



***SAAREMAA WALTZ.* LANDSCAPE  
IMAGERY OF SAAREMAA ISLAND  
IN THE 20TH CENTURY**

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## ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

The dissertation is based on the following publications:

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**Publication III:** Kaur, E., Palang, H. & **Sooväli, H.** 2004: Landscapes in Change — Opposing Understandings and Valuations. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 67 (1–4), 109–120.

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## AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

The defender's contribution to the respective papers is as follows:

**Publication I:** The study was designed by the author. She also participated in analysing the case studies and is fully responsible of the manuscript.

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**Publication IV:** This study was initiated and designed by the author. Most of the case studies were conducted and analysed by the author. The author is fully responsible for this publication.

**Publication V:** This study was initiated and designed by the author. The majority of the case studies were conducted and analysed by the author. The author is fully responsible for this publication.

*For my grandfather Karl Sooväli*



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## *Saaremaa valss*

Lyrics: D. Vaarandi/Music: R. Valgre  
Seal laupäevaõhtuselt lõhnavad kased,  
kui nendesse vajutad hõõguva näo.  
Ja pühapäev hinges sind uskuda laseb,  
et õnne vaid kauguses kukuvad käod.  
Oh, keeruta, lennuta, linalakk-neidu,  
kel silmist nii kelmikalt sädemeid lööb!  
Ei sellist küll maailmas kusagil leidu,  
kui Saaremaa heinamaal juunikuu ööl.  
/.../

Just sellisel heinamaal peamegi pidu,  
kus hämarik koidule ulatab käe.  
On kõikide mõtteid ja toiminguid  
sidund  
see tööde ning rõõmude küllane päev.  
Oh, keeruta, kudruta, kavalat juttu  
kuldtärniga nooruke sõjamees sa.  
Me ööd on nii valged ja kuluvad ruttu,  
et linalakk-neidu sa püüda ei saa.

## *Saaremaa waltz*

Trans. M. Kaare  
The birch trees smell like on a Saturday  
night  
When you press your glowing face  
against them  
And the Sunday in your soul lets you  
believe  
That the cuckoobirds in the distance  
sing of only happiness  
Spin around and twirl the flaxen-haired  
girl  
Whose eyes sparkle with such joy!  
Nothing else in this world comes close  
To the June nights on a Saaremaa  
meadow.  
/.../  
On a meadow like that we celebrate  
tonight  
Where dusk and dawn meet  
Everyone has been busy  
During this day filled with work and joy  
Oh, chat and coo smartly,  
Young soldier with a golden star  
These nights are so light and short  
It's impossible to catch the flaxen-haired  
girl.

The tune *Saaremaa waltz* is most likely the best attribute to symbolise Saaremaa Island. The song is widely known in Estonia for its beautiful lyrics and smooth and swinging waltz rhythm, always filling the dancing floors. This song with a connotating message to Soviet ideology is originally part of a longer poem and written for an afterparty of an organised working campaign in a kolkhoz in the late 1940s. Moreover, it is a branded item to many Finns since 1960s, when the Estonian singer Georg Ots sang it popular in Finland. Today, the Finnish cruisers are fond of *Saaremaa waltz* 'karaoke sessions' in the ferry boats across the Gulf of Finland; there is an annual Estonian-Finnish song festival *Saaremaa waltz* held in Kuressaare. Metaphorically, the *Saaremaa waltz* is not only a popular tune, but also the lyrics and the associations one relates to them have come to embrace in itself the imagery of Saaremaa.

The need for studying landscape imagery of Saaremaa Island stems from the idea that landscape representations and the 'real' landscapes are mutually

dependent. Hence, possible explanations about the reasons for stability and/or dynamics in the real landscapes could be found in investigating landscape representations and *vice versa*. Furthermore, by studying landscape representations we uncover the myths about Saaremaa, that prevail in the society today, such as why are the Angla Windmills regarded as the icons of Saaremaa or, why has it become so trendy among Estonians and Finns to buy land on the island, etc. The central aim of this thesis is to explore multiple-sided landscape representations of Saaremaa Island, which would give a more heterogenic imagery about the island. In addition, the thesis strives to find out how the dynamics of the landscape imagery is connected with the dynamics of the real landscapes. In the end, the study raises questions with a look into the future – whether booming tourism and hectic construction activity will have a negative effect on the dominant contemporary imagery, or not.

The thesis consists of six chapters. The introductory chapter (Chapter 1) frames the thesis conceptually and contextually, and presents the thesis' objectives. The dominant way of handling landscape conceptually and empirically in cultural geography is through its representational practice and the socio-cultural moulding of the environment. Less attention has been paid to landscape's material objects, its 'reality'. Yet, several recent theoretical discussions in cultural geography point out the need to find means for engaging both the symbolic and the empirical aspects of landscape research. For that, taking an interdisciplinary approach may be a way out.

The chapter about theoretical framework (Chapter 2) is compiled with an emphasis on the geographical perspectives of representation: textual as well as visual. The theory of social representations has been chosen to outline the current study on how landscape representations are shaped and re-shaped in daily situations and throughout a longer time.

The chapter on theory is followed by the chapter on methodology (Chapter 3). Here, the central issues regarding the qualitative research are discussed. Special emphasis is paid to the description of methodology: historical narrative approach, content and discourse analyses, and questionnaire and interview surveys.

Chapters 4 and 5 are the focal parts of the thesis, consisting of the background information about the case study area and the conducted empirical studies. The roots of the island imagery trace from the 19th century, when the Baltic German landscape painters became interested in the Saaremaa landscapes. Thus, the themes of landscape paintings about Saaremaa have been studied. The painters' elitist ideas on the Saaremaa landscapes have influenced the forming of the imagery ever since. The images in coffee table books and tourism materials provide a sound corpus for investigating the dynamics of the visual representations. Three surveys about the representations of the insiders as well as the outsiders – local inhabitants, county administration specialists and tourists – indicate to the distinctive features of the island's landscapes, and the landscapes' maintenance issues. Further, three sets of texts have been analysed.

