervised was a sign of becoming an adult. Nowadays people from all age groups may swing, though the size of the large wooden swing sets the limits for kids. As the specialty of swinging habits has melted into everyday activities, *liminoid* would be rather suitable term than *liminal*.

In case of mires, however, liminality is important as concerns the ambivalence of social status – those, who would go and inhabit bog islands or the areas in the

margins of mires were of a marginal status in society. At the same time, mire as a habitat was different, it was unsuitable for human habitation. Thus the two examples in this study, the village swing sites and the mires, can both be treated as areas with liminoid characteristics.

As regards the quality of meaning, landscape as well as places probably used to have more contrasting meanings centuries ago – the places embedded in landscape was more strictly divided into sacral and profane ones, and the community understood the fields of meaning less ambivalently. With the passing of time, the border areas, including those that rather are liminoid, having qualities of both sacral and profane places, have increased in territory and variety.

It seems correct to rename the concept of “sacral” as “special” on many occasions in the contemporary context, i.e. the properties of a sacral place that indicate the importance of the place for the people have been preserved to a degree. At the same time, the religious meaning of the place that has been replaced with different alternatives that carry several heritage- or community-related or similar values (I; II; III; IV; V). The degree of being special and its mode of expression vary significantly in case of different places. At the same time, most special places have a remarkable historical background and constitute heritage.

I.3 Heritage in landscapes

The need to perceive heritage in the landscape leads back to the third characteristic used by Antrop (2000). Landscape is in a continuous change, where the present of it is constructed with the help of the past. According to Lowenthal (2002: 39) we need the past for it helps to make sense of the present day and is the main component in identity building: “the surviving past’s most essential and pervasive benefit is to render the present familiar. Its traces on the ground and in our minds let us make sense of the present. Without habit and the memory of experience, no sight or sound would mean anything; we can perceive only what we are accustomed to. Environmental features and patterns are recognized as features and patterns because we share a history with them”. The passing of time in landscape perception has been underscored by Tuan (1974/1997), Jones (1991), Palang *et al.* (2011; 2010; 2005) and others.

In emphasising the importance of the past in the landscape, landscape studies have mostly been speaking of traditional landscapes. For instance, Antrop (1997: 109) defines them as follows: “traditional landscapes can be defined as those landscapes having a distinct and recognisable structure which reflects clear relations between the composing elements and having significance for natural cultural or aesthetical values.” Recently a shift has occurred both in “landscape studies” and “heritage studies” in general, from the use of the term “tradition” to using the term “heritage”. This conceptual turn has not been

“merely rhetorical but also ideological, emerging from the global cultural politics and neoliberal consumption economy of our times” (Võsu, Sooväli-Sepping, 2012: 77).

As humans create “layers”, as it were, on the landscape with their acts and thoughts, several authors have addressed the historicity of landscape or heritage by using the concept of palimpsest. For instance, such a comparison has been made by, e.g., Crang (1998: 22) “The earlier inscriptions were never fully erased so over time the result was a composite – a palimpsest representing the sum of all the erasures and over-writings. Thus we might see an analogy with a culture inscribing itself on an area to suggest the landscape as the sum of erasures, accretions, anomalies and redundancies over time”.

The same topic has been treated by, e.g., Harvey (2013: 154), according to whom the palimpsest-concept evokes too strictly separated layers in order to be used for describing heritage perception: “rather than a palimpsestual approach, in which the present is merely the sum of past episodes, notions of heritage allow the past to become active in a “present and future orientated engagement with the environment”” (Lee, 2007: 88 ref. by Harvey). Maybe using the term “merging” instead of “sum” could be more appropriate to describe the concept of palimpsest and make it less rigid. As the palimpsestual approach helps to deconstruct holistic wholeness into smaller layers, it helps to “read” landscapes. Some elements, patterns, objects etc. are very characteristic only of a certain period – as Cosgrove (1984) explains it each socio-economic formation creates its own landscape with its own symbols, magic, policy and history. These landscapes differ from one another in terms of power relations, land use patterns with respective technologies, values people attach to them. In Estonia, for instance, based on socio-economic formations Palang and Mander (2000) have differentiated between five separate different periods or layers of landscapes (ancient, estate, private farm, collective, post-modern landscapes) whose traces can be found in Estonia.

The so-called “layers” attributed to landscape also support our general understanding of today’s use of heritage. I consider it necessary to stress again the definition of heritage offered by Smith (2006: 56) that treats heritage as a cultural and social process and not as a “thing”. However, the widespread approach to heritage is still more closely related with particular material objects and the environment surrounding them; the point of departure for dealing with heritage comes from contextualisation as a cultural concept. Garden (2006) and Harvey (2013) support my understanding of heritage as a part of landscape. Harvey (2013: 152) states: “the two (i.e. *landscape and heritage P.P.-K.*) often fit nicely together, tagged as being cultural and/or natural; tangible and/or intangible; personal and/or collective, and especially national; as mutual reference points within popular, policy and scientific narratives. /.../ The recent histories of heritage and landscape studies have been closely intertwined, with their epistemological, ideological and methodological twists and turns processing amid a common, broad and interdisciplinary intellectual space.” Thus, heritage

is a specific set of meanings continuously given to the surroundings by people, which makes it appropriate to treat it as a process (see also Harvey, 2008).

Thus, to emphasize areas, where heritage is perceivable for people in a more noticeable manner, we can call them heritage sites/landscapes. Garden (2006: 407) phrases it in following way: “in thinking of heritage sites as heritagescapes – i.e. landscapes – it draws attention to their qualities as dynamic, changing spaces. It also offers the opportunity to locate sites in the context of their larger environment and draws attention to the importance of the setting”. She (2004) defines heritage sites (which are part of heritage landscape) via three components: borders, cohesion and visibility. When I proceed from my own definitions of place and landscape that hinges on the differences in the degree of concentration in attributing meanings to them, “visibility” appears to be the most controversial one among the characteristics listed by Gardner. While I agree with the contention that vision allows us to perceive the surroundings more than the other senses, it still remains phenomenologically limited, all the more if it is places that are being considered. It is necessary to take into account also the other senses. One of the best opportunities to experience heritage with all the senses involved is to be present “in the heritage” via practical activities. For instance, there is a significant difference between walking through mire on a boardwalk or wearing rubber boots and attempting to cross the mire in a “wild” manner, picking some cranberries in the process. In the former case, the person still remains in the passive role of the so-called observer and the immediate experience of the mire as a landscape and/or natural heritage remains filtered (read: safe, convenient), while the ability of “reading the mirescape” is reduced as the boardwalk indicates the direction of movement this way or that. At the same time, in comparison with a reader of a tourist brochure describing a mire, the sensations of a person who is in a mire is still much less mediated as the person acquires his or her experience (V) from the surroundings (also, see Wylie, 2007; Harvey, 2013).

Thus, the treatment of practice leads us to the following issues and problems – landscape practices can be discussed in an all-inclusive or holistic manner primarily on a personal and family level, as an unmediated contact with the surroundings. The more general (e.g. community, national and international level) and accordingly less direct, the heritage practice becomes, the more politicised and normative the understanding of heritage turns. The latter leads us back to Smith’s concept of “authorised heritage discourse” (AHD) that is defined “as a set of texts and practices that dictate the ways in which heritage is defined and employed within any contemporary western society” (Smith, 2006). Depending on whether heritage is seen as directed from a personal and family meaning towards an international level or the other way around the strategies can be called as bottom-up or top-down ones. On the one hand, this is connected with

the so-called grass-roots initiatives⁵ and enthusiasts who share their values and meanings attributed to the part of surrounding determined as heritage. On the other hand, there is national legislation (Heritage Conservation Act, management plans in nature conservation areas or nature parks, Nature Conservation Act etc.) and international documents (conventions, etc., see below) related to the governing and managing of heritage that establish norms, limitations and recommendations.

Fascination with heritage can be triggered by various motives, both on an individual as well as on a collective level. For instance, the past may affect people's activities in several ways: one possibility is the need to recreate something that dates back to one's childhood. Lowenthal (2002: 4) explains this, using the concept of nostalgia: "Most of us know the past was not really like that. Life back then seems brighter not because things were better but because we lived more vividly when young". Thus, if one manages to the past via some means, one attempt to revive one's youth through objects, activities, places, etc. For instance, one respondent said that he had built a swing in his yard for there had been a village swing in the home yard when he was a child and he wished his children would be able to swing in their own yard as well.

Another approach to emphasizing the value of the past is visiting heritage sites, which is like escaping to the past from the modern present and the future. In connection with overall modernisation (particularly urbanization, paid labour and technological development) in the past century, for instance people in Western Europe and North America acquired the free time and material resources to be able to go on vacations away from home. Franklin (2003) explains how a sharply increased interest in nostalgic landscapes has correlations with the backlash on modernity in the early 1980s, at least in the UK. Also, we may consider as heritage tourism spatial as well as temporal visits to other places with the purpose of finding something different from the everyday landscape in a more general way.

In addition to the general interest in heritage in society, similarly nature conservators rooted importance of nature reserves, i.e., enclaves were created in the last century (for further Edensor, 2001). It was as a reply to "the belief the human progress should be measured and evaluated in terms of the domination of nature, rather than through any attempt to transform the relationship between humans and nature to nature destruction" (Macnaghten, Urry, 1998: 7). For instance, in Estonia the examples of mires considered in this study were taken under protection in 1981. After the intensification of creating nature conservation areas the proportional importance of taking into consideration cultural heritage in these areas also started to rise in planning the protection and putting it into practice. Five national parks [Lahemaa (1971), Karula (1993), Soomaa

⁵ Appendix 4 of Paal and Leibak (2011) provides examples of court practices related to mires that among other things also concern expansion and creation of protected mire areas carried out on local initiative.

(1993), Vilsandi (1993), Matsalu (2004)] were established as well as one landscape conservation area, Rebala (1987) that is situated out of towns.

Based on the examples introduced above it can be claimed that the local inhabitants' understanding of heritage and treatment of it sometimes need not suit an official and the other way round. The presence or absence of conflict in introducing different heritage policies depends on the managing of the heritage (e.g. Sooväli-Sepping, 2013).

Within Estonia, the highest-level institution to be connected with management of cultural heritage is the Ministry of Culture. As regards the content, institutional regulations of cultural heritage are divided in a way similar to Keisteri's (1990) treatment into landscape – tangible and intangible cultural heritage, which in its turn has its background in the UNESCO definitions of international conventions on heritage.

Maintenance and sustenance of tangible cultural heritage is in its turn first and foremost connected with the activities of the National Heritage Board (Alatalu, 2012). Involvement with natural and cultural heritage has been institutionally divided between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of the Environment.

1.3.1 A managing model of heritage in the landscape

As I was writing above in the discussion of heritage management, heritage can be institutionally divided into tangible and intangible heritage, and cultural and natural heritage. Anthropologist Bruno Latour (1993, ref. by Harrison, 2013) has described such a split understanding as the “Great divide” whose broadest historical background reaches the era of the Enlightenment: “Philosophers Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau contrasted civilised “culture” with the uncivilised “state of nature”. This characterisation was fundamental to the development of unilinear theories of cultural evolution...” (Harrison, 2013: 205). Several modern dualisms were developed during the 18–20th centuries and “ultimately found expression in the 1972 World Heritage Convention” (Harrison, 2013: 206). At the same time such dual division needs to be re-explained in the context of this study (see Table 1), taking into consideration the AHD as well as the attitude that creating binary oppositions is generally not justified (see, e.g. Harrison, 2013; Cloke, Johnston, 2005).

Although we may value the holism of heritage, it is necessary to “work through” technically or structurally a part of the heritage on the institutional level in order to understand heritage before making decisions concerning it. To highlight the general regularities of heritage management on the maintenance-sustenance scale I have constructed a model that takes into account as different aspects of treating heritage as possible. By applying the model, it is easier to map the present situation of the heritage under consideration and, if necessary, find solutions to possible development tendencies. There have been earlier models for treating heritage; e.g. Cros (2001: 167–168) has created a matrix of

heritage proceeding from the perspective of tourism: “on one hand, is its cultural integrity or robusty (the physical remains and their conservation status), and on the other hand, the commercial factors associated with transforming a heritage place into a cultural heritage tourism attraction”.

I will use the following division of heritage created on the basis of two UNESCO conventions⁶. I shall divide heritage into natural and cultural⁷ heritage and with another division tangible/intangible⁸ heritage, and, as an additional option, the combinations of these categories.

Also, as was mentioned above I consider landscape and heritage to be inherently similar. This allows me to employ landscape components⁹ – form,

⁶ Estonia has joined both the UNESCO world heritage convention (1972/2009) as well as the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage convention (2003/2006). In the context of the present thesis it is worth mentioning from the point of view of nature conservation that Estonia has also joined the Ramsar convention (1971/1993). However, Estonia still has not joined the European landscape convention (2004/?).

⁷ **UNESCO world heritage convention - Definition of the Cultural and Natural Heritage**

Definition of cultural heritage: **monuments:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; **groups of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; **sites:** works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Definition of natural heritage: **natural features** consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; **geological and physiographical formations** and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; **natural sites** or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

⁸ 1. The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

2. The “intangible cultural heritage”, as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; e) traditional craftsmanship.

⁹ Swedish cultural geographer Mats Widgren derived landscape components as a complex approach in “reading” the landscape. As a critical reply to the “modern” school of cultural landscape studies in the 1960s and 1970s, he proposed a more complex approach instead of morphological “reading” “You /.../ have to look at *forms* you see and then discuss the possible *functions* of these forms – procedures well established in morphological studies of landscapes, but also near at hand in an everyday reading of landscapes. /.../ We also make use of the fact that landscape is *process* – the result of the past processes as well as the reflection on ongoing processes./.../Landscapes and landscape elements may remain unintelligible to many of us because the social and cultural context is foreign to us, or because the context of the representation is unknown” (Widgren, 2004, 461-462). My master’s thesis (Pungas, 2004) and article (II) about swings sites are also based on the approach of landscape components.

function, context (based on Widgren 2004) – in analysing the management of heritage on the scale of maintenance and sustenance. The UNESCO World Heritage Convention does not provide a possibility for the protection of intangible natural heritage. In addition, the difference between intangible natural and intangible cultural heritage is most difficult to pinpoint. However, with certain concessions I can treat it as a separate group (see Table 1).

Tangible vs intangible heritage (see Table 1)

The difference between sustenance/maintenance of tangible and intangible heritage lies in the importance of different aspects of heritage. Intangible heritage can be sustained primarily via the function, as the form that rather supports maintenance, is missing. The lack of form may make it easier to pass down the heritage to future generations yet at the same time it makes heritage more sensitive to external influences – if a person disappears, for instance, his or her stories of the swing or swing-making skills will disappear with him or her. The lack of form nearly excludes the possible finding of a random replacement function (e.g. as boat halves can find a new application in garden designing when the boat is in too poor a condition to take to the sea).

It is possible to maintain tangible heritage through its form and occasionally a working function also is conducive of the sustenance of the form of the heritage; at the same time, it is easier to maintain a form via finding a so-called replacement function. The form of material heritage without any function is sustained as long as natural forces destroy it (an abandoned swing that is not used or repaired any more). The function of heritage that may have disappeared already is hidden in a particular form (swing, boat, boardwalk etc.) in some case, and using the objects the function can be revived, e.g. it can be learned how a particular form of heritage was made. Thus, form occasionally becomes its own maintainer, which in its turn can be supported by external technical possibilities of guaranteeing the process of maintaining the heritage. In this sense forms of heritage can be very good teachers of the past, although there is the danger that the “freezing in time” of form in order not to lose it that occurs in maintaining it will hamper the natural development history of heritage.

The situation described above foremost concerns cultural heritage. The restoration of natural heritage via its form is considerably more difficult. However, to give an example in the context of the present study, the restoration of mires is possible – for instance Vasander *et al.* (2003).

Cultural vs natural heritage (see Table 1)

In addition to the criticism of dual division of heritage offered by Harrison 2013, I would claim that the best possibility for nature to be sustained occurs when there are no people present for then it is sustained on its own. For natural heritage to remain, a dialogue between people and their surroundings is critically needed. Such a dialogic process operates mainly in sparsely populated regions. At the same time, humans need nature (and natural heritage) in order to

create an ecological balance and retain a connection with the environment, which causes them to create regulations in order to maintain their surroundings.

If the need arises to maintain both natural as well as cultural heritage, the contradictory situation might appear in which humans need to keep away in order to maintain the nature (and natural heritage), yet be present and active in order to create cultural heritage. For instance place names in mire reserves are being forgotten for they are not needed in daily usage (with the possible exceptions of researchers or some people engaged in nature conservation), yet if too many people visited the same mire the natural value of the mire would disappear (this, however, would depend on their mode of visits).

An additional possibility of defining heritage in Table 1 is intangible natural heritage that covers general feeling for nature and knowledge about nature. With the passing of time people's lack of knowledge (and, due to this, unfortunately lack of caring) about their surroundings decreases. Thus, nature awareness could be considered sometimes as intangible natural heritage.

1.3.2 From sustaining to maintaining and beyond

As the possibilities of heritage management depend on the aim and taking into account the striving of humans towards a sustainable landscape (Antrop, 2005; Soini, 2013; Harrison, 2013), it is particularly important in the present thesis to discuss heritage from the perspective of sustenance and maintenance. Based on the above, I can see in heritage management three main ways of involving heritage places/landscapes:

- 1) The least politicised heritage as a nearly natural part of living environment. Perspective of heritage landscape is meant for the insiders and process we may describe as sustenance; keyword: *living in*);
- 2) Heritage as a possibility for consumption. Heritage landscape is rather meant for outsiders or tourists; keyword: *jumping into*);
- 3) Heritage as an object of protection (institutional control) that operates analogously with nature conservation; keyword: *looking at*).

Depending on what level the triple model is realized and from whose point of view this is carried out, influences the theoretical approach and the contents of Table 1. The main interest groups affected by the management modes are the local people, tourists, and officials. For the sake of a better legibility of the text the general treatment of the tripartite division as well as explanations given in the columns of Table 1 have been moved together. To make the content stand out, the description of Table 1 is italicized.