Studies of Saaremaa conducted by various scientists in the 1930s are used in this thesis as a documentation of socio-economic conditions. At the same time, scientific texts are a part of historical narrative, being scientists' representations of the experienced reality. The so-called official imagery of the county planning *Valuable landscapes* identifies the most distinctive landscapes of the island in Estonian context. The media survey on national newspapers point out the most written issues about Saaremaa and thereby show what problems are regarded important on Saaremaa on the national level. All these examples form a conception of the distinctiveness of Saaremaa landscapes, perceived by both the insiders and the outsiders. Parallely, an overview of the land-use and population dynamics is given in order to comparatively locate the landscape representations into the actual setting.

The closing chapter (Chapter 6) presents the results on the dynamics of the imagery of Saaremaa, as well as the variety of representations concerning Saaremaa Island landscapes, and finishes with an overall discussion grounded on the theoretical standpoints and empirical research of the thesis.

## 1.1. Thesis' objectives

The overall aims of this thesis are to study the landscape imagery of Saaremaa in transition, and thereby also to determine the attributes that are used to create regional identity, concentrating on landscape representations. The thesis is based on the notion that landscape imagery of a specific region can be understood as a signifying system representing certain regional/national space and linking physical sites with regional/national ideology (sensu Häyrynen 2004).

The primary research questions of the thesis are:

1. How is Saaremaa Island represented in textual and pictorial practises?
2. How do different social groups address landscape-related issues?
3. To what extent has the landscape imagery of Saaremaa changed in the context of the socio-historical and political transformations during the course of the 20th century?
4. How are landscape representations connected with the 'real' landscapes?

I would identify myself as an outsider in regards to the case study of Saaremaa Island, and the interest groups of Saaremaa. I know the island in the capacity of several short-term visits to Saaremaa as a tourist and field-worker. As a tourist, I have my own viewpoints regarding the landscapes of Saaremaa, which might give the interpretation of the 'voices' of tourists a more subjective connotation. I was asked to write an article for the local newspaper in 2003 concerning the problems and threats to the landscapes, and in that way my opinions have also been expressed to a wider public.

## 1.2. Thesis' outline

'Landscape' and 'representation' are the core terms in the frame of this study. The theoretical and empirical parts of the study strive to explain how these two terms relate to each other.

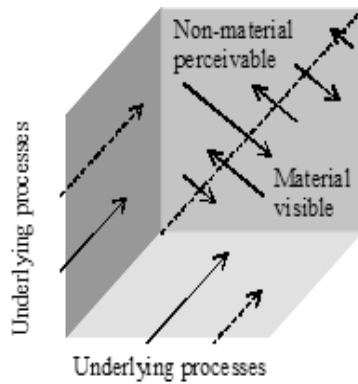
The term landscape has multiple understandings among researchers (see Jones 1991, 2003a). In 1984 J. B. Jackson wrote in his *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* that geographers have trouble agreeing on the meaning of landscape. Already J. G. Granö, in his *Pure Geography* (1929/1997), pinpoints the problematic ways in which a researcher can study the subjective and objective perspectives together in landscape.<sup>1</sup> Dorrian & Rose (2003) distinguish between the two poles of the term landscape in cultural geography today:

“On one hand there is a referral to the eye, whereby ‘landscape’ is understood as the outcome of a pictorial, representational practice which ideologically stages its referent (nature, land, an estate, etc.) in relation to a viewing subject, thereby inculcating a ‘way of seeing’ that comes to extend beyond the immediate relations with the artwork itself. And on the other, there is ‘landscape’ as used in a more general way to describe the socio-cultural moulding of the physical environment by collectives and individuals” (Dorrian & Rose 2003: 13).

The mainstream discussions of the term landscape within cultural geography at present see the landscape from the human perspective, thus leaving out the notion that landscape consists also of material objects or 'reality' (see entries 'cultural landscape' and 'landscape' in *Dictionary of Human Geography* 2000; Mitchell 2002, 2003; Dorrian & Rose 2003; Castree 2004a, 2004b). In line with the ideas of Keisteri (1990), Jones (1991), Cosgrove (1998, 2003) and Crouch & Malm (2003), Palang & Fry (2003) support the idea that natural and cultural landscape are not opposites, but rather different layers of the 'total' landscape. Within the frame of this thesis, Keisteri's (1990, 1994) multilayer model for the term landscape is used. She divides the landscape concept into three parts. According to her, there are material features in the landscape that are easy to measure and describe – the objective part of landscape. On top of those, there are non-material features, e.g. cultural and scenic components that are somewhat difficult to quantify – an experiential, more subjective part. The underlying processes, both natural (for example hazards, but also natural succession, etc.) and human (for example social formations), steer the changes in the landscape.

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<sup>1</sup> See also Palang & Sooväli (2001) for respective discussion in Estonian geographic academia today.



**Figure 1.** Model for the concept of landscape by Keisteri (1990) where I have added the dimension of ‘practice’ (the arrows between ‘non-material/perceivable’ and ‘material/visible’).

One way of justifying Keisteri’s model in the context of the current thesis is by studying both the material/visible part of landscape as the empirical reality, and the non-material/perceivable part of landscape as the representation. Furthermore, in line with the research of Fairhead & Leach (1996, in Widgren 2004; see also Widgren 2003), the current thesis deals with: 1) landscape and its history as representation, and 2) landscape as empirical ‘reality’, i.e. its facts or events.