1) **Sustenance** (*living in*¹⁰; *associated mainly with locals*) – side by side with consumption and maintenance, one's relation with the landscape can be

¹⁰ The term *living in* is borrowed from Ingold (2000)

discussed using the concept of sustenance. Against a background of this attitude, habits, practices and traditions deriving from an earlier age, are not merely connected with demonstrating these to an audience (e.g., donning the folk costume when guests are expected, or going to the village swing only with foreign visitors), but form a naturally functioning part of daily life (swinging on the village swing (II) etc.). An important precondition for sustenance is generally the function attributed to the heritage object. This also helps to retain the particular form of the heritage. In the framework of ordinary practice, it is possible to keep the whole: as the heritage functions naturally in case of such an option, it can be called sustenance. However, it is difficult for heritage to be sustained on external stimuli or in a forced way – this, rather, could be called maintenance. At the same time a situation in which external influences on heritage are completely missing cannot be created for the heritage that has been formed during past times must necessarily become adapted to current changes. As Lowenthal (2002: 410) has said on the rigidity of the past: “a fixed past is not what we really need, or at any rate not all we need. We require a heritage with which we continually interact, one that fuses past with present. This heritage is not only necessary but inescapable; we cannot now avoid feeling that the past is to some extent our own creation” (Lowenthal, 2002: 410).

Living in (explanation of Table 1) as landscape is a holistic phenomenon and heritage is part of the landscape while its properties are very similar to that of the landscape. Thus, heritage can either be sustained retaining its vitality or fade totally. In Table 1 this is partly marked in green, but partly the holism is highlighted in a red colour that emphasizes danger.

An aspect that supports the sustenance of heritage is first and foremost the function of heritage (capitalised in Table 1) as it arises from a personal or community need and provides the motivation for using heritage or keeping it functional in some way in one’s own interests. The process of heritage sustaining generally lacks so-called external official orders, prohibitions and rules (such as one has to go swinging on Midsummer Day). Rather, it is the internal (un-written) rules of heritage that keep the holistic form functioning and guarantees sustenance. In order to emphasize wholeness, the borders in Table 1, marked between the types of heritage classification have been deleted.

2) Consuming (*jumping into; associated mainly with locals and tourists, partly institutions*) – Franklin (2003) describes the history of heritage, where the peoples leisure time and material resources in the 1980s enabled them to travel more freely and the need to “escape” from daily life was realised. At the same time, the presentation of heritage landscapes to tourists-outsiders had become another important additional means of income for the local people. Hewison (1987) suggested heritage industry was launched and denounced it in a critical manner: “Tourism lays to waste and destroys true culture in the same way historical heritage was seen to destroy true history”. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1995: 371) determines heritage as a “value added” industry. She remarks, “tourism

and heritage are collaborative industries, heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits themselves". Urry (1990: 11) partly shared the criticism issued by Hewison (1987) and stressed the unreality of heritage. In the context of consuming landscapes, he proposed the concept of "tourist gaze" in case of which there "minimally must be certain aspects of the places to be visited which distinguish it from what is conventionally encountered in everyday life. Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/every day and the extraordinary". This brings to light the level of authenticity with the additional standpoint of different consumers and heritage management in more general. At the same time, Franklin has a more open attitude (that I agree with) towards Urry's (1990) more "tunnel-like" approach, for are there so many differences between the everyday and the tourism-related in our lives? Here, much depends on the tourists themselves. Much depends on the tourists themselves – there are some, who really want to stand apart from the locals and many others, who wish to be part of the locals. Occasionally the roles are reversed – some foreign visitors may take a swim in a pool in the mire, while the locals would never do that.

As suggested by Franklin (2003) each tourist has his/her own interpretation of place experiences. I am also relying on the words of Crang (1994: 351) that "people use their own lives to make sense and create meaning out of other people's every day. Heritage sites then form markers that are not about didactic history, rather markers of family events. /.../ heritage performance is made to fit in with these domestic journeys rather than historical appreciation".

In recent times the visual "consumption" of landscapes has been replaced by performative and experiential consumption (see further Bardone, 2013; Franklin, 2013). I propose that the concept of "jumping into" could illustrate an opportunity to experience bodily as much and as quickly as possible. In the context of the present study, both, swinging on a village swing or going out to pick berries or to take a walk in bog shoes fit the acquiring of immediate bodily experience and thus parallels can be drawn here with *jumping into*. At the same time this contributes to the thoughts on the *liminoid* that Franklin (2003: 177) refers to saying "that tourists are sensitive to the spaces of heritage as liminoid: that they are less passive before objects than performative, in other words they are doing something with the site, not merely passing through and taking in the site visually." Also Urry (1990: 10) draws parallels with tourism and the liminoid: "Like the pilgrim the tourist moves from a familiar place to a far place and then returns to the familiar place. At the far place both the pilgrim and the tourist engage in "worship" of shrines which are sacred, albeit in different ways, and as a result gain some kind of uplifting experience."

Jumping into (explanation of Table 1) – *when consuming heritage as a tourist, often the exploration of form or the experiencing of functions are offered separately; occasionally, also tourists focusing either on natural or cultural heritage are differentiated, which causes separation between them and stresses the division of heritage into groups. Still, in the course of time developments in*

tourist industry have shown that tourists may wish to obtain an increasingly more total (multisensory) experience of heritage.

Unless we have a case of virtual tourism, the physical movement of people on spot will influence both the form as well as the function of heritage. Thus on the one hand people going to a place and “using” the heritage is a factor supporting its sustenance (marked in green in Table 1), while simultaneously it will endanger the heritage due to overusing/consumption. This is particularly valid for tangible natural heritage (marked in red in Table 1).

In consuming intangible cultural heritage, function is more important than form (capitalized). What is critical is the question if intangible heritage can somehow be introduced to strangers as it is often left behind a language barrier. This concerns a certain shifting of boundaries also in the sense that on the basis of, e.g., the UNESCO definition intangible heritage also includes handicrafts and artefacts etc. At the same time, if we take it more strictly, the intangible refers only to the invisible (such as skills, tales, memories, etc.). Nevertheless more and more effort is taken (marked in dark green in Table 1) to create a form for intangible heritage in case it is missing (e.g. through packaging and other visualisation) for it can be marketed (e.g. runic songs on a beautifully designed CD etc.).

Consumption of heritage can have a rather positive effect on intangible natural heritage, particularly if the latter is visited together with a guide who can share the feeling for nature, skills in reading nature etc. The more this can be shared, the more knowledgeable are people (if we are speaking of nature conservation). At the same time, the boundary between natural and cultural heritage is almost inexistent here.

In consuming tangible natural heritage, the greatest nature conservation or ecological problems may appear. The main sources of danger to natural heritage in case of tourist visits include leaving behind rubbish, defacing the heritage objects with signs (“I was here”), excessive wear by treading, e.g. on the mire surface or, even more extremely, by using today’s vehicles (such as ATVs on forest paths, edges of mires) in ecologically sensitive areas. At the same time, analogously with Column 3 (Maintenance), the proportional significance of form is predominant, for the function will be sustained, in case the form is ecologically maintained.

Table 1. Relations between heritage aspects and heritage management.

PROCESSES HERITAGE	1) SUSTENANCE Being-in-the- heritage (<i>living in</i>)	2) MAINTENANCE/ SUSTENANCE Heritage consumption (<i>jumping into</i>)	3) MAINTENANCE Heritage control (<i>looking at</i>)
Tangible/ cultural heritage	Holism form/Function /context/	Form/Function /context/	Form/function /context/
Intangible/ cultural heritage		form/Function /context/	Form/Function /context/
Intangible/ natural heritage		form/function /context/	Form/Function /context/
Tangible/ natural heritage		Form/function /context/	Form/function /context/

Legend: green – conducive of being “alive”; dark green – strongly supporting functioning/form; red – threatening functioning; black – influencing functioning/form; capitalisation – of primary importance from the point of view of maintaining/sustaining the aspect of landscape.

3) **Maintenance** (*looking at; associated mainly with tourists and officials*) – can be determined as a distanced relationship for the tourists not to “over-consume” heritage (places, objects, traditions, etc.) and “exhaust” the locals or for the local people. At the same time, do not forget some tradition or object that is (institutionally) considered important in some way. At this point Howard (2003: 53) explains, in answer to the possible question why heritage maintenance would be necessary at all, “any study of heritage conservation reminds us that people care.”

At the same time, it is obvious that not everything surrounding us can be protected via maintaining it. Thus, as we engage in maintaining heritage, this will eventually lead to defining heritage. This can be based on some value that has consciously or unconsciously been attributed to heritage that could disappear in case the heritage is consumed in an indirect way, as it were. The values that can be attributed to different kinds of heritage, makes the total value of heritage or the necessity of its conservation subjective. Although here the general rule of biodiversity can be relied upon, in which diversity is conducive of existence, some values are recognized so generally (this in its turn will depend upon the scale) that the importance of maintaining the influence of one value surpasses other values, or their functions. Howard (2003: 53) introduces an example of a burning house from which objects may be saved not only on the basis of their economic value: “many of us are far from rational and might well select things of “sentimental value””. Thus, you can take into account monetary value but it is not a priority when it comes to sentimental value (for further reading, see Kimmel 2009 who analyses wetlands using the perspective

of ecosystem-service). Thus, the subjectivity of (heritage) landscapes, is mainly in the capacity of places, as Harrison *et al.* (2008) put it, are politically highly charged.

Howard (2003) also suggests values as the basis for classifying heritage, differentiating as many as ten of them do. Lennon (1999: 4–5) divides cultural and natural values into four groups (aesthetic, historical, scientific and social values) that are very closely connected with one another. In landscape context, there is also well-known separation of values, presented by Jones (1993), who separates economic, amenity and security values. As an example in Estonia's context of landscape research, Palang *et al* (2011) have distinguished five main values in landscape that have been used for the purpose of determining valuable landscapes: aesthetic, historical, natural, identity-related, socio-cultural.

A more general interpretation of values has been suggested by UNESCO as Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria> or Jokilehto, 2008), while “value” is determined via selection criteria and has not been officially defined. Rather, we may generalise OUV as its meaning strives for a holistic whole that will take everything in consideration. However, as a point of criticism it should be mentioned that if OUV is used with the purpose of protecting heritage the aims of protection might become vague due to the holistic quality (see Table 1 and its explanation).

Looking at the heritage – *its precondition from a position of control is external influence primarily with rules and prohibitions, commands and prescriptions. In the context of maintenance attention can be drawn both to the form as well as the function, although it is easier to “tackle” form, it is often the element that catches attention when it comes to being taken under protection (In Table 1 marked in green and capitalised). The more strictly the form is protected, however, the more likely the function of (cultural) heritage is to change, which in its turn endangers the naturalness of function (marked in red in Table 1). And it is all the more maintenance, not sustenance.*

In case of intangible cultural heritage, the meaning has mainly become condensed in the function (in Table 1 marked in green and capitalised). At the same time the precondition, for intentional maintenance is collecting etc. (swinging songs, place names, photos, interviews and other archived material) that when preserved gives intangible heritage a certain form (that can be maintained in turn). What is important in case of intangible natural heritage is being present among nature and immediate forwarding knowledge and skills on this that functions fairly well in the Estonian context concerning both formal and informal education (see, e.g., keskkonnaharidus.ee) (marked in green in Table 1).

What is important in case of tangible natural heritage is its existence in a remarkable form (a waterfall, a holy tree, a holy rock, etc.). If a function has to be guaranteed in maintaining form (e.g in order to avoid the drying out of a waterfall it has to be guaranteed that the water in the river not be used for irrigation) human activities are influenced in a way that supports the functioning of natural heritage. However, the function of the natural heritage

usually is not damaged when the form of the natural heritage is retained. Often the visible natural heritage includes an invisible layer of cultural heritage (e.g. in describing distinctive trees, stones as “holy” in the local tradition).

If everything turns out well, heritage will be sustained in its naturally functioning environment, yet there is also the possibility that heritage necessary to carry out a function loses its form or that the form changes the function in an unrecognizable way. This in its turn could lead to impoverishment of cultural diversity. However, rigid focusing on the maintenance of the form of heritage impedes the development of heritage and actually changes the function of the form. When form is being maintained, heritage could, in the worst case, acquire a passive (looking at) function. Functions cannot be maintained only with the help of orders and prohibitions (the so-called radical top-down method), rather it may be possible to keep heritage functional (the bottom-up method, as it were). How these ideas function in the framework of the two examples provided in this study can be read in the discussion chapter. I shall also tackle a couple of controversies that can emerge in the process of sustaining and maintaining heritage. In the following, I wish to introduce the development history of maintaining and sustaining the sample objects, village swings and mires, in the Estonian context.

RESEARCH OBJECTS AND METHODS

2.1 Case study I – village swing sites (I, II)

Village swings and sites around them are unique in Estonian landscapes in the sense that their meaning has somewhat transformed or diversified, but the elements of the place still retain a more or less original main function as well as a recognizable form (Figure 1). One of the oldest descriptions of swings derives from 1781 when A. W. Hupel wrote the following about a swing site:

“One passtime that will last throughout the spring is swinging (Schocken in Livonia). Peasants of all ages, especially the younger ones, do not know of a greater pleasure; often also singing and in some place songs entirely particular to swinging, can be heard. Thus swings can be seen near each inn and little village, and often also at separate farms” (Laugaste, 1963: 94).

The meaning of swings and swing sites has remained rather stable during the centuries so that they can be discussed as an example of both tangible as well as intangible cultural heritage.



Figure 1. Kobela swing site in Võru County. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2003).

Seen from a historical perspective, swinging traditions are related to holidays in the calendar – Easter (also known as egg holidays, swing holidays – a movable feast, start on the first Sunday of full moon after vernal equinox; March 22–April 26) as well as Pentecost (birch holidays – a movable feast; 7th Sunday after Easter, May 10 – June 14). The period for swinging that is best known even today is Midsummer day (June 23–24).

The building of a swing and swinging traditions have mostly been written about in the context of holidays in the folk calendar, by, e.g., Hiimäe, 1981; 1984; 1985; Haavik, 1996; Muhel, 1994; Ränk, 1996; Talve, 1961; Tampere, 1956. Still, very few studies have been conducted on swings and swing sites (e.g. Langinen, 1956; Vissel, 2003; Pungas, 2004). The first of these two studies rely in their sources on the ethnographic materials from the Estonian Folklore Archives, and the ethnographic archives of the Estonian National Museum. The questionnaires sent to the correspondents of the Estonian National Museum have not generally included questions about swinging, except once. The questionnaire nr 148 “Questions on the social life of the village” in which the 10th question-enquired: Did the village people differentiate between farm owners and hired labourers in their social activities (on the swing, in the choir, in the confirmation school, cooking courses etc.)?” A questionnaire (ERA 1094) titled “Swings and swinging” was carried out by R. Viidalepp in 1936 (the Estonian Literary Museum). The exact number of responses to the questionnaire cannot be determined due to the problems caused by WWII (as explained by the employees of the Museum). At the same time, 466 references have been included in J. Langinen’s study (1956) that is mostly based on Viidalepp’ data and other collected material connected with swinging and dating back to the period in the first half of 20th century.

Data that are more contemporary have been systematically collected in 2002–2003 when the focus of the study conducted to a questionnaire. The fieldwork was done with the aim to find information about the natural conditions supporting the arising of swing sites; the socio-economic and seasonal factors influencing the sustenance of village swings and people’s attitudes towards village swing sites and swinging (Pungas, 2004; **I; II**). All the referenced sources have been approaching the swinging traditions in a descriptive manner.

Despite the long history of swing sites and swinging traditions, the sites still retain their recognizable form (see Figure 2 and Figure 3) and functions. The functions of an identity bearer and a tourist attraction have been added to the historical belief-related and social functions. The changes that can be highlighted involve the pluralisation of technical solutions in detail and the increased durability of materials (wood has either partly or fully been replaced with metal constructions).

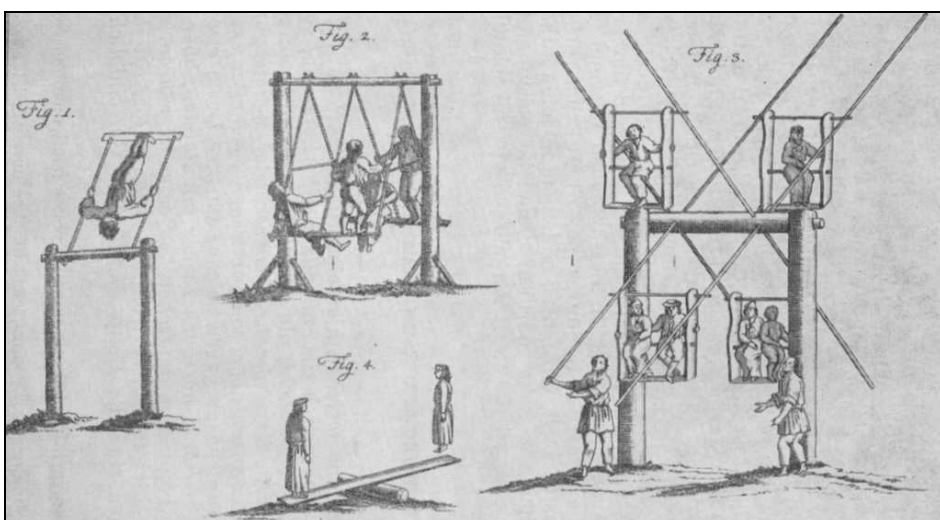


Figure 2. Types of swings. A.W. Hupel, *Der nordschen Miscellaneen* 1781. nr.3 (Laugaste, 1963: 93).



Swing site in Puhja community. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2005).



Kiiking in Viljandi town. Photo made by U. Volmer (2011).



“Jumping on the board” has been replaced by a somewhat more secure see-saw meant for sitting. Photo made by M. Kohv (2015).



Swing site in Romania. Photo made by H. Palang (2007).

Figure 3. Today’s solutions for swings presented in Figure 2.

The place that has arisen around a swing as its central element is influenced by the main function of each particular swing, for instance, a dancing area or site for a bonfire may have been created near a village swing (II), or flowerbeds have been made or hay has been cut down at a swing meant for tourists.

2.2 Case study 2 – Estonian mires (III, IV, V)

Due to the flat topography, a variety of glacial formations and humid temperate climate, Estonia is rich in inland wetlands – mires (Figure 4), wet forests and grasslands. Usually, in ecology, the mire is defined as an area where peat layer is thicker than 30 cm, and such areas cover approximately 21.5% of the territory of Estonia (Masing *et al.*, 2000). However, today's estimation is that only 5.6% of the 21.5% territory covered by mires can be called “living mires” (Kohv, Salm, 2012; Paal, Leibak, 2013).

In this context, it may seem surprising that the discourse used to define the Estonian nation describes Estonians as rather people of the forest or the sea (Loorits, 1926–1927/1998; Viires, 2000, 5, 7) or of fields and farms (Valk, 2005).



Figure 4. Mukri mire. Photo by M. Kohv (2014).

The mire is not naturally arable land and in the cultural context, it has always rather remained in social periphery. Generally, on day-to-day basis the farmers of earlier times had virtually no economic interest in mires except hunting and gathering or using some part of the mires for winter roads (depending on the

location) or using the mire as refuge (IV). The low socio-cultural importance of mires is to a degree evinced in the fact that historically they have not been researched much from a cultural-geographical perspective in Estonia. From a more humanitarian point of view, mires have been discussed by some folklorists (e.g. Hiimäe, 1988: 22) or archaeologists (for instance Lavi, 1998; Kriiska, Roio, 2011; Jonuks, Oras, 2012).

At the same time, there are numerous discussions on the topics of draining mires and turning peat lands into arable (mineral)land (Valk, 1988). The first report of organized drainage on the Estonian territory derives from the 17th century when the Swedish Queen Kristina gave an order to meliorate some grassland near Tallinn in 1650 (Sepp, 2001). The human impact on mires has grown significantly since the 19th century mainly due to drainage initiated at first by manor owners (Pärdi, 1988: 82). The Baltic Mire Improvement Society was established in 1908 in order to distribute scientific knowledge about different drainage and cultivation methods (Sepp, 2001: 9). Widespread negative prejudices were sometimes used as a justification for the drainage systems. Machines gradually replaced human labour and the extent of the drainage systems increased rapidly in the 20th century, especially after WWII. During WW II and in the immediate-post-war period the mire became an important place for anti-communist guerrillas, who found shelter and support in an environment that was generally uninhabited (Vahur, 1999). During the following decades of intensive economic pressure that also involved melioration, the nature protection movement turned its attention towards mires (Paal, Leibak, 2013).

Several large nature reserves encompassing wetlands were formed in 1957 including Matsalu (floodplain and coastal grasslands), Nigula (bog) and Viidumäe (spring fens). As economic pressure on wetlands increased, scientists and activists emphasized the need to protect at least some of the mires. Environmentalists started an information campaign about the importance of mires, publishing articles in the magazine *Eesti Loodus* (e.g. Masing, 1968; 1970a; 1970b; 1970c). Thirty mire reserves were founded in 1981, covering 122,189 ha in total, because of this movement referred to later as a “war for mires”. For instance in 1987, 31 out of the 40 nature reserves in Estonia were mires. For nowadays ca 18% of Estonian territory is under protection (keskkonnainfo.ee) in different ways including all larger mires in Estonia.

Today, in addition to the ecological aspect and the economic potential the importance of mires has increased in the context of cultural heritage and nature education and as tourism objects, which is expressed using different practices (III, IV), opinions, attitudes etc. (V).

2.3 General methodological background

Phenomenological approach in landscape studies

In general, this interdisciplinary thesis is informed by the complex of post-sauerian phenomenological understanding in the context of landscape studies. The founding figure of the phenomenological approach was Edmund Husserl, whose ideas (Husserl, 1993) were developed further in the context of human geography in the 1970s, balancing the tendencies shaped by the positivist and quantitative turns. At the same time, this was a period when place-based approaches emerged next to quantitative studies of space. Buttner (1993: 115) formulates a phenomenology “where one explored the meaning of space, nature, and environment for human experience, seeking, in Husserl’s famous phrase, to “go back to the things themselves” and let reality speak for itself” (see also Tuan, 1971; Samuels, 1971; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 2000). Stefanovic (1998: 33) also refers to Husserl (1962) whose “description of the phenomenological method as eidetic signifies an approach that moves through the concrete particulars to discover that which is essential to the phenomenon under investigation – that without which the phenomenon no longer is what it is”.

In the context of cultural studies, the phenomenological method is used when “an individual or collective understanding of some phenomena is being analysed” (Viik, 2009: 226). In cultural geography, research in this case has been related to individuals and their activities (Crang, 1998). In addition to the experiences of people, Tilley (1994) also considers the way of understanding the world to be a key issue. Wylie (2013: 55) defines phenomenology in landscape context as “a branch of continental philosophy which aims to elucidate and express the meaning and nature of things in the world – of phenomena – through a focus upon human lived experience, perception, sensation and understanding”/.../ “not me and the landscape, but a kind of oneness”. Lindström, *et al.* (2013: 101) define “phenomenological approaches to landscape as a “very fundamental aspect of semiotics, that is, how the meanings are generated in the phenomenal world and in respect to the corporeality of the person who dwell in a landscape”.

It means that people who responded to questionnaires or were interviewed have been more or less in contact with the research objects (swing sites **I**, **II**, mire **III**, **IV**, **V**), and I have taken their answers as partly perceptions and partly representations of what Wylie (2007: 140) describes as “everyday lived” experience” (Wylie, 2007: 140). This idea has been expressed also by Duncan and Duncan who have suggested that (2009: 229) the “researches could best learn to adopt a native dweller’s point of view by suspending their own knowledge. Tim Ingold (2000) points out that landscape observer can learn to see by asking others to guide their attention”.

Humans’ direct perception of the landscape is, at least to a certain degree, subject to regulation by rules (orders, prohibitions, directions etc.). Thus, socio-economic political conditions have been considered as an additional influence on maintenance and sustenance of the research objects (see also Palang, 2010).

As Cosgrove (1984) states, each such formation forms its own landscapes. If general socio-economic structures (formations) are considered and emphasized in the discussions of the process of maintenance, the phenomenological approach allows interpreting experiential relationships with the surroundings and the sum of personal experiences arising from internal motivation is expressed as sustenance in the context of heritage.

2.3.1 Sources for data on swing sites and relevant research methods

Papers **I** and **II** have come about based on complex sets of data on swing sites and swinging habits. The study was carried out, combining collecting of materials in study areas and conducting a questionnaire. Descriptive materials from different archives were used mainly for illustrative purposes and to broaden the qualitative range. The following provides a short overview of the main sources of data and methods used. A more detailed description of data collection and critical analysis of data reliability can be found in papers **I** and **II**.

Study areas (Figure 5) – include areas for fieldwork on swing sites and carrying out a-questionnaire at schools. At first four pilot areas were chosen for undertaking the questionnaire in four schools. Fieldwork in the same counties

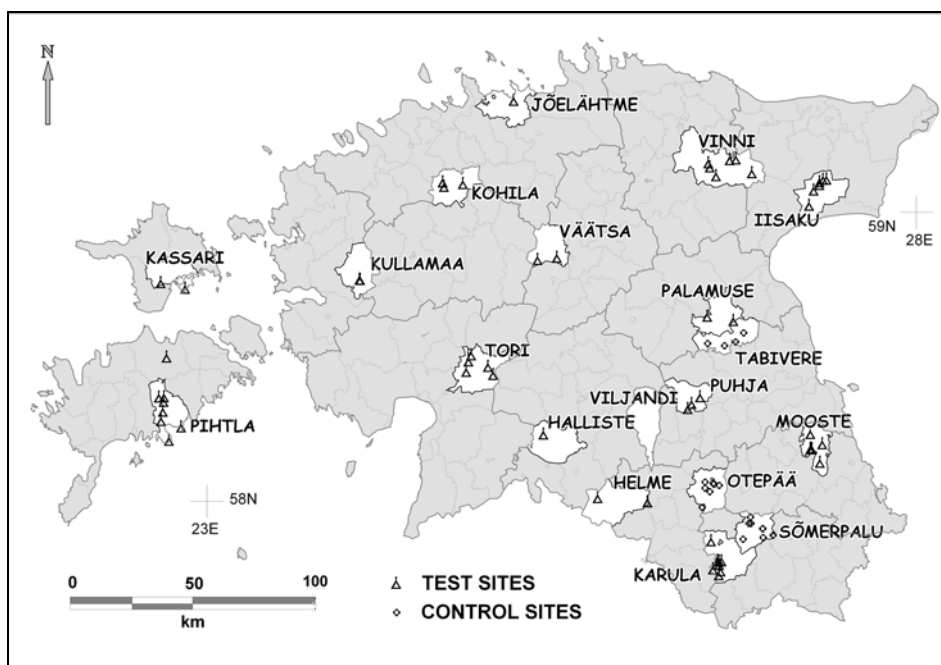


Figure 5. Study areas visited to find swing sites.

followed. Taking into consideration the experience gained, 11 case areas were visited afterwards and 520 pupils (241 male, 271 female, 8 did not indicate the sex) from 11 schools were asked questions about swing-habit and swing sites. Finally, three control areas were visited for fieldwork but no questionnaires were carried out there.

Fieldwork – as the scope of the study would not allow finding all village swings of Estonia, areas for fieldwork were chosen for conducting the study. Swinging was considered to be more characteristic of countryside life than life in town; also, it is a social phenomenon and it may have regional differences. Thus, towns were excluded and the study areas were selected as one community (parish) from each of the 15 Estonian counties. The study areas were selected based on the population of communities: as a rule, the community with the population closest to the median population of the communities in the particular county was selected to represent the county. The fieldwork was carried out in two steps, first during as part of a pilot project in four counties in the spring of 2003, then 11 more study areas were added in the autumn of 2003. All areas were studied using a field strategy that Denzin (1989) and Flick (1998) have described as participant observation. After collecting the primary information from employees of the local governments, the next step was visiting the swing sites. During the inspection of swing sites, sheets for fieldwork were filled in (Appendix 1) and these data were combined with, if possible, short interviews with informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection. All swing sites were photographed as well. In comparison with, e.g. the ethnographic method, the advantage of participant observation was the best possible balance between the aim of the study on the one hand and time and financial resources on the other hand. It was possible to be present in all study areas and the local inhabitants were disturbed less than in case of lengthy interviews presumed by the ethnographic method.

Questionnaire – the questionnaire undertaken at schools in the test areas addressed to the pupils as the main potential swingers in swinging sites. The inquiry was carried out in two steps – first a pilot study was made at four schools close to the study areas to test the questions. For the purposes of the main study, some unsatisfactory questions were replaced by questions about the seasonal nature, importance and meaning of swinging. Thus, some questions are not reflected in the pilot study the results of which would form a part of the main study. Nevertheless, the answers to the questions in the remaining questionnaires were so similar that the missing part does not seem to reduce the reliability of the questionnaire. The respondents were mostly from Form 8 and Form 11 as this was a request to the teachers before carrying out the questionnaire. The age groups were chosen based on the presumption that they might form the main potential swingers. The seasonal nature of swinging was covered by four questions and the general reasons for swinging by one question. As the number of respondents to the questions relevant from the perspective of the thesis was different this has been indicated in the articles.

Questions analysed in paper I (n=376):

- Have you ever been swinging during the wintertime?
- Please mention the reasons, which have motivated you to swing during the winter.
- Is there anything to do at the swing site during the wintertime?
- Are there any objects connected to winter activities at the swing site?

Question analysed in paper II (n=520):

- Why do you go swinging?

Data analyses – content analysis was used in discussing the data received as a result of fieldwork and the questionnaire. First data were examined and then categorized into classes, i.e. primary categories were created. Flick (1998: 193–194) determines this step as *summarizing content analysis*. When primary categories had been created, classes were revised again. During the second stage of the analysis, *explicative content analysis* is reached that works the opposite way: it clarifies diffuse, ambiguous or contradictory passages by involving context material in the analysis. The final step is *structuring content analysis* that looks for types or formal structures in the material.

Illustrative materials – illustrative material was used as examples of the historical perspective. The consulted archives included folklore collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives, the data collection of the Estonian Literary Museum and the data collection of the Institute of the Estonian Language. In addition, I discovered 8 archived items among the ethnographic drawings of the Estonian National Museum, and 213 items in their collection of photographs.

2.3.2 Sources for data on mires and relevant research methods

Similarly, with studying swing sites, discussing mires also consisted of combination of different data and methods. Proceed from the purposes of the articles the most weight is laid on questionnaires (V), archive materials (III, IV) and literature on the topic (V). The fieldwork has provided material for a popular scientific article on information board texts accompanying study trails (Pungas, 2011), but it has appeared in Estonian only. In addition, school textbooks have been consulted as sources, but the data found in them have not been published yet.

TABLE 2. Studied sources at the Estonian National Museum (for paper IV).

Data about the questionnaires				
Year of compilation	1937	1947	1983	2002
Reference	Linnus 1937	Sion 1947	Pärdi 1983	Piiri 2002
Number	No. 10	No. 43	No. 168	No. 214
Compiler	Ferdinand Linnus (1895–1942)	Virve Sion (1913–1985)	Heiki Pärdi (b. 1951)	Reet Piiri (b. 1955)
Theme	<i>Foods, drinks, flavourings</i>	<i>On picking mushrooms, berries, nuts and other plant food</i>	<i>Gathering nature's gifts</i>	<i>Food culture in the Soviet period</i>
Total number of questions	95	16	22	174
Data about correspondents and the responses				
Correspondents' year of birth (the majority)	1880s–1890s	1890s–1900s	1910s–1920s	1920s–1930s
Volumes of responses in the archive (= KV)	KV No. 33, 50–52, 55	KV No. 77	KV No. 583	KV No. 1027–1033
Total number of replies	341*	36**	77	92
Time period recollected in responses***	1850s–1930s	1880s–1940s	1900s–1980s	1920s–2000s

* This is the total number of replies that included numerous responses from local teachers and schoolchildren who had collected information from their family members. The responses from the latter are not considered in our analysis.

** The correspondents' network had diminished considerably because some members had died in battle, some due to the repressions, others had fled.

*** Recollections also came from older inhabitants interviewed by correspondents.

Sources in archives – The materials on mires from the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum were studied and the relevant findings were used as illustrative materials for articles III and V. As gathering berries is one of the few historical mire practices that is still functioning, correspondents' answers were used to find out about the historical background of this activity (IV), which presumed a systematic approach together with data analysis. Thus, our approach to the sources can be characterized as a retrospective interpretation of previously compiled archival data from the current perspective, taking into consideration methodological questions related to archive and memory. For structuring correspondents' responses, we relied on

thematic analysis of archival responses based on Riessman (2008: 53–53). A detailed background to the data can be found in Table 2 and a more detailed explanation to the choice of data can be found in Article IV.

Questionnaire – it was carried out in 2006–2007; in total 1,000 questionnaires (in Estonian) were distributed. The distribution of the questionnaires between the counties followed the general population distribution. Public libraries were chosen as focal points for questionnaire distribution, chosen because of the relatively wide coverage among the population subgroups, as convenient places to fill in questionnaires and as one of the most economical choices available.

The questionnaire consisted of 23 questions and it took approximately 20 minutes to fill. 43 libraries (90%) returned 592 filled questionnaires. As the numbers of filled-out questionnaires from the capital Tallinn were low, additional 89 questionnaires were handed out in 2007 to the Tallinn residents on the Tallinn–Tartu train. Three schools in Tallinn were asked to distribute questionnaires (86) among their students in winter 2006. Total number of the filled questionnaires is 767.

The respondents were divided into seven age groups (the figure can be found in paper V). The young people (15–29) were more responsive compared to their share in the population of Estonia (V). The children (0–14) are the most underrepresented age group – the youngest (0–7) usually do not visit libraries on their own. The share of responses from female respondents (64.9%) is slightly higher than that in the population (53.4%).

Comparing regional share the Estonian-speaking population with responses Tallinn and Harju County are relatively underrepresented, but as the total number of respondents from both is high, there is no reason to believe that qualitative answers are missing (V). A relatively high return of responses came from Viljandi – the county where Soomaa Nature Park, one of the best-known wetland area in Estonia, is located. Altogether, the cohort of respondents corresponds reasonably well to the share of the respective groups in society and therefore generalization of the findings can be justified.

The representativeness of the sample was tested by evaluating the possible stochastic variability within the sample, comparing fifteen subsamples to each other and the whole sample. In order to check the possible variability of the answers subsamples were formed from the full samples pertaining to each question (767 answers each), leaving out blocks of fifty answers that differ in each subsample. The subsamples and the mean values of the answers to the full sample were compared.

The differences between the subsamples are negligible; coefficients of variation for the eight most popular keywords are 1–2%. In addition, a similar test was carried out comparing 19 subsamples of different sizes from 618 to 767 in each, formed by leaving out responses from one region (county or city), different in each subsample. The variability between the subsamples is very low also here (CV percentage for eight most popular keywords are 1–3%). The differences between male and female respondents are a bit higher (CV percent

5–9%) but the principal sequence of the keyword frequency is same. Similar tests were carried out also for the responses about visiting frequency and purposes and the variability between the subsamples remains low. Therefore, we can conclude that the findings are representative of all the Estonian-speaking population.

Questions analysed in paper V (n=767):

- How often do you visit mires?
- When do you visit mires?
- Why do you visit mires?
- What would be the five main keywords you would use to describe mires?

Content analysis was used to process the answers (Flick, 1998). Classification of the answers was done by two experts with co-operation to ensure consistency. Word counts were weighed according to the number of the keywords in the answer (for example one keyword weighed 0.33 if the respondent provided three keywords; 0.2 in case of five keywords *etc.*). The weights of the classes were finally summarised. The classes that remained under the one per cent threshold after grouping are not included in the current study or are mentioned only with qualitative aims. The responses were content analysed using SPSS 8.0 and Excel. The results of the content analysis are interpreted within the context of changing mire practices.

Literature as a source for finding descriptions of the most common mire practices through time – overview of historically most common practices was compiled from an extensive review of popular scientific literature. The information came from popular scientific literature published in Estonia since the 1920s including textbooks, travel guides, project reports, journals, etc.; fiction was excluded (Tüür, Maran, 2005). It was assumed that this kind of literature has a considerable impact on the personal meanings people give to mires as some of it, especially school textbooks, is mandatory literature.

Study areas and fieldwork – in the course of fieldwork I observed 30 mire protection areas that were taken under protection on the initiative of Viktor Masing in 1981 that have been used in the thesis rather as an illustrative purposes. This gave a common basis for the selection of the areas studied (Figure 6).