The facts or events of landscapes can be approached in two ways. Firstly, landscape can be understood as material (natural) elements that could be studied with the tools of natural sciences (Palang & Fry 2003). Secondly, the material aspects of landscape could be regarded as the everyday physical human practice (sensu Ingold 2000). However, this distinction is not as simple as may be suggested. Setten (2002) argues that practice could not only be regarded as the material expression of human activity. Practice<sup>2</sup> also involves the non-cognitive relationship to land where the past and present generations of humans have left and are leaving their valuations and experiences in working the land in the landscape (see Lowenthal 1985). I would argue that the borderline between the material/visible and the non-material/perceivable aspects of landscape is not

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<sup>2</sup> By ‘practice’ here is meant peoples’ exercise of bodily knowledge involving action, activity and use. It also embodies the non-cognitive aspects of action such as experience, valuations, etc. (Setten 2002) See also Setten’s (2001b, 2001c, 2004) and Olwig’s (2004) discussions about the concept of *practice* and its relationship to the Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of *habitus* for more. As examples for studying that perspective see Bell (1998), Soini (2004) and Cantwell & Adams (2003) who have successfully researched the local people in their everyday landscapes – as lived and experienced in Australia, Finland and Canada respectively.

that distinct; rather, it is an indistinguishable 'intermediate' transitional area, marking the aspect of practice. Consequently, I have included 'practice' in the landscape model of Keisteri (see Figure 1).

This thesis concentrates primarily on the issues of representation in studying the landscapes of Saaremaa. Simultaneously, the empirical reality, i.e. the land use changes in the landscape, as well as population dynamics and my experiences from fieldwork on Saaremaa are under focus. Here, the bodily knowledges of the surveyed social groups and the authors of the images are appropriate to keep in mind. Only through bodily involvement and by studying actual landscapes can the representations and their changes be properly understood, or as Widgren has put it: "The key to uncovering the myths, the representations and the discourses on land and landscape thus rests in the land itself, not only in the representations" (Widgren 2004: 464). Moreover, Olwig makes the notion that the relationship between the reality and representation is circular. Olwig (2004: 41) states "Landscape is both a form of representation and something that is represented." Furthermore, he suggests:

"/.../ The relationship is circular. The particular form of representation can shape the landscape represented, and the landscape thus represented can shape its representation. This circularity, furthermore, can end in a form of self-referential circulating reference in which the landscape is shaped in its own representational image, and the distinction between representation, and that is represented, is lost" (Olwig 2004: 42).

Palang & Fry (2003) argue that landscape includes several interfaces involving time and space, mental and material, as well as different actors. They distinguish between the following interfaces when studying landscape: human/natural sciences, culture/culture, past/future, time/space, expert/lay person, and preservation/use interfaces. Palang & Fry continue by claiming that there might be many more interfaces that influence landscape and which are being influenced by landscape and, that these interfaces are intertwined with each other. In the frame of this thesis, I focus on culture/culture as well as past/future interfaces more closely when studying the landscape; therefore more space is dedicated to introducing these particular interfaces in this chapter. According to Palang & Fry (2003), culture/culture interface in the frame of landscape studies deals with the differences in landscape values resulting from different cultural perspectives. They continue by stating: "This interface between cultures is closely associated with diverse cultural and political histories and is to be seen reflected in dissimilarities in material and mental landscapes" (Palang & Fry 2003: 5). Culture inscribes itself on the landscape as the sum of erasures, accretions, anomalies and redundancies over time. Nevertheless, in line with the ideas of Cosgrove (1984/1998), each socio-economic formation creates its own landscape with its own symbols and value systems. The changing formations bring

along changes in functions, meanings and understandings of the landscape. However, it never happens that all the elements are removed; the landscape we have today has remnants of several former periods (Palang et al. 2004b, 2004c). The past/future interface in landscape studies is about temporal landscape dynamics. Palang & Fry (2003) use the old metaphoric approach of landscape as a palimpsest, consisting of elements from different time periods. When studying the landscape carefully, one can read the different layers of landscape – its natural as well as social and political shaping (see Olwig 2002; Palang et al. 2004b; Widgren 2004). Studying the processes taking place in the landscape of yesterday and today, on the other hand, provides a perspective for predicting how the future landscape will look like, while at the same time helping planners to plan the landscape and maintain the heritage in the landscape (see e.g. Palang et al. 2000a; Tress & Tress 2003; Duncan et al. 2004).

Jones (1991: 240) shows that academic disciplines are not neutral: “They have their subjective values which are the result of the particular way in which each discipline has been institutionalised and used by society. This influences the way in which each discipline is perceived and what is considered important to register when it is investigated.” Furthermore, he proposes three approaches to the study of landscape (see Table 1).

**Table 1.** Three approaches to the study of landscape (Jones 1991).

	Scientific	Applied	Humanistic
Landscape regarded as	Objective	Objective, but value-laden	Subjective
View of landscape reality	is	Ought to be	A way of seeing
Landscape comprises:	Everything visible	Selected elements	Symbols
Research problem	Unmanageability leading to compartmentalisation	Criteria for selection	Categorisation of social and cultural groups

In line with Jones, I argue that a precondition for examining and understanding landscapes is multidisciplinary research. According to landscape ecologists Tress et al. (2001, 2004; see also Brandt 1999; Fry 2001; for discussion in geography see Dixon & Jones III 2004), multidisciplinary research embraces attempts to go beyond different academic disciplines related to one subject, but with multiple disciplinary goals. Landscape studies focus upon environmental, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic issues simultaneously. By studying

these issues landscape studies work towards a common theoretical framework in order to understand each other, as stated recently by Tress & Tress (2001).<sup>3</sup> Massey (2001), Crouch & Malm (2003) and Duncan et al. (2004) among others indicate the increasing recognition of case studies that provide a link between different disciplines. Combining methods and approaches in a case study allows us to bridge the gap between disciplines, instead of conducting parallel research.

One way forward in multidisciplinary landscape studies is the simultaneous examination of the empirical reality of landscape together with their representations as exemplified in the works of Keisteri (1990); Daugstad & Grytli (1999); Daugstad (2000); Setten (2001a, 2002); Egoz et al. (2001); Akbar et al. (2003); Cosgrove (2003); Claval (2004); Jones (2004); Olwig (2004), etc.

Although the borders between social and human disciplines are blurred nowadays due to the linguistic turn within social sciences (Duncan 2000a), it can still be said that the current study covers the disciplines of cultural geography, media studies, cultural studies, tourism studies, semiotics and to some extent touches upon the ongoing theoretical discussions in landscape ecology. The theory of social representations framing the current study originates from social psychology; nevertheless, it is used also in cultural geography (see e.g. Häyrynen 2004).

### 1.3. Landscape studies in Estonia<sup>4</sup>

The primary focus of the following sections lies on the humanistic and social scientific perspectives in Estonian landscape studies.

The history of Estonian landscape research is limited to approximately 100 years. The term ‘landscape’ (in Estonian ‘maastik’) was introduced to the Estonian language by artists in the beginning of the 20th century; originally the term was used by painters when depicting scenery in paintings as well as by poets in poems (Suits 1906; in Paatsi 1995).<sup>5</sup> The first to define and conceptualise landscape in Estonian geography was Finnish geographer J. G. Granö (1924,

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<sup>3</sup> Landscape ecology has developed internationally since the 1980s from different disciplines and fields of application as a transdisciplinary science with the ambition to link natural sciences with related human disciplines in the search for a better understanding and management of landscapes (Brandt 1999). In recent years, challenging attempts have been made for nearing the disciplines of landscape ecology, cultural geography, physical geography etc. in for example the *Permanent European Conference for the Study of Rural Landscapes* (2002); *World Congress of International Association for Landscape Ecology* (2003).

<sup>4</sup> Parts of this chapter stem from Peil et al. 2005.

<sup>5</sup> For a longer discussion about the development of the Estonian concept ‘maastik’ see Peil 1999; Sepp 1999; Palang et al. 2003.

1929/1997; E. Kant 1923; see also Jones 2003b), who described landscapes as territorial units having defined, visible, and constant far surroundings' characteristics. E. Kant (1926, 1931/1999; see also Buttimer 2002) discussed methodological perspectives for studying landscapes in a holistic perspective. Generally, Eduard Markus is considered as the leading figure of the natural science approach to the Estonian landscapes. While Granö concentrated mainly on finding typical areas that are separated by diffuse border areas, Markus focused on borders, especially on the shifts in borders defining a landscape as a geographical unit only when it is a natural complex and thus the term landscape, according to him, should be used only to indicate a certain group of natural complexes (Markus 1930).

The Soviet annexation of the Baltic States abruptly changed the conditions for the study of landscapes. The natural science based approach became dominant, as the human agent was erased from the landscape field. The main aim in the post-war years was to create a landscape science that would establish a sound theoretical basis and elevate geography to a fundamental science. The German systematic and scientific notion of landscape (*Landschaft*) has been a dominant trend (Raukas & Paatsi 2000; see for example Arold 1974; Karukäpp 1974; Sepp (Ratas) 1974; Rõuk 1974; Hang 1976; Linkrus 1976).

After the fall of the so-called Iron Curtain, researchers made contacts with their Nordic colleagues. It was through these contacts that humanistic and social landscape research was re-established in Estonia.

Defining landscape based on its cultural aspects re-emerged in the 1990s, whereby the task of the researcher is to interpret the meaning and symbolism of the landscape. This covers a wide area of disciplines and intriguing research has recently been embarked upon in Estonia. Within archaeology interdisciplinary studies about early communities and their relations to the land and the shaping of cultural landscapes has emerged (Ligi 1992; Kriiska 1996; Valk 1999; Lang 2000; Mägi 2001). Historians (Troska 1974, 1987, 1994; Moora & Lõugas 1995; Moora 1998) have conducted research into landscape history focusing on settlement and land use patterns. Folkloristic studies have concentrated on legends and stories about landscape, their temporal formation and variation, and local lore and its connection to the physical setting (Hiimäe 2001). Semiotics strives to understand the relationship between memory, culture and landscape in interpreting the signs and symbols created by human actors (Kull 2001). The growing interest in landscape, both urban and rural, can be detected in newly established disciplines in Estonia such as landscape architecture, landscape aesthetics, and art history (see for example Lehari 1997, 1999; Sarapik 2002). Critical geopolitical research has also contributed to a new understanding of landscapes, marginal areas and borderlands; these studies have increased our consciousness of presentation and representation of Estonia in the media (Berg 2002). At the same time, multiple studies on a synthesis of human and historical geography, in which landscape is read and interpreted as a form of cultural praxis, have been created (Peil 1999; Peil et al. 2002; Alumäe et al. 2003; Kaur

et al. 2004; Palang et al. 2003; Sooväli et al. 2003a, 2003b). On a more general level, Palang & Mander (2000) have presented a periodisation of cultural landscape history in Estonia as illustrated in Figure 2. They define five stages of landscape development and compare the stages with those in Western Europe as discussed by Vos & Meekes (1999).

Over the last decade, interest in both Estonian landscapes and landscape concepts has also increased significantly. Several comprehensive surveys have recently been written stressing one trend or another (Arold 1993; Roosaare 1994; Kurs 1997, 2003; Järvet & Kask 1998) and the conceptualisation of landscapes (Palang et al. 2000b).

To summarise, Estonian landscape studies in the 2000s can be characterised by a new effort to create a common ground between the scientific and humanistic, as well as applied studies. An example of that approach was the publication of a collection of essays including all of the main scientific and popular approaches to landscape in Estonia today (Palang & Sooväli 2001).

Western Europe		Time	Estonia
Postmodern landscapes		2000	Postmodern landscapes
Industrial landscapes		1900	Collective open fields
			Private farm landscapes
Traditional agricultural landscapes		1800	Estate landscapes
		1700	
		1600	
		1500	
Mediaeval landscapes		1400	
Antique landscapes		1200	Ancient landscapes
Natural/prehistoric landscapes			

**Figure 2.** Stages in Estonian cultural landscape history compared with the Western European one (Vos & Meekes 1999; Palang & Mander 2000).

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. The concept of representation

‘Representations’ are defined as a set of practices by which meanings are constituted and communicated. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (2004) suggests the following meanings for the term:

Representation

**1:** one that represents: as **a:** an artistic likeness or image **b** (1): a statement or account made to influence opinion or action (2): an incidental or collateral statement of fact on the faith of which a contract is entered into **c:** a dramatic production or performance **d** (1): a usually formal statement made against something or to effect a change (2): a usually formal protest

In the following the meanings of representation – ‘an artistic likeness, an image’ and ‘a formal statement made against something or to effect change’ – are discussed.