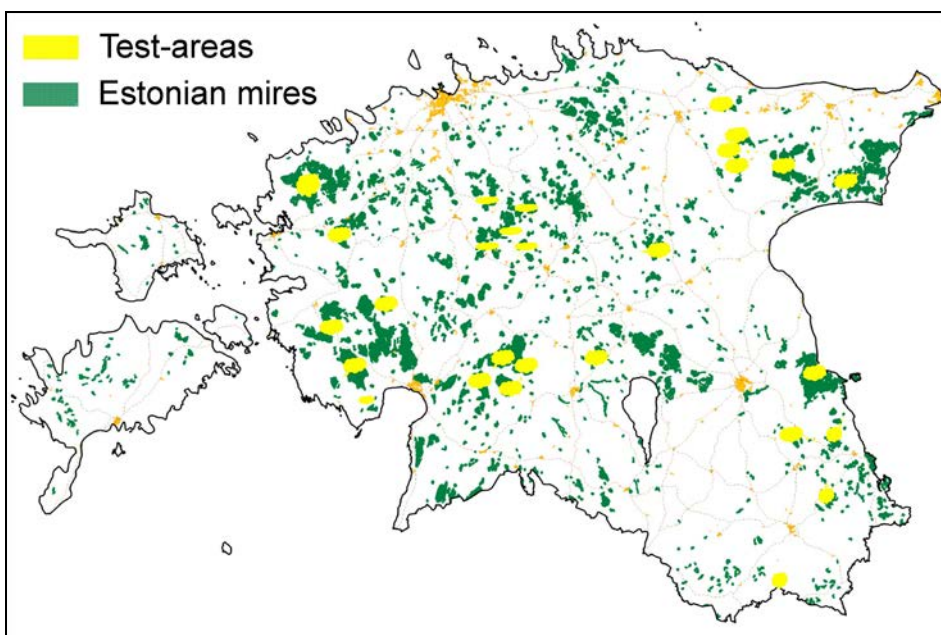


Figure 6. Schema about Estonian mires (marked in green, based on CORINE Landcover 2000); test areas (marked in yellow) that represent the location of Mire Conservation areas established in 1981.

Similarly, to studying swing sites, the methodology of fieldwork was based on participant observation in which I studied documents related to the protection areas and the reasons for taking them under protection. In addition, I made semi-structured interviews (32) with local inhabitants and employees of the protection areas (see Appendix 2, with questions presented). The content of the interviews was used to create a general background for the protected mires; the conversations also supplemented the answers to the questionnaires.

Additionally, all study and hiking trails of the study areas were observed for these gave a good survey of how mires are represented to people. Walking on the trails, photos of information boards could be made. In categorising the content of the information board (content analysis) I proceeded from the purpose and mode of representation of the information and setting up the information boards. There were 18 study and hiking trails on the 30 protection areas (see Pungas, 2011).

RESULTS

In the following, I am introducing the factors that became salient in the course of conducting two case studies and writing articles based on these (I, II, III, IV, V) that have had either conducive or restricting influence on the maintenance and/or sustenance of heritage.

For the sake of greater clarity and unity, I have discussed village swing sites and mires as two separate sets of topics in the results section. In the treatment of swing sites the emphasis is on cultural tangible/intangible heritage; mires have been attributed the role of representing both natural and cultural heritage, rather taking the intangible sphere of heritage in consideration.

3.1 Features that have conducive or restricting influence on heritage in landscape

3.1.1 Case of swing sites (based on articles I, II)

I rely on the phrase concerning the necessity of sustenance of Estonian language and culture from the preamble of the Estonian constitution, and the obligation set by the UNESCO convention of protecting, maintaining, popularising and forwarding of heritage to future generations that have been referred to above. Thus, that is concerning the swings, it is first and foremost sustenance and not maintenance that we can see in relation to village swings. Still there are swing sites and swings all over Estonia (I, II); some are disappearing and new ones keep appearing.

The responses to the questionnaire show that 83% of the respondents considered swing sites to be necessary (I). Altogether 76 swing sites were found (II) in the test areas during the fieldwork; the average number of swing sites per commune was three. As swings dilapidate quickly due to the weather and the swingers (e.g. only two swings of the total number were built before 1990), swings form cannot be considered the most static of heritage objects. At the same time, there were few traditional swing sites, i.e. those that would be more than 15 years old. Three of the 76 swing sites only were certainly older than 15 years in 2004. Even though new swings are built, and often in new places, the swinging habit and the technical solutions as well as the general look of the swing site remain traditional. Thus, traditional nature of the meaning in case of a swing site is based on its function as was supposed in the theoretical table (Table 1) in regard to sustenance. Today's socio-economic situation has left its trace on how the swings can be classified on the basis of their function: the swing sites could be divided into (a) large wooden village swings (34, i.e. 44,7%); (b) farm swings (11, i.e. 14,5%); (c) children's swings (10, i.e. 13,2%); (d) tourist swings (4, i.e. 5,3%); and (e) mixed-type swings (17, i.e. 22,4%). This in its turn shows that the community-building function of swinging places is still the

dominant one. The following discussion concerns the conditions that are conducive of sustaining swing sites:

Recreation (heritage that is conducive of intrinsic psychological and social needs) – one of the key questions in maintaining heritage or its parts or their sustenance is their being necessary for people, which is revealed in their function, form, context and/or process (see Widgren, 2004 in Ch. 1.3). In many cases people's needs are affected at least by five key issues of society (identity, hierarchy, sex, truth, temporal aspect) (by Hofstede *et al*). As we are observing identity on a scale between the individual and the communal, during the past hundred years Estonians can be defined as rather an individualist society (Vunder, 1998/2008) with corresponding needs.

Village swings offer activities conducive of immediate socialising as well as an increased sense of belonging to a community (36.4% of the respondents stated that it was “good to be together”) (II). For more than a century ago, going to the village swing was also related to the changes of a person's status in the community, i.e. it adolescents in their early teens, who started to go swinging. Small children did not use the village swing as its size, the heaviness of its parts and the strength of its momentum sets limits to the age of those swinging, as it can be dangerous to young children. The emphasis on having reached a suitable age could have been a trigger behind increasingly more new young people coming to the swing.

Although a swing will not stay in good shape without need of any repair for a period longer than ca five years, the significance of swinging practice is a source of nostalgia (Lowenthal, 1985/2000) and identity in a community important in restoring several swing sites. “But there was a village swing in my childhood. I wish my children would be able to swing” (personal communication 2003). In addition, rebuilding of swings is supported by direct bodily sense of enjoyment from swinging (35.8% replied “I just like swinging”) or the possible social activities (36.4% replied “Good to be together”) (II). This is connected with the following.

Heritage that can be used as sport activity – during the past couple of years, side by side with the building of village swings also *kiiking* – using the swing by one person with the aim of making a full circle around its fulcrum on a swing with long arms has become noticeable. Although Theodor Geilhar (I) represented a young man moving round a swing's fulcrum already on a lithograph dating from 1840, wooden arms could not be made infinitely longer as starting from a certain length their endurance became questionable¹¹. Ado Kosk from Pärnu county started making innovative swings and received a patent for his products in 1996 (see kiiking.ee). In comparison with swinging on village swings, using *kiiking* swings rather measures physical performance,

¹¹ In August 2014, Kaspar Taimsoo was entered in the Guinness Book of Records when *kiiking* around the fulcrum with a special swing whose arms were 7.08 m long (<http://sport.postimees.ee/2891697/kaspar-taimsoo-pustitas-kiikingus-guinnessi-rekordi>).

while on village swings the priority is set on socialising. Both types of swings, however, mediate the value attributed to swinging.

Uniqueness of the heritage – for Estonians, village swings and swing sites form a still functioning and familiar part of the surroundings. However, village swings that are not merry-go-rounds and on which at least two to six people can swing facing one another are unique in the global context. There are swings of the so-called Finnish type that have spread mostly on Hiiumaa Island (Figure 7) in Estonia and are used with some modifications as garden swings all around the world. There are also Latvian swings (Figure 8) that resemble South-Estonian swings in their appearance. In addition, there are Russian swings that resemble Ferris wheels in their appearance, while there should be more than 2–4 people to make such a swing go round (see also illustrations on Figure 3). In the rest of the world, swinging is an important (even ritual) activity, but its social function in such a form as it occurs in Estonia is unknown to me elsewhere. Although making a village swing move so that swinger's feet do not touch the ground takes some practising, it is a practice, which can be easily learned. This is probably the reason for village swings, as constructions with an (entertainment) function characteristic of and unique for Estonia, have often been built at much visited attractive places or, e.g., at tourist farms.



Figure 7. Example of “Finnish” swing; photo made in Käina, Hiiumaa Island. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2003).



Figure 8. Example of “Latvian” swing; photo made in Obinitsa, South-Estonia. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2005).

Heritage that is related with attractive landscape – in a contemporary context the presence of an attractive landscape is an advantage in the sense of attracting active people and being able to create better conditions for communities (e.g., areas with a pronounced relief, proximity to bodies of water, manors, national parks, etc.). On the basis of Langinen’s (1956) description of swing sites that also refer to natural beauty, as well as my own research (**I, II**) swings are situated in copses of trees, manor parks, on lake shores, on hills or in squares in the middle of villages, etc. E.g. in case of today’s national parks, mixed-type swings have been created at information centres. In comparison with a brief survey to find out the landscape preferences of geography students (Palang, 1993) general landscape preferences and natural preconditions for swing sites, coincide nearly totally. The beauty of the landscape also attracts tourists, which in its turn is conducive of erecting mixed-type and tourist swings in attractive places.

What has disappeared, however, is the general belief that swings are to be created on hilltops. There are some swinging hills still left (e.g. Kavilda kiigemägi; see Figure 9), which is reflected in the place names. It is worth noting that because of geomorphology South Estonia is a remarkably hillier landscape, yet place names referring to swinging hills tend to lie in North Estonia. The reason may have been related with the period and traditions of using swings (**I**) as swings that would be used throughout the summer were built in North Estonia.

In South Estonia, swinging mostly happened during swinging holidays and after the holidays the swings were “taken down”. Thus, some hundred years ago there were no such swing sites in South Estonia as can be found in North Estonia. Apparently having a nice view was appreciated when swinging, as there are indications of that in some swinging songs¹² or, considering the possible religious background of swinging, the swingers may have wished to be nearer to God.



Figure 9. Kavilda swing and swing hill. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2003).

In addition to admiring the view, the requirement for a certain height could have been caused by the wish to have a dry area for dancing in early spring, or the older generation’s interest in being able to control what was going on at the swing site. As a swing site often also meant the existence of a site for a bonfire and a designated area for dancing or ball games, flat areas also had strong points of their own. Today, the question of the relief of a swing site mostly arises in the context of the general attractiveness of the landscape.

Guaranteeing the material resources to make heritage possible – as not much material was required to build a swing, more than 100 years ago this was often received from manor owners or else the peasants put together means to build a swing collectively. Later, state forestry farms and the like would provide the material. Today, acquiring the building material to a great degree depends

¹² *Kiigu, kiigu kõrge'elle, üle õrre, pealta pard'./ Üle vastse varrude, üle tamme talude.
Mis säält kõrgelt-kõrgelt näikse? / Näikse kolme uibukest. Igan oksan ubina'ida, igan ladvan laululind!
[Swing, swing, high, across the fulcrum, above the railing. / Over the new baptisms, over the oaken
farms / What can be seen from high-high above? / Three apple trees can be seen / Each branch carries
apples, each treetop a singing bird.]*

on the type of the swing, as occasionally additional resources become necessary to get hold of some materials or hiring skilled builders. If in earlier times a major proportion of the swings used to be wooden, today the fulcra and additional details are made of metal in most cases, which makes the building of swing more expensive and complicated, yet renders the swing more durable and resistant to the weather and wear and tear.

Tourist swings that have been built at tourism farms have been mostly built using private capital. As a major part of the swings observed in the study areas are village swings and swings of mixed type, they have often been built collectively by the community or received some financial support from local government. At the same time benefits from the SAPARD programme of 2000–2006 targeted at the agriculture and country life in Central and Eastern European countries pre their accession to the European Union have been used to build swings of mixed type. Unfortunately, there are no statistics by the Estonian Agricultural Registers and Information Board (PRIA) on how many swings were built during that time. In addition, to the SAPARD instrument it was possible to seek support for the development of village life according to Estonia's national development plan whose priority no 3 was guaranteeing a balanced and sustainable economic and social development; the latter's Measure 3.5 supported the restoration and development of villages and Measure 3.6 the supporting of the local initiative (a LEADER-type measure. Village swings are most influenced by Measure 3.2 that confirms that the construction or improvement of a construction meant for public use, such as a village square, a bonfire site, a swing site, a hiking trail, a health or a study trail, etc., e.g is eligible for support (pria.ee). E.g. "With the help of PRIA's Leader measure the local government had a new village swing constructed in the Lehmja oak grove at Jüri. The old swing had become dilapidated and dangerous. The ancient grove in the middle of the Jüri settlement is a valuable place the age of which has been at around 5000 years." (<http://goo.gl/V1nT1d>).

Seasonally "used" heritage – Estonia's geographical location incurs the alteration of four seasons, which has been claimed to have caused ritual swinging (I) that celebrated and valued the arrival of spring. Based on a study carried out in 11 parishes in Estonia (I) notable seasonal differences can be detected in swinging traditions up to these days. Swinging is practiced mostly in spring and summer; swinging in winter is not popular with Estonians. The main reasons for the lack of swinging in winter include danger (as the swing is likely to be slippery) and discomfort from the weather (I). When we analyse the periodic nature of swinging in the context of sustenance, the lack of swinging in winter could be one of the many other issues in the preservation of swing sites as part of the traditional landscape in Estonia. An obstacle caused by natural conditions that occasionally makes using an object difficult, dangerous etc. can give additional value to its use and be conducive of the sustenance of heritage. Thus, the "using" of the object will receive more attention when it becomes possible, i.e. in spring.

Economic-political factors – in the (re)emergence of swing sites an important role was played by external factors in addition to the so-called internal need; these need not have had a favourable influence, but may have disturbed the use or building of swings. There are several reasons why a swing together with its site gradually declines or dilapidates due to natural conditions (if the landowner does not directly take it down) or why nobody uses or repairs the swing:

- a. **Alternatives** have arisen to swinging – particularly, these emerged in the early 20th century in relation with the spread of bicycles and the cinema and a general growth of urbanisation in the mid-20th century (Vunder, 1998/2008). The leap in the development of information technology at the early 21st century with the attractive options of social networks and mobile additionally affected the sphere of interest of young people. E.g., one has to be outside in order to swing (which need not be liked by everybody) and telephone cannot be used freely when swinging as the activity presumes holding on to the swing arms and direct communication; also, it is difficult to swing alone on a large village swing. Thus, the attractiveness of swinging has to “compete” more and more with radically different options that often take less effort to engage with.
- b. **Land ownership** and the related **responsibility** in case of accident – when someone falls off a swing, is injured etc., the owner of the land/builder of the swing or someone else will not want to be held responsible. For instance, this is a reason why fewer swings were built in the early 1990s, when the proportion of state-owned land decreased and that of the privately owned land increased – e.g., a swing built on the formerly state-owned land in Jõe-lähtme parish ended up in private hands and the new owner would not allow public use of the swing site for fear of having to take responsibility. This in its turn can lead to impoverishment of the cultural heritage or the reduction of its diversity.

“The swing is more than life-threatening and I locked it so that no one could go and use it,” Kalev Israel, the leader of the City Economy Department of Saue Municipal Government explained. According to him, the large village swing broke down around St. John’s day and there were rumours about someone having got hurt. “When I went to look at the situation the following day, I did not understand those still daring to swing there, he admitted. According to the official, three of the eight pieces attached to the fulcrum are broken. “If another should broke, the swing will simply fly off,” he said. According to Israel there are no plans dismantling the swing, but someone capable of repairing it is being looked for. Yet he is saying that it is difficult to find a repair person who would not only do the job, but also be responsible for the results.” The companies constructing playground attractions have stopped setting up fulcrum swings for should something happen there, they and not the swingers will be found guilty,” he conceded. (Tallinn City, 07.06.2013 <http://goo.gl/gNRnKQ>)

- c. **National defence** – In Figure 10 is presented village swings located Narva-Jõesuu beach in 1939. Interviews with local people in Jõelähtme parish showed that with the Soviet occupation seaside swings were dismantled as people being too close to the state border was seen as a security risk.



Figure 10. Village swing in Narva-Jõesuu. Photo made by J. Koitnits (1939). Photo is located in the book “Pildistus loomulikes värves”, 2010.

Accessibility of heritage (simplicity and dynamism of building a swing) – in comparison with e.g., ship-building, building a swing will require considerably less knowledge, temporal and monetary resources. As the swing is the central element of the swing site, a new swing site can be easily founded in a different place (differently from, e.g., war monuments that are static in nature.) At the same time, it should be taken in consideration that people’s lives and health can depend on the quality of building the swing and it is very difficult to build a village swing alone. It is possible, but valuable as a collective endeavour. In Figure 11, people were erecting a village swing in Supilinn, Tartu, in 2013 or e.g. Karjus (personal communication, 2004) said that communal swing building became popular in Antsla parish. This might develop into a possible status of the existence of a village swing as an indicator of a strong and functioning community.

As testified by the above, there are considerably more factors contributing to the sustenance of swings than there are those conducive of their disappearance. This may be a reason why there has been no need to make efforts sustaining swings. As can be seen from the above, for heritage to be sustained, the heritage

object has to have a function and a form that is needed by the local people. At the same time, being functional for the locals shows that the unconscious management of swings by a *living-in* method will keep an object or part of a landscape in use, but in case of it being valuable on a national or else international level and when it can be proved that the object is necessary, it may be possible to apply for economic assistance to keep the object “functional”. In case of the latter model of action, the financial support may automatically result in a change in the function of heritage that ceases to be cherished because of the needs caused by local habits and traditions, but is at least partly supported by economic aims with visitors (so-called *outsiders*) in mind. An organic heritage object will turn, at least in part, into an example.



Figure 11. Local men erecting a swing in Supilinn, Tartu, in 2013. Photo by P. Pungas-Kohv.

3.1.2 Case of Estonian mires (based on III, IV, V)

Relying on Sauer’s (1925) theoretical division of landscapes into natural and cultural landscapes and the distinction made by the UNESCO regarding heritage, in case of mires it is generally possible to outline both natural and cultural heritage as well as the possibilities of maintenance and sustenance. Adding natural heritage to the issue of maintenance and sustenance makes it more complex by a degree for mires do not only have natural value in the sense of having a natural origin and being remarkable in a certain way (like, e.g. glacial erratics), but they have a direct ecological value that keeps the

environment more suitable for living for humans as well via different processes. Thus mires accumulate CO₂, filter water, even out dangers posed to human settlements by flooding etc.

Paradigmatic changes in the status of mires (traditional/liminalisation of mires; industrial/culturalisation of mires; ecologic/aestetisation of mires) (V) and the changing of (cultural) practices accompanying these (III; V) have influenced the practices that have been and still are functioning in the mires both in a conducive as well as in a restricting way. Differently from swing sites, mires stretch over considerable areas, which make possible the emergence of nuances related to places and practices as well as people's different evaluations of mires. Different people will have different first associations. The most important practices related to mire have been shown in articles IV, V.