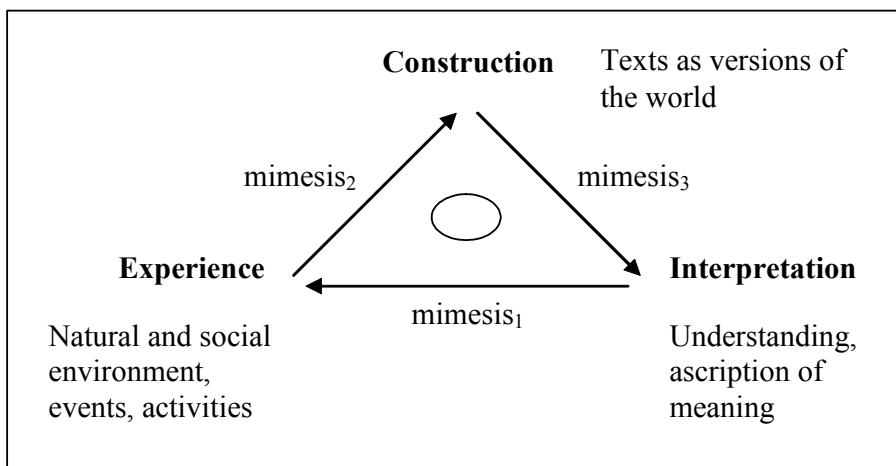
People construct representations according to their common understanding of what contributes to holding them together and orienting them in their social existence. They make sense of their social worlds and are positioned within social worlds through representations. According to Olwig (2004), representations can be expressed in the form of spoken or written language, by graphic and pictorial means, or by a combination of the graphic and the written, as in a theorem in geometry. Representations can even take on more visceral forms, as in the case of sculpture, dance and ritual, models or architecture, that can be pictured graphically, and described in words, but which must be used, experienced and lived to be fully grasped. Representations may include material culture such as landscapes. Landscapes communicate multiple messages and stimulate highly active although not necessarily conscious readings (see for example Lowenthal 1985; Schama 1996; Cosgrove 2000; Duncan 2000a; Antrop 2004), or as Daniels & Cosgrove have put it:

“A landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings. This is not to say that landscapes are immaterial. They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces – in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water and vegetation on ground. A landscape park is more palpable but no more real, nor less imaginary, than a landscape painting or poem” (Daniels & Cosgrove 1988: 1).

Furthermore, Olwig (2004: 51) notes: “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.”

The notion of representation germinates in the ancient Greek idea of mimesis, which became particularly important in Plato’s philosophy. “While, for Plato, the real objective world was the world of Forms, which were unchanging, universal and incorporeal, perceptible objects of the phenomenal world only resembled or imitated the world of Forms. Plato used the notion of ‘mimesis’ or ‘participation’ to refer to particular objects that imitated Forms, and were, therefore, inferior to them” (Markovà 2003: 12). As originally the term meant ‘imitation of nature’, mimesis is today used in a transformed meaning indicating the interpretation of literary texts in semiotics, cultural studies, theatre study, etc. According to this view, mimetic processes can be located in a social science understanding as the interplay of construction and interpretation of experiences (see Figure 3). Mimesis includes the passage from pre-understanding across the text to interpretation. The process is executed in the act of construction and interpretation as well as in the act of understanding (Flick 1998).



**Figure 3.** Understanding between construction and interpretation, process of mimesis (Flick 1998). Mimesis<sub>1</sub> – the pre-understanding of what human action is, its semantics, symbolism, temporality. Mimesis<sub>2</sub> – ‘processing’ experiences of social or natural environments into texts. Mimesis<sub>3</sub> – the everyday understanding of narratives, research documents, etc.

Research on representations is nothing new in geography. As early as in 1929/1997 in his *Pure Geography*, J. G. Granö touches upon “/.../ relation between representation and the world and that of the nature of the language through which these representations should be constructed” (Granö & Paasi 1997: xxviii; see also Jones 2003b). Further, E. Kant’s *Tartu* (1926) masterly

unites the systematic as well as the subjective aspects of geographic research, and with that conveys the true spirit of the town with literary texts and numerous images (photos and paintings). In 1947 the president of the Association of American Geographers, J. K. Wright, suggested that geographers should begin to explore the *terrae incognitae* of the mind (Aitken 1997). By the late 1980s and early 1990s geographers began “to note that texts and representations were important to understanding lived experience and their neglect was due to geographers’ misguided emphases on the material conditions of social life, wherein representations of the world are subsidiary to factual descriptions of physical reality” (Aitken 1997: 199–200; see also Claval 2001a, 2001b; Valentine 2001b).

There are multiple approaches of categorising and interpreting representations – reflective, intentional and constructivist, to name some (Duncan 2000b). The current study uses the prevailing opinion of representations that the constructivist approach in itself represents. The constructivist approach to representations indicates that we construct meaning using representational systems – concepts and signs. It is not only the material world that conveys meaning; rather, it is the language system we are using to represent our concepts (sensu Hall 1997). Social actors are the ones who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning. In the following, the crisis of representation is presented in order to reflect upon the discussion regarding the different approaches and criticisms towards the interpretation of representations.

### **2.1.1. The crisis of representation in cultural geography**

That the relation to the text and reality cannot be reduced to a simple representation of given facts has been discussed for quite a while in different contexts as the ‘crisis of representation’. In terms of the crisis of representation, and as a consequence of the ‘linguistic turn’ in the social sciences, it is doubted whether a social researcher can directly and wholly capture lived experience. Such experience is created in the social context written by the researcher. It makes the direct link between experience and text problematic (Flick 1999).

The crisis of representation is based on the idea that writing upon others’ texts is constitutive, not simply reflective; new worlds are made out of old texts, and old worlds are the basis of new texts (Barnes & Duncan 1992). Writings about worlds reveals as much about us as it does about the worlds represented. Olwig notes:

“We cannot comprehend the world directly, as it *presents* itself to us, because the information we receive through our senses is so vast and complex that it is, in and of itself, incomprehensible. It is for this reason we create *representations* of the world that enable us to reflect upon it and give it order, structure and meaning” (Olwig 2004: 42).

Gross (1996) and Ley & Mountz (2001) write that the works in cultural anthropology in the 1980s outlined the crisis of representation, identifying how the stories told by European anthropologists about non-European cultures were uncomfortably coloured by the narrative of imperialism. Geography, with its long history of exploration and map-making, often under royal or commercial patronage, shared similar ideological biases.

Duncan & Ley (1993) argue that the crisis of representation, termed by Marcus & Fischer (1986, in Duncan & Ley 1993), started in ethnography<sup>6</sup> and therefore that this approach is part of a broader attack within a number of fields upon mimesis and the 'natural attitude' which underlies it. Duncan & Ley continue:

“The ‘natural attitude’ stems from the philosophers of the Enlightenment, for whom language and imagery appeared to be perfect, transparent media through which reality could be represented to understanding. However, in modern literacy and art criticism they are thought of as ‘a prison house’ (Jameson 1972) which locks us into particular modes of understanding and separates us from the world. /.../ As such, our representations are not more than ‘partial truths’” (Duncan & Ley 1993: 4).

A critical view of the mimetic claims of description builds a more serious divide within a traditional cultural geography committed to theory-laden interpretation (Duncan & Ley 1993). Duncan & Ley (1993: 7) propose a solution in the crisis of expressing itself: “One conclusion is to accept a radical relativism where knowing is culturally and socially contained. More hopeful is the view of representations as partial truths, the outcome of a relation between an empirical world and a historical subject.” Duncan & Ley (1993) suggest academics must think in terms of multiple systems of representation that are produced within discourses tied to social practices. According to that, Olwig warns both physical and cultural geographers from an over-interpretation of their works:

“The recovery of the history of the interaction between landscape representation and transformation simultaneously raises serious questions about the naïve realism that characterizes much landscape study, particularly in the natural sciences, where the representation of landscape as map or graphic pictorial representation is, I will argue, not infrequently confounded with the landscape represented /.../” (Olwig 2004: 51).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The origin of the concept is somewhat nebulous as various sources give different information (compare Duncan & Ley 1993 and Ley & Mountz 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Jones (1991) argues that different disciplines approach landscape differently (see Chapter *Thesis' outline*). Jones proposes that the point of departure for uniting different

### 2.1.2. The new cultural geography and the cultural turn

“In the past two decades cultural geography has undergone significant theoretical, substantive shifts. While cultural geography has a long and important place in the intellectual and institutional history of the discipline, the recent ‘spatial and cultural turns’ in the humanities and social sciences have repositioned the field as one of considerable import to contemporary debates in Anglo-American human geography (Duncan et al. 2004: 1).”

The ‘new’ cultural geography is part of the response to the crisis of geographical representation. Its attention to theory, which problematises description, and to interpretation, which requires pattern, is thus an important element of new cultural geography (Cosgrove & Jackson 1987; Gregory & Ley 1988). The ‘cultural’ is now commonly characterised as being concerned with meaning, identity and representation (Valentine 2001a). Barnett has successfully defined the essence of the new cultural geography by arguing that:

“Both epistemologically and in the construction of new empirical research objects, the cultural turn is probably best characterised by a heightened reflexivity toward the role of language, meaning, and representations in the constitution of ‘reality’ and knowledge of reality” (1998: 380, in Valentine 2001b).

The new cultural geography could be further characterised as the interest in other disciplinary fields for its theoretical inspiration. Likewise, culture is being seen as inseparable from economics, politics, society and the environment (Valentine 2001a; Schein 2004). Mitchell (2000) distinguishes four fronts in landscape issues among the promoters of the new cultural geography: 1) They sought to connect the very idea of landscape to its historical development as part of the capitalist and Enlightenment transformation of Europe in the early modern period. The goal of several studies has been to show how the land was made over in the image of ‘landscape’, an ideological ‘way of seeing’ the land, and people’s relationship to that land. 2) To discuss what it means exactly to ‘read the landscape as text’ – other studies started to focus on themes regarding the interpretation of the symbolic aspects of landscape. 3) The turn from studying rural and past landscapes to urban landscapes and cultures.

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approaches is “that reality is neither wholly objective nor wholly subjective. We can assume that there is a reality existing independently of human perception of it. The manner in which humans perceive this reality and their ability to perceive it is mediated by society. An interaction takes place between the physical reality of landscape and the subjective conceptions which humans form of this reality in varying social contexts” (Jones 1991: 242).

4) A sustained feminist critique of landscape studies and of the very idea of landscape has been launched.

The new cultural approach in geography has promoted a significant change in the metaphors characteristically employed in geographical explanation. According to Cosgrove & Domosh (1993), two features of the shift in metaphor may be noted. The first is the recognition that many traditional geographical and spatial metaphors are gendered. A second feature of the change introduced by the new cultural geographers is that metaphors of system and machine have given way to others drawn from the realms of culture and the arts: text, theatre, map and painting. Another important aspect with the rise of the new cultural geography is the notion of power. If we accept that the construction and representation of knowledge are ideologically informed, we must recognise that the problem of representation is in fact a problem of what and who constructs meaning. Debates over interpretations are not about which is the most 'truthful' or 'authentic' but about power (see Cosgrove & Domosh 1993; Jones 2004). Also, the crisis of representation within contemporary cultural geography is very much about the crisis of authority, process creating and inscribing meanings about our places and spaces. Duncan & Ley (1993: 11–12) claim "cultural representations (like landscapes) invoke both ideology and power, a power which is often institutionalised by dominant groups in legal discourse /.../." The same is noted by Rose (2001: 9), who assumes: "The particular forms of representation produced by specific scopic regimes are important to understand, then, because they are intimately bound into social power relations."