In a simplifying manner and side by side with the division of heritage in the mire into natural and cultural, a separation between tangible and intangible heritage can also be carried out. The former containing historical secret paths in mires, log boats, or bog shoes (IV). The intangible side is considerably more colourful, containing a rich diversity of stories, legends and other folkloristic elements that also includes associations with or a feeling for mires or nature. In a contemporary context, we could be mostly speaking of intangible natural and cultural heritage or of what our environment enables us to experience, how humans relate to nature and how skilled they are in reading it (i.e., their knowledgeability in landscape, plants, signs of animal activity etc.)? Next to nature education (Pungas-Kohv, 2011), it is gathering traditions (IV) one of the few spontaneous enablers of heritage activities that still is practiced by many people even today and make it possible for them to develop their "mire reading skills".

As regards the proportions of maintenance and sustenance of mires in the study areas, one of the research activities was visiting mires in the years 2009–2010 that had been taken under protection in 1981, relying on the methods outlined in Ch. 2.3. If swing sites could be divided into five different types according to their functions, the initial reasons for taking the areas under protection became evident on the basis of the 30 mire reserves: it was scholarship (28/30); ecological qualities (28/30) and resource management (16/30). Mostly wild berries as well as clean water constitute resources here. Ecologically, the mires are valuable for providing habitats to rare birds, having developed in specific ways, etc. In the context of the aspects of landscape interpretation offered by Widgren (2004) this has links with functionality that could be used, when influenced by larger groups of people, both on a personal as well as on a functional level. Unfortunately none of these would highlight in the context of the era, the (cultural-) heritage-related value or the like, that would point at a personal relation between mires and humans.

When studying the evolving of the situation in these reserves in today, and taking the protection aims of nature and culture into account, it emerges that all

the protection areas still are protected, but three main categories have evolved according to the protection category and function:

- a) Mire reserve has become a **landscape protection area (12/30)**; protection aims are related to nature protection;
- b) The functioning of the local heritage has been assisted, yet not significantly; the protection status has risen and the area has become a **nature conservation area (14/30)**, the main aim of whose activities still is related to nature protection;
- c) A **national park (4/30)** that unites four mires as Soomaa and has a rather forceful public image.

When comparing the representation of village swings and mires for foreign visitors in public media, mires have been forcefully foregrounded as an example of Estonian nature/naturalness (www.visitestonia.com/en). At the same time, there is an emphasis on the Estonians being close to nature and aware of the environment (Raudsepp, 1996: 384) among the several images of Estonians: “being close to nature is considered to be a characteristic of Estonians. Estonians are described as a people of the countryside and the forest [yet not as a people of the mires! *P.P.-K.*] who as if naturally are able to understand nature and live in harmony with the surrounding environment. Whether understanding mires as a liminal landscape can be considered natural heritage or whether it should be categorised as cultural heritage can be a point of debate in some cases. As shown in Article V, the naturalness of mires is descriptive to a great degree and a major part of mires actually show human influences (of drainage) (see Figure 12). As protected mires have been less damaged by drainage they have been the focus of the attention in the hope of being able to detect traces of cultural heritage related to mires (that would not be directly related to drainage or forestry, but also with other practices) in addition to the perspective of natural heritage of mires.

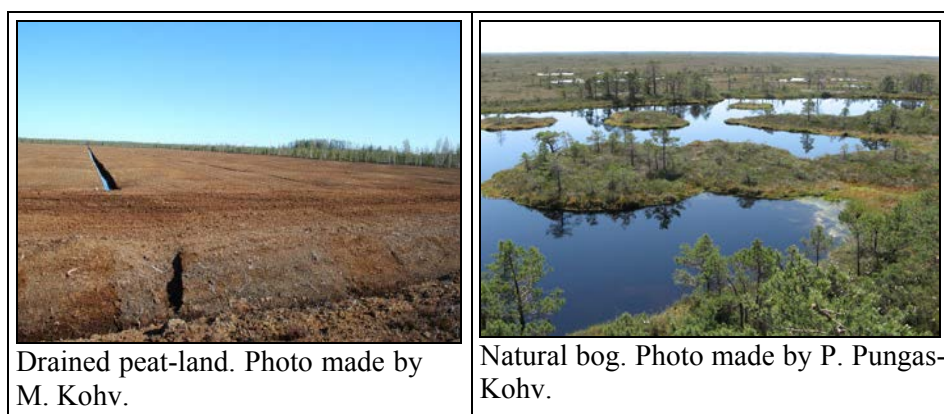


Figure 12. Comparison of drained peat-land and natural bog.

In the course of the study characteristics and conditions emerged that can be conducive of the functioning of heritage in mires or else obstruct it. In order to unify the methodology, an attempt has been made to employ the same umbrella terms that became evident when discussing village swings.

Recreation – as it is difficult to make a field out of mire, attempts have been made to plant forests on mires or get peat for the bedding in cattle sheds or heating. People used mires as a natural habitat primarily to pick wild berries (IV, V). At the same time berries have made up an addition to the diet, but not been used in the direct capacity of the main food. Still, in times of economic difficulties picking berries has been a source of a considerable additional income (Paal, 2011).

One of the needs of the people that mires are meeting today is the need for an emotionally restoring environment (the so-called “peace and quiet”) that also was strongly associated with mires by the respondents to the questionnaire. The mire is seen as an antidote to the city – it is quiet, there is “pure and pristine nature”. The image has been directing business owners to exploit this characteristic of the mire and offer recreational activities (photography, hiking, swimming, fishing, etc.) in the midst of nature (V). At the same time the mires have a reputation of being slightly dangerous (III), which still makes them more “mystical” and exciting.

Attractive landscape (wilderness) – the mire as a landscape is perceived as wilderness (V). In the social construction of wilderness as a tourist destination, the emphasis is laid on sensory, emotional and spiritual experiences. In alignment with the expectations created thereby, the respondents have also been focusing on these aspects of their relating to mires. Although references to the visual cognition – spectacle views and objects – dominate, all the other senses have also been remarked on. The mire is also experienced kinaesthetically when walking on the soft surface, getting one’s feet wet, or swimming in the bog pools; gustatorily when eating wild berries, olfactorily as the odours of distinctive plant species are identified, and auditorily when birdsong, sound of the wind, or even silence – the lack of usual aural stimuli – are being noticed. Encounters with bird and animal life or traces thereof create excitement as these represent authentic meetings with unpredictable Others. The often-mentioned emotional and spiritual states of mind that arise in mires can be interpreted as echoing the Romantic ideals of sublime and sacred nature. This kind of embodied multi-sensory (Rodaway, 1994) and deeply emotional experiences is keenly advertised by tourism operators and specifically sought after by tourists in nature tourism encounters.

Liminal or liminoid – three changes can be detected in the meaning of mires, of which the stage of liminality is the first “step that has probably lasted longest (V). At this point, liminality is not understood according to the classic approach of Turner’s (1983/1974) in which liminality is connected with social separateness and a higher status of re-socialisation, but as “the state of more-or-less permanent ‘outsider-hood’” (Trubshaw, 1995) (III) that signifies areas of lower

status in comparison with the surroundings. This was particularly valid regarding Estonian mires until the changes in the paradigm of cultivation (V). The fact that mires were being taken under protection in the 1970s raised their status in an ecological sense. As this was accompanied by a prohibition of entering the protection zone as well as in the areas of peat production (due to fire safety etc.), while melioration was increasingly more conducted by machines and not by numerous manual labourers, people became alienated even from the relationship that had arisen in the context of earlier times, in the so-called liminal stage.

A critical attitude towards the draining of mires became evident in the perspective of berry gatherers (IV) –, while those engaged in forestry and farming wanted “dead” mires, they needed “living” mires for berries disappeared due to drainage. Thus, it can be claimed that many mires were drained not only in the context of natural, but also in that of cultural heritage. At the same time the pristine quality of nature can be treated as human influences as it has been arranged by humans (see Shama, 1995); cultural heritage cannot developed if people do not visit mires and have no attitudes towards the surroundings there. After the emergence of mire reserves, many mire practices, with the exception of gathering (IV), did not become particularly topical not to make them function naturally, but rather in order to raise awareness of local history and to promote tourism (V).

Thus, the cultural-heritage-related “layer” of mires has institutionally become more clearly detectable during the past decades, when, after an emphasis had been laid on the ecological value of mires, mires as cultural heritage were addressed with scientific, educational, and leisure-related modes. Taking into consideration the so-called qualitative “leap” in moving from an environment to another, it can be claimed that instead of the earlier “lower” status, the mire has been raised to a “higher” one and such a change in the status corresponds to Turner’s treatment of liminality.

Socio-economical formations – as mentioned in the theory section above, although Palang and Mander (2000) have differentiated between five different “layers of landscape” caused by socio-economic formations these changes in the mineral land do not coincide with the as-it-were paradigmatic changes in mires. Three clearly distinguishable paradigmatic changes can be detected (see article V): the traditional attitude towards mires in which mire has been seen as a liminal landscape; the industrial attitude during which mires were cultivated; and the ecological stage during which the mire has been perceived as aestheticized. Changes in mineral land and mires as landscapes coincide in time. At this point, it is necessary to remark that draining of mires and encouraging of peat production should not be connected to the ideology of the Soviet Union only, but, next to a general increase in population numbers, it can be generalised to have been spurred by general influences of modernism, including technological progress and “being opposed to mires”. E.g., in Finland two thirds of the 10 million hectares of mires were drained in the 1950s (Lehtinen, 2000).

Creating of protection areas/reserves and the existence of (local) activists – proceeding from nature-protection-related aims many nature reserves were created in the second half of the 20th century. These included the mire reserves founded in 1981. All the areas that were taken under protection then are still protected and the majority of their protected territories have increased (Pungas-Kohv, 2011). In addition to taking the existing mires under protection, mires are being restored in several places in Estonia (e.g. in Soomaa Nature Park and in the Endla Nature Reserve – see Kohv, Salm, 2012).

In some reserves the aims of nature protection have broadened to include maintenance and sustenance of heritage. This finds institutionalised expression in e.g. creating national parks in which the maintenance and sustenance of landscapes amount other things has an aim from the perspective of heritage. Why the part of heritage is attributed greater importance in the landscape in certain places depends on local people as well as the opportunities offered by the local landscape. In Estonia there were 5 national parks (including Soomaa) in 2014; a heritage specialist is employed in each of them whose tasks include taking stock of heritage objects, getting to know the building activities influencing them, collecting and publicising relevant folklore etc. In connection with sustenance, active awareness rising occurs that facilitates taking the surrounding heritage in consideration via different projects, educational programmes, seminars, etc. As we are dealing with reserves there may be the danger of being affected too much due to the reserve as protection regulation can hinder the natural development of cultural heritage, as some as-it-were, frozen moments of the past have been given preference to.

At the same time, in the context of intangible heritage the question also arises that if the person related to the heritage is only a human and there seems to be no common point with tangible heritage (as there is in case of, e.g., swings) the intangible heritage becomes more “fragile” – it can disappear and be manipulated with more easily. E.g. in connection with Meelva mire, a person who requested to stay anonymous said that the tales have not actually happened but have been invented to make the place more attractive. However, restoration of intangible heritage is also paid attention to – e.g., the project radar.ee initiated at Soomaa has developed into a mapping of heritage history related to landscapes and places. There is created the memory-scapes that bring together in an electronic environment texts of place-related lore stored at the Archives of Cultural History at the Estonian Literary Museum and collected from areas that coincide with today’s national parks. The tales that are treated as heritage today do have their origin at some point in time. It can be suspected that folklore sliding towards *fakelore* is most facilitated by tourism (III), while the question still arises as to why some tales are more part of heritage than others, as transformation of tales is also a part of a general process of change.

Creating of material conditions for (re)cultivation of heritage in mires – this is a borderline area as maintaining of the natural qualities of mires (as well as mire as heritage) belongs to the Ministry of the Environment, while cultural

heritage remains with the Ministry of Culture. In Estonia, money has been distributed to disseminate knowledge about mires first and foremost from the environmental programme of the Environmental Investment Centre. At the same time, the main emphasis has been on environment education (creating study trails, erecting viewing towers, composing accompanying texts. The content of the latter mostly reflects the natural side of mires (Pungas-Kohv, 2011). Traces of human activities are seldom noticeable in the study areas of the present research, i.e. mire reserves, and these are not emphasised; to a great extent, they either do not exist or have disappeared. Aero-photos give some information on winter roads that can occasionally be recognised in nature (e.g. in Emajõe Suursoo). At the same time, some tourists may consider an emphasis on the cultural heritage in mires as reducing the effect of the mire's wilderness, which is something that people who visit mires in order to enjoy nature prefer not to have. At the same time, some mire practices have been forgotten for decades (with the exception of drainage and gathering), which is why the "signs" are difficult to notice and interpret in nature (e.g. flax dams, residual holes from peat digging, etc.).

In order to emphasise the cultural heritage in mires different skills training programmes (e.g. making log boats in Soomaa) are arranged, increasingly more often the accompanying texts also stress cultural heritage next to natural features. In addition, communal trips to pick berries are arranged. This used to be a widespread custom in gathering cranberries and lingonberries in the 1970s that was discontinued in the end due to the proportional rise of the significance of garden berries and the degree of low quality berries in wild berries (IV, Paal, 2011).

Accessibility (infrastructure) – heritage related to mires is influenced by various factors – on the one hand it is a liminal habitat (it is wet, uncomfortable, etc.); on the other hand, creating infrastructure in a mire is expensive and it makes visits to the mire into visits to a museum landscape – i.e., one finds oneself in a mire, but on a boardwalk. The immediate contact with the mire is romanticised and idealistic (Raudsepp, 1996); visual and sensual, but in case of a boardwalk it is less tactile. As an exception, again picking berries can be mentioned as it presumes leaving the path, yet this might be restricted in a nature reserve. However, "walking was understood to enable deeper and closer appreciation of natural scenery, and, as a physical, visual, and educational activity, it was seen as a way of bettering oneself, of becoming a physically and morally healthier person" (Wylie, 2007: 129).



Figure 13. Wooden track in Marimetsa bog. Photo made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2007).

The Soviet period was influenced by the official ideology that laid a major emphasis on the value of nature as a resource. Still, during the Soviet period hikes and excursions into nature were very widespread and popular, being connected mostly with education and sports on the ideological level. After Estonia's regaining independence, Western values and discourses were adopted quickly, which is reflected in the answers to the present questionnaire. Today, walking in the mire is normally facilitated by specific infrastructure – wooden boardwalks, viewing towers and information boards the constructing of which became more active in the 1970s. The role of this infrastructure (Figure 13) is ambiguous, as on the one hand, it renders the otherwise impassable landscapes accessible to the public, yet on the other hand, it efficiently shapes and controls the experience. Edensor (2001) speaks about how the tourist body is subjected to surveillance and disciplined by the instructions, rules of conduct etc. However, creating relevant infrastructure is certainly useful in order for people to relate to mires at all, e.g., recognise them.

Seasonality – seasonality has a regional importance in the context of mires particularly in early spring; e.g. in Soomaa (see soomaa.ee) spring flooding (Figure 14) is called the fifth season during which kayaks, canoes or the historical log boats are used as means of transportation.

Much depends on how much snow there has been in the winter. Seasons are important in the public opinion that concerns wild berries (**V**) – the amount and variety of different species of berries depends on the seasons. One of the berries that is picked most is the cranberry (*Oxycoccus palustris*) that becomes ripe in the autumn and is edible even in spring after the snow has melted. Most berries,

however, are picked in summer and early autumn. Mires are visited more intensively in May and June due to school pupils' study trips and occasional hikers (both domestic and foreign tourists). Thus, the main emphasis of visiting the mires has moved to the warm season. This behaviour pattern is in a direct contrast with using the winter roads in previous centuries up to the first half of the 20th century, when the carefully picked roads could not be allowed to become inaccessible due to the drifted snow and were used for the exchange of goods (wood, hay, spirits, etc.).



Figure 14. Demonstration of flooding in Soomaa. Aivar Ruukel made a photo in spring 2010, then the water extend the half of the text board. Photos made by P. Pungas-Kohv.

Text books, study trips and field trips – in an ideal case, children will get their first pieces of knowledge about mires from their families. At the same time Vissel (2004: 10) remarks, “Children do not grow up side by side with their parents any more. Kindergartens and schools have considerably diminished the function of the family in bringing up and educating children.” The topic of the mire is a mandatory part of the national curriculum in form 6 and more cursory attention is paid to it in Form 2 and Form 9. In addition, pupils have to go on study trips. For this reason, most children will visit mire at least once (as is shown by the responses discussed in Article V). “Mostly thanks to school education, people’s awareness of the important role of mires as ecosystems in guaranteeing a better living environment has been growing since the 1960s–1970s” (Pungas, Printsman, 2010: 259). In the past decades introducing mires as a recreational environment has grown, yet the general treatment given to mires is very much centred on ecology both in text books as well as the texts accompanying study trails in mires (Pungas-Kohv, 2011). As text books are obligatory reading material and generally, teachers tend to use them actively, the influence of text books on children’s values can be considered quite significant. As the writing and creating of text books is controlled by the state (quality control), they quite accurately reflect the general social attitudes to all questions. As regards mires, the general attitude has become outlined quite well, reflecting the paradigm changes concerning mires with a certain time lapse, yet accurately (V).

DISCUSSION

4.1 Swing sites and mires in relation to heritage management

In my results I was presenting swings and their characteristics as objects of cultural heritage and mires as objects of cultural and natural heritage that affect the maintenance and sustenance of the heritage connected with the objects. As was pointed out above, both direct result of my study (**I, II, III, IV, V**) as well as illustrative material indicate that in case of swings we are dealing with a tendency to be sustained as approximately 50% of village swing sites that have been created and built belong to the type of the village swing (**II**). During fieldwork conducted for more than 10 years ago it appeared that at the time, the building of swings was not supported by financial means offered in the framework of specific problems, but rather communal activities were foregrounded.

Dealing with mires as heritage has become topical only in the second half of the past century. In essence, the concern has been that of maintenance. Firstly, attention was paid to the ecological importance of mires that were valued as natural heritage. In the past couple of decades, people's attention has been growing as regards the (historical) mire practices, which has found institutional expression in, e.g., the foundation of a national park.

In the following, I shall outline the situation of swing sites and mires related to the characteristics listed in the results section in a key of maintenance and sustenance. In addition, I am trying to find out with the help of case studies if any regularity appears in sustaining/maintaining cultural and natural heritage. Also, I am discussing about problems that accompany the difference of principle between sustenance and maintenance, and am trying to offer solutions to keep heritage functional and balanced at least using the example of these two research objects.