Critics of the cultural turn argue that the drift towards meaning, identity and representation has led "human geographers to lose sight of the very real material consequences and effects of social identities and processes, and to ignore the political economy of difference and social relations of power" (Valentine 2001b: 168; see also Duncan & Duncan 2004; Castree 2004). Thrift (2002) lectures geographers to deal more with reality than just representations in an era of globalisation and the problems it has brought along. Even more critical is Clifford (2002: 433), claiming that "the challenge is to avoid an elitist division where the empirical, practical and structural determinants to the world are debunked in favour of a kind of academic fashion parade where geographers simply 'strut their stuff' because they like it /.../." The criticism towards the humanistic approach of geography is an everlasting disciplinary misunderstanding. I disagree with the arguments of the geographers above. Studying the representations is highly needed when holding in mind Baudrillard's notion (1988, in Rose 2001), that in an era of postmodernity it is no longer possible to make a distinction between the real and the unreal; images have become detached from any certain relation to a real world. Since we live in a world of representations, we often forget the reality around us that can easily bring along severe conflicts, e.g. in the case of landscape management, as the study in this thesis shows. Studying social phenomena such as representations is as important in an era of globalisation in terms of e.g. identity, politics and authority issues –

something not be underestimated (see e.g. Palang et al. 2004d). To conclude with Jauhianen's arguments on researching landscape, he claims: "In the contemporary fragmented world of multiple meanings it may not be possible to share and depict the same landscape at all. /.../ Landscape is no more one unity but a multiplicity of meanings, readings and misunderstandings that are open to many interpretations." He further suggests: "Maybe above all else the meaning of landscape is about continuous change of the interplay between individuals, society and nature" (Jauhianen 2003: 398). Scott (2004) argues that the concern in the material has never been abandoned in the cultural geography. On the contrary, "interest in material culture is currently undergoing a renaissance" (Scott 2004: 26).

As a way out from this criticism of landscape studies, Cosgrove (2003) proposes to bring together two different approaches for gaining holistic results – that of semiosis and ecology. As an example he brings forward the two thorough studies of F. J. M. Vera (2002) *Grazing ecology and forest history* and K. R. Olwig (2002) *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: from Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. These two historical landscape studies represent conceptually and methodologically the ecological and semiotic approaches to landscape respectively, and demonstrate the possibilities for a convergent understanding of landscape.

### **2.1.3. The linguistic turn**

The cultural turn in geography brought along increased interest in language issues. Language is the medium through which we express and shape our thoughts. Therefore one should not underestimate the importance of the meaning of words, sentences and texts. The initiator of the discussions regarding the importance of language in understanding place in geography, Tuan (1991), points out language's metaphorical power – the way words, sentences and larger units communicate emotion and personality, and hence high visibility to objects and places. Jauhianen (2003) reminds that language is one key instrument used in discussing landscape and that language greatly influences how scholars discuss landscape – there is a huge challenge in discussing landscape issues among scholars from different corners of the world. As an example, Olwig (2002) has in several of his works studied the origin and meaning of the word 'landscape' in Nordic languages. Furthermore, Jones (2003) has systematically studied the shaping of the narratives of the concept 'cultural landscape'. Another conceptual study by Jones & Daugstad (1997) illustrates the pressing need for systematic linguistic research of the meanings of concepts in different academic discourses in order to find common ground and understanding in regards to internal discussions. Claval (2004) has studied the development of rural landscapes in comparison with linguistic models. He writes:

“Linguistic models are helpful for geographers who try to decipher and interpret specific forms of rural landscape. They may rely on: firstly, the dialectical relations between words and things at all stages of evolution (the naming of soil, plants, environments), and the naming of the countryside itself; secondly, the models of structural linguistics and generative grammars for classical forms of agrarian landscapes; and thirdly, semiotics for the aesthetic and social readings which were so important in the religious fields of purely rural societies, or in the ideological ones for modern urban societies” (Claval 2004: 38).

However, Claval (2004) warns that although geographers are willing to borrow tools developed by linguists, none of these tools would be able to provide them with a universal key for reading and interpreting landscapes.

The concept of ‘text’ from the perspective of semiotics is one of meaningful structure, understood as being composed of signs. The meaning of text is determined by rules governing the choice of those signs. These rules are conventional in character, so that any reader of the text would require certain skills or competencies in order to interpret (or decode) the text. “Readers from different social and cultural backgrounds, who have different socially acquired skills and expectations, may therefore read the same text in very different ways” (Edgar 1999: 415).

Text as a term includes more than a writing. Other cultural productions such as paintings, maps and landscapes, and architecture as well as social, economic and political institutions can also be regarded as texts (Tuan 1991; Duncan 2000c). “This expanded notion of texts originates from a broadly postmodern view, one that sees them as cultural practices of signification rather than referential” (Barnes & Duncan 1992: 5). The Sauerian school of landscape interpretation has led to new forms of textual analysis in cultural geography. It also shows that the linguistic viewpoint has penetrated the geographer’s world (Tuan 1991). For example, Cosgrove & Daniels (1988) study the landscape imagery in paintings; Barnes & Duncan (1992) focus on discourse, text and metaphor; and Duncan & Ley (1993) study more broadly landscape representation. As images have been regarded as texts over the years, and the empirical research of the thesis concentrates on images, hence the next chapters touch upon the particularity of visuality and images in regards to geography.

## 2.2. Visuality and geography

“As long ago as 1920, Sir Francis Younghusband, in his Presidential Address to the Royal Geographical Society, felt it necessary to advocate the systematic study of the beauties of scenery, which, he said, constituted the neglected aesthetic dimension of geography. His call did not go entirely unheeded: for example, Vaughan Cornish produced a stream of books on this subject – all of them now neglected by aestheticians and geographers alike” (Fuller 1988: 12).