4.1.1 Swing sites

Maintenance and sustenance of swing sites and heritage related to swinging traditions has been presented in Table 3, based on the theoretical framework, which was introduced in Ch. 1.3.2. Essentially, the table remains nearly the same also when reflecting the **process** of maintaining and sustaining swing sites and corresponds to the description of the legend. Differently from the general theoretical approach, also the background of the text has been highlighted, which indicates the author's evaluation of the present situation of the object discussed. It is needed to be indicated that the evaluation of swing sites is temporally generalized, focusing to swinging-activity, swing site and swing form. Activities, more used in past, as sharing presents to swing-builders with certain meaning or singing swing-songs etc. are not considered in Table 3.

However, the situation of wider approach to swinging and its habits has been explained textually.

1) *Living in* – the results of the research have let me to mark green into the column of *living in* and speak in favour of sustenance. It appeared that swing sites are sufficiently unified to connect tangible and intangible, cultural and natural heritage and both the form and the function of the swing site have remained recognisable until today (Figure 11). Swinging habits can be spoken of in a much broader and more contemporary sense, connecting swinging skills with general behaviour in which it is not only the ability and skills to achieve the necessary impetus but also, e.g., the ability to consider other swingers. Still several additional activities used for instance in 19th of century, are not actively used anymore.

2) *Jumping into* – the results again outline sustenance as a dominant process. This is supported by the small percentage of tourist swings – mostly swings are not represented to foreign visitors as a performance, obviously differing from the representation meant for local inhabitants. The difference mostly lies in the fact that local people are usually not allowed to use tourist swings (but the permission may be granted, if asked for).

Table 3. Determine the relation between swing sites and heritage management.

PROCESSES HERITAGE	1) SUSTENANCE Being-in-the- heritage (<i>living in</i>)	2) MAINTENANCE/ SUSTENANCE Heritage consumption and production (<i>jumping into</i>)	3) MAINTENANCE Heritage control (<i>looking at</i>)
Tangible/ cultural heritage	Holism form/Function /context/	Form/Function /context/	form/Function /context/
Intangible/ cultural heritage		form/Function /context/	form/Function /context/
Tangible/ natural heritage		Form/function /context/	Form/Function /context/
Intangible/ natural heritage		Form/function /context/	Form/function /context/

Legend: **green** – conducive of functioning; **red** – threatening functioning; **black** – having an equal significance on the sustenance-maintenance scale of the object; capitalised – of primary importance from the perspective of maintenance/sustenance of the landscape aspect. **The background of the cells** has been highlighted according to the situation of the particular examples in Estonia (green – good; mauve – endangered; white – irrelevant in the context.)

3) *Looking at* – creating swing a site is mainly based on a person’s individual or community-related interest. Thus, it is needed to underscore that, to the best of my knowledge, neither swing sites nor swinging are protected by any act or convention. Also, it is rather difficult to build the swing with the only

purpose to *look at* it without possibility to swing oneself. Thus, the institutional influence appears rather through the instructions shared by landowners to maintain the security in swing site. Or there are shared instructions by financial mechanisms that have been used during the building process of the swing (see also Ch. 3.1.1; Ch. 4.2). In the context of the thesis, the swings and swing sites that have been built in national parks or into other public areas which are mainly not indicated as areas for local communities belong to the “*looking at*” group. These swings have been built mostly to offer opportunities of recreation to the visitors (as inside as outside of Estonia) and emphasize the maintenance of swings as an inclusive phenomenon.

However, all cells related to maintenance are coloured into mauve as several institutions (like many municipalities but also NGOs, entrepreneurs etc.) do not support sustenance of the form of swings (*tangible cultural heritage*) as they are afraid of responsibility. This in turn reduces the possibility to swing although the willingness to swing is there and the swing could fulfil its purpose. Thus, permanent suppression of the function via form may endanger swinging and swings. Loss of tangible cultural heritage may catalyse loss of other manifestations of swinging.

To add several comments in relation with earlier habits (*intangible cultural heritage*) related to swinging, I dare to say that they are more endangered. People sometimes wear their national costumes during the events celebrated in swing sites but special songs sang in swing sites or specific presents given to swing-builders are nearly gone.

Naturalness, or the location where the swing has been erected (*tangible natural heritage*) and the look of the swing site as a whole, may also play a certain role in case of maintaining swing sites. The landscape preferences of Estonians for references to the beauty of the landscape and its descriptions exist already in the archival materials (Langinen, 1956). Thus, the swing site located in a beautiful place according to general evaluation has a higher opportunity to be used.

At the same time the importance of nature’s spirituality (*intangible natural heritage*) that has been revived by the religious community Maavalla Koda (maavald.ee) whose members have built swings in some *hiis* sites (e.g. in Tammealuse *hiis* in Mahu village) and use these as additional elements in carrying out rituals of nature religion (see I). It is all the more symbolic that the swing has been built to celebrate nature (i.e. spring). Thus, if in case of mires the merging of natural and cultural heritages may involve a conflict, in case of swing sites, it has a positive influence – the presence of humans must be felt, but only in an “informed way” (e.g., branches, plants must not be broken off at a *hiis* site). Outside *hiis* sites, the default situation of a swing site is generally cared for (the grass has been mowed, which may set the boundaries for the swing site, the swing is not broken; there is no rubbish on the ground, etc.) It can be claimed that the existence and orderliness of a swing site also reflects the community’s strength and cooperative spirit.

4.1.2 Mires

The colour coding used to characterise the state of the mire heritage in Table 4 has an opposite effect to the sustaining of swing sites.

1) *Living in* – the mire as a natural everyday living environment in which natural and cultural heritage would mingle is a rare phenomenon these days, which is why sustenance of the mire heritage unfortunately has to be entered in dark red. A general focus on the ecological value of mires and the disappearance of people's needs concerning most of the traditional modes of using the mire has left cultural heritage related to mires on the background.

2) *Jumping into* – what is exceptional is that intangible cultural heritage (gathering excluded) has become nearly extinct as concerns its functionality and it is being maintained with the help of introductions and tourism (see the column marked in red in the Table 4). With some reservations, general relations to mire could be treated as intangible natural heritage that has acquired a new understanding, at least judging by the respondents' answers. Nature educators and possibilities to conduct classes outside as well as pathways in the mires have supported this idea. The additional texts presented on signboards next to the boardwalks have been composed with a focus on nature and often tend to be difficult to follow (Pungas-Kohv, 2011). Still, the texts can give people an opportunity to gain more knowledge of the mire or to refresh the existing knowledge (see column 2 marked in green colour in the Table 4).

At the same time, many entrepreneurs have expressed the wish to use *jumping into* methods (e.g. into bog pools) thus offering an immediate experience of landscape. Recreational activities provided by tourist entrepreneurs' such as canoeing or bog-walking with snow shoes are aimed at creating more embodied experiences; however, it can also be the case that "tourist organizations promise close contact but the structuring of the tour ritually and technically serves to create a distance between the tourist and the wild" (Franklin, 2003: 240). A possibility of offering a closer contact with the mire would be to create study areas by mire reserves where people would have an opportunity to get a safe experience of the mire (V). The mires that are less valued from a conservation point of view and are situating close to towns (e.g. Rääma mire near Pärnu and Männiku mire close to Tallinn), and where yet have all the characteristic features of mires perceivable by the senses would be well suited for the purpose.

Both tangible and intangible mire heritage in a more traditional sense (such as winter roads, tales of bog ogres etc.) are mostly not known or perceived (Pungas, Printsman, 2010). The intangible heritage, particularly folklore, related with mires is the most problematic field for on the one hand, there are attempts to make nature education more appealing by using folklore, yet on the other hand the problem of authenticity emerges noticeably (see 4.2). A noticeable change that has appeared in mire folklore in time consists in the fact that earlier (more than 100 years ago) tales were used to keep people, particularly children, away from mires so that no accidents happen to them (Hiimäe, 1988) and now the situation is the opposite – tales are being used to invite people to mires.

Table 4. Determine the relations between heritage aspects of mire and heritage management.

PROCESSES HERITAGE	1) SUSTENANCE Being-in-the- heritage (<i>living in</i>)	2) MAINTENANCE/ SUSTENANCE Heritage consumption and production (<i>jumping into</i>)	3) MAINTENANCE Heritage control (<i>looking at</i>)
Tangible/ cultural heritage	holism form/Function /context/	Form/Function /context/	Form/function /context/
Intangible/ cultural heritage		form/Function /context/	form/Function /context/
Intangible/ natural heritage		form/function /context/	Form/Function /context/
Tangible/ natural heritage		Form/function /context/	Form/function /context/

Legend: **green** – conducive of functioning; **red** – threatening functioning; **black** – an aspect of equal significance on the maintaining/sustaining scale; capitalisation – of primary importance from the point of view of sustaining/maintaining heritage. The background of the cells has been highlighted according to the situation of the particular examples in Estonia (green – good; mauve – endangered; red – disappearing).

3) *Looking at* – Although the selection of sample areas used in the study was based on the areas taken under protection in 1981, this fact in itself creates a precondition for their status – they are being maintained. At the same time they have an equal start position, as it were, which makes it possible to study what has been happening with areas of a shared status later on. It could have happened that several of the mires would have lost their status as reserves in time. However, all of them have kept their protected status, yet its degree varies (see Ch. 3.1.2). Taking in consideration the general treatment of mires during the past century (V), the need for maintenance is understandable. The ca 22% of the Estonian territory being mires in the 19th c. (Paal, Leibak, 2010; Kohv, Salm, 2012) and that has become reduced to a mere 6% covering natural mires now, while 73,4% (by Estonian Environmental Agency) of this area is protected. One of the most widely used solutions has been to build boardwalks that make it possible to regulate where exactly people are moving, while the more convenient and safer access options may bring people to the mires more often.

As the results of the study (IV, V) show, mires have retained their status as landscapes that can be visited yet are not inhabited by people. There are nearly no households that would be adapted to the peculiarities of mires such as there were some 70 years ago. The contemporary aestheticizing attitude towards mires has in many cases also been transferred to the earlier living conditions on bog islands, yet e.g. an interview with Silvi Lääne (age 82) overthrows the

romanticised view of living in a mire: “That was a horrible place” /.../ “There was nothing but wolves and snakes!” (Pau, 2012).

At the same time there are drained mire areas that have been turned into housing land (Pääsküla bog, Harku Bog) particularly in the vicinity of Tallinn, yet this has no connection with a naturally occurring relationship with mires. In some extreme cases, mire has been turned into a garbage dump, e.g. the Rääma Mire near Pärnu. Small farms are functioning mostly as holiday farms close to mires and are most significantly represented in Soomaa (soomaa.com) so that the main merging of maintenance and sustenance together with creating means of earning a livelihood in tourism is important beside protection as regards mires.

4.2 How to swing between landscape maintenance and sustenance?

The two cases observed show that village swings are more likely connected with sustenance while the mires with maintenance. Thus it might be asked what to do with the mires, and how, in order to bring the maintenance process of heritage as close to sustenance as possible? Theoretically, maintenance and sustenance can be treated as opposites (Ch. 1.3) but as is the case with binary oppositions in general, they are actually moving towards each other in a synthesis (Cloke, Johnston, 2005), which indeed is an aim of keeping landscape and the heritage contained in it as balanced as possible (Birkeland, 2008; Soini, Birkeland, 2012). Though, as Antrop (2005: 187) states, that “the idea of sustainable landscapes might be contradiction to a basic definition of landscape”.

Functioning or created functions make up a good precondition for sustaining heritage. As can be seen from the study results it is difficult to differentiate one function from another, but certain key features can still be detected. I have called the main function of the heritage type the key function that should support the functioning of heritage most. The results of the thesis show that swing sites have two main functions – a social one and one related to physical enjoyment. As regards natural mires, ecological and scientific functions were brought into a relief institutionally. On the level of individuals, mires could fulfil the role of places where to pick berries and rest (V). In this sense, mires that institutionally have the status of conservation areas have been found suitable niches for maintaining them both on the levels of institutions and individuals. As can be seen, no single key function emerges in either of the phenomena observed, as there are combinations of functions. At the same time the multiplicity of tasks supports heritage in the sense that some functions of heritage can become adapted to the changing socio-economic formations (Kõivupuu *et al.*, 2010), i.e., the context, and there are more opportunities for the heritage to “survive”, i.e. keep functioning while being recognisable either due to its form or function.

Recognisability is what is different when it comes to maintaining and sustaining. Sustaining has to mean functionality as a part of ordinary life in which the heritage is “alive” and will relate to people in a so-called *living in* method to borrow Ingold’s (2000) phrase and what was already used in Ch.1.3. A good example is the construction of swings and related traditions (IV). In case of mires, it is the practice of picking berries that best meets the criteria (IV). If conscious interference on the part of humans needs to be added to the process, the result will be maintenance. This will also involve the institutional level, either deliberately or not. At the same time, the methodological level of the study shows that sustaining is more related to phenomenological and maintaining to structural approaches. The contradictions that were briefly introduced in the chapter on theory will become relevant in their turn in the latter case.

Tension 1: holism vs aspects of landscape

As regards holism and maintaining aspects of the landscape in a comparative context, the creation of a reserve certainly is better when it comes to encompassing a whole than maintaining an object or a place. The key issue will be the question of what will be allowed on the reserve and what will not for some conservation-related prohibitions may “damage” the wholeness of heritage quicker than a situation in which there is no reserve. In case of the 30 study areas the problem has rather been related to the issue that the mires have been taken under protection due to scientific and ecological considerations; cultural heritage has been paid most attention to in Soomaa National Park that was formed on the basis of four mire reserves in 1993.

In general, the integration of heritage, nature and visitors in Estonian mires could be compared to the enclavic or single-purpose-space theory *pace* Edensor (2001: 63–64). Enclavic tourist space is “carefully planned and managed to provide specific standards of cleanliness, service, décor and ambience./.../ Heterogeneous tourist space, by contrast, is weakly classified, with blurred boundaries, and is a multi-purpose space in which a wide range of activities and people co-exist.” We called the enclavic-like approach the aesthetization of mires (V) in which the “consumption” of mires and related heritage was supposed to make moving in the mires safer (boardwalks, guidelines, guided tours, GPS). The more extreme the environment from the point of view of human movement/functioning (and this feature can certainly be attributed to natural mires in a contemporary context), the greater the chance of events that cannot be accommodated by the rules. To reduce the number of such occurrences activities are being made increasingly more mono-functional and controlled. At this point it should be noted that the mire itself can control people via danger and discomfort (III) that can certainly be caused by moving in a mire unaided by any additional devices (bog shoes, boardwalks etc.). The necessity of control will lead us to the following pair of problems:

Tension 2: motivation vs rules

As remarked earlier, maintenance is related to the protection of the aspect of heritage that in general presumes certain rules and regulations regarding people's behaviour. Sustenance, on the other hand, presumes an internal wish to be active on part of individuals or the community. However, opposite cases can be found in both cases that show how sustaining has been directed by rules and maintaining has required motivation.

No swing reserves have been created up to now, but some swings can be spoken of in the context of protection if they are located in reserves (e.g., there is at least one village swing in all national parks in Estonia). A swing has been built in the Estonian Open Air Museum that the visitors can use while the swing and swinging traditions are introduced. Proceeding from the methodology of the study, these swings are of a mixed type – they are a form of village swings yet more multifunctional (II).

The building and use of swings proceeds by additional regulations by cases in which swings have been built in the framework of projects. Often there are additional conditions accompanying the support, e.g. the requirement that the swing be accessible for five years; the swing site must be kept in order etc. All this, however, will point at maintaining and not sustaining.

Cases in which both, rules (i.e. agreements) and motivation, are lacking can be treated as a major problem. As the study shows, an argument against (re)building of swings that thus counteracts sustaining them involves assuming responsibility in cases when anyone should be injured while using the swing etc. In such a case, shared responsibility of the swingers, builders and landowners would be a solution. As small children cannot swing on a big village swing (which was so also historically), the presence of experienced swingers or swinging guidelines may be of help, e.g. in Pärisea village there are rules (<http://www.parispea.ee/Kiige-kasutaja-meelespea>) about swinging¹³ or some shorter version is possible to follow on Figure 15.

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- ¹³
1. One should adopt a particular position on a swing in order not to fall off by accident.
 2. The swingers have to distribute themselves equally on the swing according to their weight.
 3. All in all, up to eight people can use the swing or else the swingers combined maximum weight must not exceed 60 kg.
 4. Swinging should be carried out only in a manner prescribed for the activity.
 5. Take into consideration fellow swingers and their remarks on the use of the swing and the momentum.
 6. Only those swinging may increase the momentum; helping along from the side of the swing is dangerous and therefore prohibited.
 7. For the sake of safety, extreme momentum that could cause accidents is prohibited.
 8. The swing must have stopped when people are leaving from it.
 9. Pärisea Village and the non-profit association Pärisea Külaselts shall not take responsibility for the village swing and the swingers
 10. Those visiting the swing site and using the swing do it on their own discretion.



Figure 15. Signs on swings in Angla swing hill. “Do not jump from the moving swing”; “There are not allowed more than 6 persons on swing at once”. Photos made by P. Pungas-Kohv (2003).

In addition to guidelines, technical innovations can increase a swing’s safety. The swinging platform may be positioned so high that a person who has fallen from the swing cannot be hit on the head by the moving platform when sitting up; stairs that make climbing the swing more convenient (e.g. in Iisaku parish); devices against going over the fulcrum that would curb the momentum etc. Thus both motivation as an internal factor of influence, and rules and acts as an external factor, are required in the processes of maintenance and sustenance.

Each set of rules once it has become established limits something or is conducive of something. If it has a historical background, it constitutes heritage that should be in a certain way. A generated order or prohibition, creation of reserves etc. refers to “freezing” heritage in time and space that in its turn creates the issue of authenticity.

Tension 3: authentic vs inauthentic

With the aim of protection, heritage can be separated from the surroundings both as regards space (see the profane and the sacral) and time (see seasonality and liminality). On what basis are the “moment of freezing” and the scope of definition chosen for heritage still to be (authentic)? As I wrote on sustained heritage: “Such places may be considered as traditional when people feel [intrinsic] need to protect it [heritage] from change or it is characterized by a recognised need to change only certain aspects” (II: 200). When, however, the need for protection is triggered, we will be dealing with maintenance and even if the authenticity of the form may be sustained, there may be questions as regards the function e.g. an old swing site, but a new swing. With regard to managing possibilities that have been mentioned, the question of authenticity first concerns production and consumption of heritage. Then, in order for it to be packaged as attractive, comfortable, inexpensive and safe, possibilities are offered to jump into the heritage for a brief moment, while the experience has deliberately been moved further off from reality and can be related to Urry’s

concept of the tourist gaze. At the same time, it could be claimed from a phenomenological point of view that such a fake world is a tourist's real world. Deviation from naturalness can, however, reduce cultural diversity.

At the same time, the question arises which moment has produced the best heritage that should be preserved in an unchanged state. The definition of what is known as the best apparently depends on socio-economic formations and people's needs. What is good is awareness of maintenance, i.e. deciding in case of each heritage object whether the "real" thing should be its form, function or context. It need not be possible to maintain everything. However, it should be possible to accommodate the part of heritage in which change is tolerated in the framework of (Estonian) cultural space.

As concerns the examples given in the present study, in case of swings, swinging traditions are sustained, which makes the question of authenticity less topical. Rather, it arises in case of mires. If a red piece of plastic has been tied to a tree at the edge of a mire as a road sign, is it necessarily less suitable than a scarf made of cloth? Is mechanised gathering of berries instead of using the fingers acceptable? I personally would answer the two questions, suggesting that a scarf of cloth would suit the Estonian cultural space better and a machine for gathering berries should be of a kind that does not damage berry bushes permanently (Paal, 2011). In case of intangible cultural heritage (e.g. folklore of the mire), each new story is new today, but will be a tale connected with heritage tomorrow. It can be said that if people visit mires sufficiently often, additional heritage will be generated, while earlier tales are stored in archives whence they can be retrieved to be used in order to renew the vividness of the mire topic.

Tension 4: cultural vs natural and tangible vs intangible heritage

If we observe the two opposing examples, village swing sites and mires, more generally in the context of natural and cultural heritage, it could be concluded that natural heritage is mostly related to maintaining the form and is partly moving in the same direction as nature conservation, for the functionality of natural heritage is ecological in many cases. E.g., UNESCO defines natural heritage via being scientific, landscape aesthetics and conservation, also referring to the necessity of maintaining rare species and objects.

Tangible cultural heritage is also concerned with the maintenance of form for this is easier, yet there is the problem of changing the function as maintaining generally means protection and this in its turn means limitations set to activities. In case of intangible cultural heritage, a function for whose existence sustenance – direct practicing of this very activity – is methodologically necessary has a dominant value.

The given examples do not show this, but as concerns the general framework it is important to mention that in case of the so-called semi-natural habitats that have arisen in cooperation of humans and nature (e.g. wooded meadows), the "exclusion" of humans will also cause an ecological impoverishment of the natural environment (e.g., the number of species may be reduced). If we

compare the typical characteristics of case studies introduced in the chapter of results, the greatest difference between the opposition of nature and culture can be noticed in the fact that natural heritage and everything connected with it is learned about at a distance (for there is less dependence on nature). While cultural heritage (if it is still functionally important) is learned about through living, as it were.

Tension 5: the question of being attractive – everyday vs liminoid/special

The contrast becomes manifest on several levels – firstly in the space arrangements of the local people themselves, and secondly in the tourists attitude towards the locals spatial arrangements. As a third option, there is the temporal dimension – i.e. the proportional significance of the everyday and the special changes in time. It means that generally the length of time it will take for a place to become special, and the other way round, is not known. The question is tightly related with marketing of the heritage, including the so-called “depth of the functions” or “how deep into the reality of an alien cultural space is a stranger allowed to jump by the locals”. By today, performed shows for the visitors have become widespread, yet, as was mentioned above, many tourists wish to experience genuine everyday life as it were, that is not really shown to visitors. Occasionally, the saying can be heard: “This is something an ordinary tourist will not see/experience/meet!” as if it were something special. This could be because the activity is deemed to be too boring, mundane by the locals, or else the everyday component is too intimate and sincere to allow strangers access to it. From the perspective of maintaining and sustaining an apparent possibility is provided by the locals who “by selling the performances, as it were” they maintain the form and function of heritage. Thus, the parallel existing living space that is diffused with heritage can be sustained.

Thus, essentially as in the case of landscape, also in discussions of heritage, it is rather difficult to create binary divisions (for instance, when dividing tangible heritage from intangible heritage, natural heritage from cultural heritage). At the same time, it is difficult to keep or create and guarantee conditions necessary for maintaining everything. In most of the cases, the sustaining aspect should also be present. Otherwise, so-called museum landscapes might arise whose outlook and internal function do not coincide and thus do not essentially correspond to the theoretical approaches to landscape or heritage, fail to meet the expectations of the locals as well as tourists and do not meet the aims of maintenance and sustenance. If the choice is made to only prefer sustenance, it may turn out that the object/practices etc. without supporting the awareness of an identity, will lose its/their form or function, which again will result in an impoverishment of cultural diversity. The best option is to find a balance between the two possibilities.

CONCLUSION

Landscape is perceivable, holist, changing and consists of tangible and intangible parts as well processes between these. Landscape perception involves thoughts, wishes and activities as well as environmental, political and socio-economic influences, thus synthesising these in a world of its own. Often, peoples “own worlds” add up to a family, a community or a nation, leaving characteristic traces in the landscape that can be more or less noticeable. In many cases, we wish that what has originated in the past would still accompany us, as it is valuable for several reasons; primarily the past will help us to define ourselves in the present and contextualise us. The aims of the thesis and the resulting conclusions indicate in more detail what kinds of processes are involved in “taking our heritage with us” using examples of mires and swing sites:

- 1) *Providing a theoretical discussion as well as a model of the differences between the sustenance and maintenance of heritage, and of the functioning of these diverging phenomena.*

Taking our heritage with us occurs via two processes – one of them is a movement of heritage that happens on holistically, mostly on its own accord, which can be called sustaining. Its opposite is maintaining in case of which heritage has been defined, while a practice or objects are protected, introduced, etc. with a clear aim and definite outlines.

The maintenance and sustenance of heritage can mostly be expressed in three ways: (A) controlling heritage or a *looking-at* conception which makes the maintaining and protection of heritage most manifest; (B) using heritage in economic activities in some way, either consuming it as a guest or introducing it to others, offering experiences that differ from the visitors’ daily experience. This could be called the *jumping into* conception; (C) in addition there is the possibility of being a natural consumer of heritage practices that can be defined as the so-called *living-in* conception.

Two contrasting examples that have not received considerable earlier attention as research objects in Estonia have been used to interpret the two processes and the three ways of heritage management: (1) village swing sites together with swinging traditions that exemplify the sustaining of cultural heritage; (2) mire areas and people’s relationships with these that help to show the development history of maintaining natural and cultural heritage and foreground cause-effect relationships in maintaining heritage.

As it is difficult to study heritage as a holist whole in analysing sustenance and maintenance, both swings as well as mires have been approached using the concepts of form, function and context (by Widgren, 2004). If context is what provides the aspect of treating heritage, function and form are characteristics via which heritage is functioning or that give in its appearance. There are “power-struggle-related” processes between disappearing, functioning, sustaining and

maintaining, and the thesis discusses the process of sustaining and maintaining. A precondition of sustaining heritage is the unchangeability of its function, while maintaining heritage is often tends to be conducted via its form.

As processes of maintaining and sustaining occur either via function and/or form, this can in principle change the heritage in any way. Thus, determining maintaining and sustaining as processes and taking these in consideration will make it possible deliberately to increase the proportional importance of sustaining at the cost of maintaining or to balance the approaches, which will guarantee a more natural functioning and more prolonged existence of the heritage.

2) *On the basis of the case studies analysed (village swing sites and mires in Estonia), presenting the main reasons and conditions that can affect the sustenance and/or maintenance of heritage in landscape (I–V).*

The results of the study show that the sustainability of village swing sites is supported by the key functions of socialising and providing physical enjoyment that can be defined using recreation as a common denominator. In addition, swing sites are favoured by the simplicity of their form, the specificity of their form and function in the Estonian as well as the world context, rhythmic use in the context of the seasons; availability of support to creating swing sites. As the swingers are mostly young, nostalgic memories related to swinging help to recreate swings for one's children. The study also suggested a hypothesis for further research proposing that an actively functioning community is more likely to have a village swing.

In the framework of the model of heritage management developed in this thesis, swings and swinging activities can mostly be discussed as a “*living in*” approach. Considering the increase in heritage being used in tourist industry in the past couple of decades, there is growing trend of using the swing culture as *jumping into* type of management.

The other object of study consists in Estonian mires as an example of natural and cultural heritage that mostly has been maintained. The key functions of mires, and also signification that finds expression through these, have been changing considerably during the past hundreds of years, which could be a factor conducive of the maintaining of mires. In general, mires in the 20th century can be defined via three paradigmatic stages: (a) the traditional stage; mire is experienced as a liminal landscape; (b) the industrial stage; mires are being cultivated (i.e. drained to a great degree); (c) the ecological stage in which the mire has acquired the status of a sample landscape of culturally aestheticized landscape due to characteristics that were originally seen as ecological.

Maintaining mires as natural heritage finds expression in conservation-related activities as mires are becoming enclaves, and in activities related to nature education, for without delimiting certain areas and prohibiting economic activities the mires that are still alive today would be indirectly influenced by

draining to a much greater extent, and would cease to “function”. In presenting the results employing the theoretical model of heritage management, the management of the heritage part of mires can mostly be seen as related with the concepts of *jumping into* or *looking at*. The living in approach is mostly taken in connection with practices such as picking wild berries.

3) *Mapping the network of problems accompanying heritage maintenance and sustenance on the basis of the case studies.*

Discussing heritage (particularly in the context of maintaining it) involves an important and automatically arising requirement of determination (of the object of heritage, how it should be defined in space and time, etc.) At this point, the division of heritage into form and function becomes topical: as it is somewhat easier to guarantee the maintenance of form this usually becomes the focus. At the same time, a more holistic approach to sustenance and maintenance rather emphasises an undisturbed state and is primarily connected with the function of heritage. Yet what is problematic as concerns sustenance is that if there is no interference in case of danger of disappearance, changes in heritage arising from the surroundings or people’s needs can bring along such major changes in the form and function of heritage that it ceases to be recognisable, which might lead to the “extinction” of heritage. Therefore, it is necessary to determine the right moment when to “step in” and maintain something about the form and function of heritage at a certain moment of time in addition to sustaining. Sustaining as a whole cannot be maintained, however.

In addition to the above, another basic problem, as it were, is the institutional opposition of **nature** and **culture**, as there is no nature that would be unaffected by humans, yet maintaining of restoring nature would presume reducing human influence to a minimum. This, in its turn can cause impoverishment or disappearance of cultural heritage. Sustenance of cultural heritage requires people in a natural mode of living, not artificially. The latter is tourism that guarantees “jumping into” the heritage yet does not do this in a natural way with some exception – i.e. tourism entrepreneurs attempt to live close to the mire and, as a source of income, introduce the mire in a safe manner (e.g. at Karusekose in Soomaa).

This results in the problem of **artificiality** vs **authenticity**. If we wish that heritage rather be maintained due to internal motivation and still continue to be necessary for society, adaptation of heritage to all the successive shifts in the historical context might lead to a gradual transformation of both the form and the function. In case of sustenance, even an interruption that involves an abrupt change might be more beneficial for then the function of heritage a so-called memory impulse would still be there as would be the wish to restore the vanishing heritage relying on memory. A step-by-step disappearance might be more dangerous in this regard. An abrupt change or discontinuation apparently also is the boundary that is treated as freezing the heritage, or lies at the bottom

of authenticity, although this approach is not justified actually, as heritage is authentic in its own context.

The qualities of the **attractive** and the **everyday** are a topic resembling the scale of artificiality and authenticity. As tourist industry continues to be a rising branch of economy, people visit the “highlights” in great numbers. At the same time, a certain “tourist gaze”, to use Urry’s (1990) expression, appears in the surroundings of these places. At this point a part of the tourists start looking for another kind of the everyday, as it were, that should be different from that of one’s own home and culture, yet would not contain other tourists. Thus being peculiar is suppressed and the alien every day is desired.

A separate opposition arises between the people’s internal motivation and the externally or institutionally generated guidelines, rules and acts. In general, it can be claimed that external acts become naturalised in time and at times they are not recorded at all; rather, they become unwritten laws that arise as a natural part of heritage sustenance as time passes and that can, with certain reservations, be considered traditions. Maintaining heritage is a process that is so contemporary and artificial in its nature that the naturalisation of the rules accompanying it is bound to take time, while these may have a restricting influence on the natural course of heritage development.

4) *Proceeding from the study, making suggestions for the sustenance and/or maintenance of natural and cultural heritage in Estonia using the examples of the case studies.*

As appeared from the study, swinging on village swings may prove dangerous, thus, the creation of swing sites is submitted to socio-economic formations via assuming responsibility and through land ownership, which may reduce the number of swing sites. A village swing is a minor element in the landscape and will not be sustained on its own for a long time due to the elements. Thus, it is particularly important that the key functions of the swing be sustained, as these have re-creative power. As one of the risk factors related to swings as heritage appeared to be the fear of assuming responsibility for the potential dangers posed by swings, a safer construction of swing sites could reduce this in a way that would not be accompanied by a noticeable transformation of the form and function of swings. At the same time, it would be useful for the swingers to bear shared responsibility with the landowner and the swing builder. In my estimation, giving the builder or landowner sole responsibility for possible accidents would be fair mainly in cases in which they make a profit from making swinging possible. In other cases the swinger should be capable of critically estimating the condition of the swing (the state nor nature e.g., is sued should someone drown in a river on a nature reserve).

There are more facets to the situation with mires, as these are endangered both as natural as well as cultural heritage. Mire heritage with a natural component is in a more favourable situation in the sense that reserves have been created which curb human activities that pose the greatest threat to mires as

natural heritage. At the same time, living mires and cultural mire heritage can exclude each other to an extent. However, there still may be the possibility of creating so-called test areas close to nature reserves in which people could experiment with “real mire experiences”, not simply walk along boardwalks in a nature reserve with guidance. Such study areas could also provide a possibility to learn about historical mire practices for this will make it easier to understand the mire stories illustrating the activities. Additionally, study areas could be created also in drained mires and peat bogs to provide a more adequate survey of the situation of Estonian mires that could possibly influence decision-making that may be relevant for mires in the future.

In conclusion:

As the functioning of heritage and a mode of heritage management are outlined not only on the basis of external characteristics (form), but also considering the internal logic that could lead towards the key functions. Finding the key functions of heritage and institutionally supporting their functioning will help to bring closer the approach of maintenance and sustenance. A model of heritage management, as the main theoretical result of the current thesis, can provide supportive role in mapping the state of heritage during mapping process on the scale of maintenance and sustenance. The model also verifies the necessity of both processes – maintenance helps to define the heritage object, sustenance of the heritage object helps to keep it active and alive.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

PÄRANDI SÄILIMINE JA SÄILITAMINE MAASTIKUS külakiikede ja soode näitel

Maastik on tunnetatav, holistiline ja muutuv ning koosneb nii nähtamatutest kui ka nähtavatest osadest ja nendevahelistest protsessidest. Üks protsess paljudest on maastiku muutumine. Paradoksaalsel moel tekib inimestel ajuti aga soov, et maastik või mingi osa sellest ei muutuks; et minevikus tekkinu oleks alles ka tänapäeval, sest see on erinevatel põhjustel väärtuslik. Eelkõige toetab minevik enesemääratlust olevikus ehk paigutada end ümbritsevasse konteksti. Olnut määratletakse sageli pärandina, millel on maastikuga üpris sarnased omadused. Kuidas, millal ja millisena pärandit käsitatakse, sõltub paljuski isikust, kultuurist, sotsiaal-majanduslikust formatsioonist jpm-st. Toetudes arheoloog Laurajane Smithile (2006), ongi viimase paarikümne aasta jooksul hakatud pärandit määratlema pigem idee kui asja(de)na. Pärand on eelkõige kultuuriline ja sotsiaalne protsess. Viis, kuidas iga inimene või ka institutsioon seda protsessi käsitleb, raamib ka arusaamist pärandist.

Doktoritöö keskmes on maastik ja pärand kui protsess. Pärandi toimimise kulgu on siin uurimuses täpsemalt piiritletud kahe, mõneti vastandliku mõiste *säilimine* ja *säilitamine* kaudu. Mõistete vastandlikkus seisneb selles, et säilimine on peaaesjalikult loomulik, iseeneslik, holistiline kulgemine. Säilitamise korral on pärand kuidagi defineeritud ning säilitamine toimub praktika või objektide eesmärgipärase ja piiritletud kaitsmise, tutvustamise vms tegevuse kaudu. Nende kahe mõiste läbitöötamiseks on doktoritöös kasutatud kahte, seni väga vähe käsitletut leidnud näidet: külakiigekohti ning soid kui pärandit (nendega seotud praktikaid, suhtumist jne). Viidatud uurimusliku tühimiku täiteks on kirjutatud doktoritöö osadena kaks artiklit kiikede ning kolm soode kohta. Doktoritöö peamiseks küsimuseks kujunes aga probleem, kuidas toimub/toimib **säilimine ja/või säilitamine külakiigekohtade ning soode kui pärandi näitel**, kusjuures “säilimine” tähistab siin iseeneslikku ja loomulikku pärandi püsimist, “säilitamine” aga reglementeeritud, sageli institutsionaalselt lähene-mist eeldavat protsessi.

Uurimuse üldeesmärk on jaotatud alaeesmärkideks. Doktoritöö valmimise jooksul leitud vastused on alaeesmärkide järel lühidalt ka esitatud.

1) Mõtestada lahti, milles seisneb pärandi säilimise ja säilitamise erinevus ning miks on neid üldse vaja eristada (sünopsise põhjal).

Viidatud kahe protsessi ja nende variatsioonide kaudu on doktoritöö ühe peamise teoreetilise tulemusena koostatud mudel (vt tabeli 1 põhitekst), mis aitab kolme kontseptsiooni kaudu kaardistada pärandi majandamisviise ning toetab hetkeolukorra hindamist: A) loomulik pärandis kulgemine ehk *living in*-kontseptsioon, kus (kohalik) inimene on ise (endiselt) pärandi ja sellega seon-duvate praktikate harjumuspärane tarbija; B) *jumping into*-kontseptsioon viitab võimalusele pärandit ise külalisena tarbida või teistele tutvustada seeläbi, et

pärandit kasutatakse mingil moel ära majandustegevuses, s.t pakutakse aktiivselt ja vahetu (kehalise) kogemusena huvilistele igapäevasest teistsuguseid elamusi; C) pärandi kontroll ehk *looking at*-kontseptsioon, milles ilmneb enim pärandi säilitamine ja kaitse ning kus inimene on paigutatud võimalikult passiivse pealtvaataja rolli.

Kuna nii säilimise kui ka säilitamise kui protsessi analüüsil on pärandit keeruline uurida holistilise tervikuna (ehkki ideaalis võiks nii olla), on kiikesid ning soid käsitletud vormi, funktsiooni ning konteksti abil (toetudes Widgren, 2004). Kui kontekst on see, mis annab pärandi käsitlemise vaatenurga, siis funktsioon on see, mille kaudu pärand toimib, ning vorm see, kuidas see välja näeb. Nende vahel toimuvad mõneti võitluslikud protsessid kadumise, toimimise, säilimise, säilitamise jne kaudu, millest kahele viimasele ongi doktoritöös kiige-kohtade ning soode toel keskendunud. Üldjuhul on pärandi säilimise eelduseks pärandi funktsiooni muutumatus ning pärandi säilitamine toimub sageli pigem vormi vahendusel.

Kuna säilimis- ja säilitamisprotsessid toimivad kas ümber funktsiooni ja/või vormi, võivad need põhimõtteliselt pärandit muuta mis tahes moel. Seega säilimise ja säilitamise kui protsesside määratlemine ja nendega arvestamine võimaldab teadlikult säilimise osatähtsust säilitamise arvelt suurendada või tasakaalustada, mis tagab pärandi loomulikuma, terviklikuma ja ka pikaajalisema toimimise.

2) *Esitada juhtumiuuringute (külakiigekohtade ning Eesti soode) toel peamised sotsiaal-majanduslikud ja keskkondlikud aspektid, mis soodustavad pärandi säilimist ja/või säilitamist (toetudes artiklitele I–V).*

Uuringu tulemused näitavad, et külakiigekohtade jätkusuutlikkust ehk säilimist toetavad sotsiaalsust ning kehalist heaolu pakkuvad võtmefunktsioonid, mida võib ühise nimetajana määratleda rekreatsioonina. Lisaks mõjutavad kiigekohti soosivalt nende vormiline lihtsus, funktsiooni ning vormi eripära nii Eesti kui ka maailma kontekstis, hooajaline kasutamine aastaegade kontekstis; vähene majandusliku lisatoetuse vajalikkus kiigekoha loomiseks või hoidmiseks. Kuna kiigutakse enamjaolt noorena, siis sellega kaasnev nostalgiline mälestus aitab kiikesid taasluua oma lastele. Uuringust koorus välja ka hüpotees edasiseks uurimiseks: väidan, et aktiivselt toimivas kogukonnas on märgatavalt suurema tõenäosusega külakiik. Kasutades siinse töö raames väljatöötatud pärandi toimimise mudelit, saab kiikedest ning kiikumisest rääkida enim *living in*-kontseptsioonist lähtuvalt. Arvestades viimase paarikümne aasta jooksul pärandi turismi-majanduses kasutamise kasvutrendi, kasvab ka kiigekultuuri tähtsus *jumping into*-kontseptsioonina.

Teise uuringuobjektina on doktoritöös kasutatud Eesti sooalasid kui näidet säilitatud loodus- ja kultuuripärandist. Soode võtmefunktsioonid ning selle kaudu ka tähendusloome on viimase saja aasta jooksul väga palju muutunud, mis võib iseeneslikult juba olla üheks soode säilitamist soosivaks teguriks. Uurimuse põhjal saab väita, et üldiselt võib 20. sajandil sood tähenduslikult määratleda

kolme paradigmaatilise muutuse kaudu: a) traditsiooniline, mille puhul sood kogeti kui *liminaalset* maastikku; b) industriaalne, mille käigus soo kultuuristati (loe: kuivendati suures ulatuses); c) estetiseeritud, kus soo on algselt ökoloogiliselt väärtuslike omaduste tõttu omandanud ka kultuuriliselt ilustatud maastiku võrdkuju.

Soode kui looduspärandi säilitamine väljendub looduskaitselikes tegevuses soode piiritlemise ja loodusharidusliku tegevuse kaudu, sest alade piiritlemiseta ning majandustegevuse keeldudeta oleks praegu veel elusad sood suures osas kuivendamise kaudsema mõju all ning lakkaksid ökoloogiliselt töötamast. Doktoritöös loodud mudeli rakendamine soodes aitas välja tuua, et soid käsitletakse eelkõige *jumping into*- või *looking at*-kontseptsiooni kaudu. Mudeli kolmandas osas, *living in*-kontseptsioon, on eelkõige käsitletav metsamarjade korjamise kontekstis.

3) Kaardistada juhtumiuuringute toel probleemide võrgustik, mis pärandi säilimise ning säilitamisega kaasneb (toetudes artiklitele I–V).

Pärandi käsitlesega (eriti säilitamise kontekstis) kaasnevaks omaduseks on determineeritus (nt mis on pärandi objekt, kuidas seda piiritleda ajas, ruumis, sisuliselt jne). Siinjuures muutub aktuaalseks pärandi jagamine vormiks ja funktsiooniks; kuna vormi säilitamist on pisut lihtsam tagada, keskendutakse tavaliselt sellele. Samas holistilisem säilimiskäsitlus rõhutab pigem segamatust ning on seotud eelkõige pärandi funktsiooniga. Säilimise juures on samas probleemiks see, et kui kadumisohtu ei märgata ega sekkuta, võivad loomuldasa ümbritsevast või inimeste vajadustest tekkinud muutused pärandis tekitada nii suured muutused funktsioonis kui ka vormis, et pärand ei ole enam äratuntav, mis võib viia pärandi väljasuremiseni. Seetõttu on vaja leida õige hetk, millal vahele astuda ning säilimise mõnes etapis toimiva pärandi vorm ja funktsioon säilitada. Säilimise terviklikkust ei saa samas kunagi säilitada.

Järgmine baasprobleemidest on looduse ja kultuuri vastandus, kus ühelt poolt ei ole enam olemas inim mõjutat loodust, kuid looduse säilitamine või taastamine eeldab inimmõju viimist miinimumini. See võib omakorda tingida kultuuri pärandi vaesumise või kadumise. Nt soodes on kadunud peaaegu kohanimed, sest ei ole neid, kes neid kasutaksid. Kultuuripärandi säilimiseks on vaja inimest ning seda, et ta loomulikult elaks, mitte kunstlikult st teistele oma elamist näitaks. Viimast saab küll ära kasutada turismimajanduses ja mis võimaluse pärandiga tutvuda, seda kogeda (*jumping into*), kuid on suur oht, et teistele näitamise käigus kaob elamise loomulikkus.

Sellest tuleneb järgmine probleemistik: kunstlikkus vastandub autentsusele. Kui soovime, et pärand pigem säiliks sisemise motivatsiooni mõjul ning oleks mingil moel ühiskonnale jätkuvalt vajalik, siis pärandi kohanemisel iga järgmise ajaloolise konteksti nihkega võib tasapisi teiseneda nii vorm kui ka funktsioon. Säilimise puhul võib kasulik olla isegi murrang, kus muutus on väga järsk, sest siis mäluimpulsina pärandi funktsioon veel toimib ja kaduvat pärandit soovetakse mälu toel taastada. Vaikne samm-sammult kulgemine võib olla

pärandi säilimise suhtes isegi ohtlikum, sest ei pruugita märgata, millal kriitiline piir pärandi säilimise tagamiseks on ületatud. Samas on järsk muutus või murrang määratletav ka tingliku piirina, mida saab käsitleda pärandi külmutamisena ja kus sujuva pärandi toimimise katkestamise põhjuseks on soov pärandit säilitada e tagada autentsust (nt mõne eseme paigutamine muuseumisse). Ehkki on küsitav, kas selline käsitus on põhjendatud, sest iga hetk on iga pärand oma kontekstis autentne.

Kunstlikkuse ja autentsuse skaalaga sarnane on atraktiivsuse ning igapäevasuse teema. Inimesed soovivad näha kaugeid kohti ning neid meelitatakse liikevele atraktiivsena esitletud pärandobjektide esitlemise kaudu. Kuna turismindus on endiselt suureneva tähtsusega majandusharu, käivad inimesed suurt tähelepanu saavates kohtades väga palju. Ühtlasi, nagu Urry väljendub, hakatakse suure külastajate arvu tõttu neid kohti esitlema turisti vaatekohast (*tourist gaze*). Siinjuures hakkab omakorda mingi osa turistidest otsima teistsugust igapäevasust – et see küll erineks nende enda kodust ja kultuurist, kuid samas ei oleks seal teisi turiste. Nii muutub erilisus pärssivaks ning võõras igapäevasus igatsetuks.

Veel üks märkimisväärne vastuolu seisneb inimeste sisemise motivatsiooni ning väliselt või institutsionaalselt antavate juhiste, reeglite ja seaduste vahel. Üldiselt võib väita, et välised seadused muutuvad aja jooksul loomulikuks ning vahel ei ole neid üldse kirja pandudki, vaid on kirjutamata seadused, mis tekiavad aja jooksul pärandi säilimise loomuliku osana ja mida võime mõningate mööndustega pidada kommeteks. Pärandi säilitamine on oma olemuselt kunstlik, millega kaasnevate reeglite loomulikuks muutumine võtab veel aega ja samas võib nendel reeglitel olla jällegi pärandi loomulikkul kulgemist pidurdav mõju. Ehkki nt haabjate meisterdamise laagri osalejate nimekirjade koostamine ning projekti aruandele lisamine on ilmselt paljudele tänapäeval juba loomulik tegevus.

4) *Pakkuda uurimuse põhjal soovitusi kultuuri- ja looduspärandi säilimiseks ja/või säilitamiseks Eesti kontekstis juhtumiuuringute näitel ja viisil, kus säilimis- ja säilitamisprotsess oleksid sisuliselt võimalikult suure katvusega.*

Kuna külakiigel kiikumine võib olla ohtlik, allub kiigekohtade loomine vastutuse ning maakuuluvuse kaudu sotsiaal-majanduslikele formatsioonidega kaasnevatele mõjutustele, mis võib olla kiigekohti vähendavaks teguriks. Külakiik on maastikus väike element ning loodusmõjude tõttu kaua iseeneslikult ei säili. Seega on eriti tähtis kiige võtmefunktsioonide säilimine, sest need on taasloovaks jõuks. Kuna kiige kui pärandi kadumise peamise põhjusena ilmnes vastutuse võtmise hirm kiikumiseega kaasneva ohu tõttu, aitaks kiigekohtade turvalisem ehitamine seda vähendada nii, et ei kaasneks kiige vormi ja funktsiooni märgatavat teisenemist. Ühtlasi tuleb kasuks kiikumise eest vastutuse jagamine kiikujatega. Vastutusega kaasnev hirm väheneks, kui ehitaja või maaomanik kannaks vastutust kiikujate ees eelkõige siis, kui kiikumise võimaldamisest saab teenida materiaalselt tulu. Vastasel juhul peab kiikuja olema ka

võimeline kriitiliselt hindama kiige seisundit (nt riiki ei võeta ju vastutusele, kui keegi kaitseala järve ära upub).

Soode näites on olukord mitmekihilisem, sest need on ohustatud nii loodusliku, st ökoloogilise pärandi kui ka kultuuripärandi säilimise/säilitamise vaatenurgast. Soodega seotud pärandi olukord on parem selles mõttes, et on loodud kaitsealad, mis takistavad inimtegevust kui suurimat ohtu soodele kui looduslikule pärandile. Samas vahel elusood ning soode kultuuripärand välistavad üksteist. Siiski oleks nt võimalus teha looduskaitsealade kõrvale ka katsealad, kus inimesed saaksid kogeda päris sood, mitte käia looduskaitsealal ainult mööda laudteed. Lisaks võiks neid katsealasid teha ka kuivendatud soodesse ning turbaaladele, et pilt Eesti soode olukorrast oleks adekvaatsem, mis võib mõjutada tulevikus soid puudutavaid otsuseid.

Kokkuvõtvalt

Kuna kultuuripärandi toimimine ja selle määratlus kujunevad välja mitte ainult väliste tunnuste (vormi) alusel, vaid pärandi sisemise loogika toimimise alusel, on kasulik lahti mõtestada konkreetse pärandiga seotud võtmefunktsioonid. Leides pärandi võtmefunktsioonid ning leides neile institutsionaalse toetuse, aitab see säilimist ja säilitamist tuua teineteisele lähemale. Loodud pärandi toimimise mudel aitab tõestada mõlema protsessi vajalikkust: säilitamine aitab defineerida pärandiobjekti, seevastu säilimine aitab objekti tegevuslikult elus hoida.

APPENDIXES

Appendix I

Evaluation of swing sites:

1. Geographical location
2. Condition of the swing and swing site
3. Age of the swing
4. Description of the construction
5. Swing site: old, new, renovated, other
6. Description of nature surrounding the swing site:
 - a. Relief
 - b. Description of lakes, rivers, ponds etc. (possibility to swim)
 - c. Flora (list of tree species)
 - d. Density of trees and other plants (are they planted or growing naturally)
 - e. Aesthetics (view, openness, cleanness, etc.)
7. Additional components in swing site (fire place, seats, area for dancing, trash pins, area for camping, information board, accessibility to swing site, description of buildings surrounding the swing site (if any), possibility to use the swing site in winter time.
8. General evaluation of the condition order of the swing site (trash on the ground, ruins, site is in use or not).

Appendix II

Additional texts on information boards (photos)

Potential materials used to introduce the mires.

Photos (views from watchtowers, photos from the sightseeing)

Sightseeing

Watchtowers (when was the tower built, who was the builder, how much did it cost etc.).

Interviews with locals (people, who live near by the mires; people who are working in nature protection areas etc.)

Questions asked during the interviews:

1. Please describe the history of the mire next to which you have been living.
2. What is the biggest change you have perceived during the time you have lived next to the mire?
3. How often and in what reason have you been in the mire?
4. Do you know/remember any stories that happened to you while you were visiting the mire?
5. Do you know any stories that happened to your friends or family, related with the mire?
6. Do you know any historical stories related with the mires?
7. Do you know any proverbs, saying etc.?
8. Can you describe any historical creatures living in the mires and can you specify in which kind of mires they “are living”?
9. Do you know anybody else, who could answer these questions?

PUBLICATIONS

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Piret Pungas-Kohv
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Institution and position held:

12/08/2013–... University of Tartu; Coordinator in the Centre for Education Innovation (0,7)
2004–... University of Tartu, Faculty of Science and Technology, Institute of Ecology and Earth Sciences, Tartu University, Chair of Geoinformatics and Cartography; PhD-student (1.00)
2009–30/07/2013 Peipsi Center for Transboundary Cooperation; project manager and specialist of nature education (0.50)
2008–31/12/2013 Tallinn University, The Estonian Institute of Humanities, Centre for Landscape and Culture; researcher (0.20)
2007–2008 Tallinn University, The Estonian Institute of Humanities, Centre for Landscape and Culture; Assistant (0.20)
2006–2007 Peipsi Center for Transboundary Cooperation; specialist of nature education (0.3)
2004–2006 State Nature Conservation Centre; specialist of nature education (1.00)
2003–2004 Veeriku Basic School; teacher of geography (0.60)

Education:

2004–... University of Tartu, *PhD*-student, human geography
2002–2004 University of Tartu, *MSc* in human geography
2001–2002 University of Tartu, Teacher diploma in geography and health
1997–2001 University of Tartu, *BSc* in human geography
1994–1997 Rapla Secondary School

Research activity:

The aim is to find similarities and differences of place-making in different natural conditions; additionally to interpret meanings of places and their dynamics. Based on the previous explain processes in the landscape. The swing places and mires have been used as examples during the research process.

Honours & Awards:

2004, Yearly Award, Culture and Society – Piret Pungas-Kohv; Estonian National Contest for Young Scientists at university level, II Prize for *MSc*-thesis “Swing places in Estonian landscapes”

2001, Piret Pungas-Kohv; Scholarship of Paul and Marta Lannus

Dissertations supervised:

Ederi Ojasoo, *MSc*, 2009, Overview of the cultural activities in Estonian nature protection areas, University of Tartu.

Publications: see Publications/Publikatsioonid

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Töökoht ja amet:

12.08.2013– ... Tartu Ülikool; haridusuuenduskeskuse koordinaator (1.00)
2004–2014 – Tartu Ülikool, Loodus- ja tehnoloogiateaduskond, Tartu
Ülikooli Ökoloogia- ja Maateaduste Instituut,
Geoinformaatika ja kartograafia õppetool; doktorant (1.00)
2009–30.07.2013 MTÜ Peipsi Koostöö Keskus; Projektijuht ja loodushariduse
spetsialist (0.50)
2008–31.12.2013 Tallinna Ülikool, Eesti Humanitaarinstituut, Maastiku ja
kultuuri keskus; Teadur (0.20)
2007–2008 Tallinna Ülikool, Eesti Humanitaarinstituut, Maastiku ja
kultuuri keskus; Assistent (0.20)
2006–2007 Peipsi Koostöö Keskus; loodushariduse spetsialist (0.30)
2004–2006 Riiklik Looduskaitsekeskus; loodushariduse spetsialist (1.00)
2003–2004 Tartu Veeriku Kool; geograafiaõpetaja (0.60)

Haridustee:

2004–2014 Tartu Ülikool, bioloogia-geograafia teaduskond,
doktorantuur inimgeograafia erialal
2002–2004 Tartu Ülikool, bioloogia-geograafia teaduskond,
magistrantuur inimgeograafia erialal
2001–2002 Tartu Ülikool, bioloogia-geograafia teaduskond, geograafia
ja terviseõpetuse õpetaja kutseaasta
1997–2001 Tartu Ülikool, bioloogia-geograafia teaduskond,
inimgeograafia eriala
1994–1997 Rapla Ühisgümnaasium

Teadustegevus ja administratiivne tegevus:

Eesmärk on uurida kohalooma ühis- ja erijooni erinevates looduslikes tingimustes. Lisaks tõlgendada kohtade tähendusvälju ja muutumist ning sellest tulenevalt põhjendada maastikul toimuvaid protsesse. Näitealadena on uuritud külakiigekohti ja soodes.

Teaduspreemiad ja -tunnustused

2004, II preemia, Ühiskonnateadused ja kultuur – Piret Pungas-Kohv; Üli-
õpilaste teadustööde riikliku konkursi II preemia sotsiaalteaduste valdkonnas
teadusmagistritöö “Kiigekohad Eesti maastikes” eest.

2001, Piret Pungas-Kohv; Paul ja Marta Lannuse stipendium

Juhendatud väitekirjad:

Ederi Ojasoo, magistrikraad, 2009, Kultuurikorralduse ülevaade Eesti kaitse-
aladel, Tartu Ülikool

Publikatsioonid: vt Publications / Publikatsioonid

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- Pungas-Kohv, P.**, Keskaik, R., Kohv, M., Kull, K., Oja, T., Palang, H. (2015). Making sense of the Estonian mires: between common perception and changing practices. *Fennia. Accepted*.
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