Separate discussions concerning the aesthetics of landscape were brought up by J. G. Granö in his literary and photographic collection *Altai* ([1919 & 1921]/1993, in Jones 2003b). However, in the years to come, ‘mainstream’ academic geography was to develop in a very different sort of way. Rose (2000) in her discussion on the role of visuality in geography summarises that geographical knowledges are very often conveyed visually, and geographers, like those in other social sciences, are paying some attention to the specifically visual dynamics of this process. In the 30th Congress of the International Geographical Union held in Glasgow, Thornes (2004) addressed the idea that geography has now an opportunity to take a leading role in harnessing the power of the visual to its teaching and research. I would argue that propagating research on visuality is not necessary in itself since visual focus has been predominant in geography for decades (Scott 2004). Geography has traditionally used a wide range of visual technologies and genres – maps, topographic painting, photography, film and GIS among others – and has often assumed that such images do not show a geographer’s representation of the world, but rather some true aspect of the object under observation. Instead, there is a need for critical attention regarding the research of images, according to Rose (2000). She points out that it is only recently that many geographers have begun to argue that the visuality inherent in all sorts of images must be critically examined. Interest in the issues of visuality in cultural geography increased during the second half of the 1980s. However, the emphasis on theoretical discussion that the visual turn brought along has been somewhat nebulous among geographers and thus needs further attention.

### 2.2.1. The visual turn

Even though research concerning landscape as practice and everyday activity has been generating increasing interest during recent years in landscape studies, research regards landscape’s visual aspects holds still to its strong position. Malm (2003) suggests this could be explained by the booming number of studies concerning visual culture by the Anglo-American Academy. Thornes

(2004) also encourages physical geographers to get involved in the research of the visual issues. Rose (2001: 6) writes: “/.../ recently, many writers addressing these issues [interest in the visual] have argued that the visual is central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western societies.” Noble (2004) argues that the emergence of the field of study on visual culture has been posited as a symptom of, and a response to the image-based contemporary cultural landscape that we inhabit and which in turn inhabits us. Increasingly, images and visual technology have become part of our daily lives – consider the hours spent in front of the TV, advertisements in the streets, paintings, snapshots taken with digital cameras and mobile phones, the Internet, computer-aided design, movies, public sculptures, surveillance video footage, synthetic holography, flight simulators, computer animation, robotic image recognition, ray tracing, virtual environment helmets, etc. We are surrounded by images and they forward us information, often unwished and not needed. Elkins (2002: 97) even argues that the messages of images have been degraded to some extent in the postmodern era of globalisation: “Complex images were more common in Western culture from the Renaissance to the early 19th century. They have largely vanished from mass media, visual communication and graphic design, and are rare even in the fine arts – producing generations of speed readers who can only read simple sentences.” These changes in everyday life have led researchers to ask questions about the importance of images in the society. The reason for studying the issues concerning visuality lies in that “/.../ we live in a culture of images, a society of the spectacle, a world of semblances and simulacra” (Mitchell 1994: 5).

On 30 April 1988, the Dia Art Foundation in New York hosted a well-attended conference on the theme of vision and visuality. In hindsight, the conference proceedings may be seen as the moment when the visual turn – or as it is sometimes called, the pictorial turn – showed signs that something new was happening in the academic world (Jay 2002). What did the researchers participating in the conference mean by vision and visuality? Foster discussed the terminology and gave his answer by noting:

“Although vision suggests sight as physical operation, and visuality sight as a social fact, the two are not opposed to nature is to culture: vision is social and historical too, and visuality involves the body and the psyche. Yet neither are they identical: here, the difference between the terms signals a difference within the visual – between the datum of vision and its discursive determinations – a difference, many differences, among how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see the seeing or the unseen therein” (Foster 1988: ix, in Jay 2002).

Mitchell is regarded as the first theorist to name the shift toward visuality in his book *Picture theory* by writing “But it does seem clear that another shift in what philosophers talk about is happening, and that once again a complexity related

transformation is occurring other disciplines of the human sciences and in the sphere of public culture. I want to call this shift ‘the pictorial turn’” (Mitchell 1994: 11). He further argues that the picture now has a status in human sciences like language did, that is, as a kind of model or figure for other things (including figuration itself), and as an unsolved problem, perhaps even as an object of its own science called iconology. Mitchell has also explained the difference between the text and picture, and that they cannot be studied with the same methodology. According to him, the pictorial turn is a:

“/.../ postlinguistic, postsemiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visibility, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality. It is the realization that the spectatorship (the look, the gaze, the glance, the practices, of observation, surveillance, and visual pleasure) may be as deep a problem as various forms of *reading* (decipherment, decoding, interpretation, etc.) and that visual experience or ‘visual literacy’ might not be fully explicable on the model of textuality” (Mitchell 1994: 16).

In line with Mitchell, Rose (2001: 10) writes: “It is important not to forget that knowledges are conveyed through all sorts of different media, including senses other than the visual, and that visual images very often work in conjunction with other kinds of representations.” In general, it is unusual to encounter a visual image unaccompanied by any text at all, whether spoken or written. Therefore, in order to understand the message of the image it is important to look at it in its context – also, the title under the photo or the text that the photo illustrates should be studied with care.

Evans & Hall (1999) have analysed the use of the Saussurian linguistic model in several studies that deal with representation. They have come to the conclusion that the privileging of the linguistic model has led to the assumption that visual artefacts are fundamentally the same, and function in the same way, as any other cultural text. Evans & Hall (1999) argue that images do not obey precise grammatical construction, the underlying rule system of written language. They have no verbs, obvious subjects, nor a grammar of tense. According to Metz (1974, in Evans 1999) the viewer of the image receives a quantity of indefinite information – like statements, but unlike words – that the viewer has to interpret.

The visual images in the case of landscape representations are usually used to show the extraordinary and/or typical spots of a certain place, or as Rose (2001) has put it – the images represent to us how we are and want to be seen. Visual images reflect the worlds inside and outside of us, and through them new identities are constructed (Kress & van Leeuwen 1995). The use of images performs a social function as well as an aesthetic one. Rose (2001: 15–16) continues by claiming: “Cultural practices like visual representations both

depend on and produce social inclusions and exclusions /.../.” Therefore, visual images can be both powerful and seductive.

### 2.3. Theory of social representations

The theory of social representations has been chosen to outline the current study on landscape representations, since it provides an insight into how these representations are shaped and re-shaped in society daily and over a longer time, as well as into how we communicate with them. This chapter explains the socio-psychological techniques of representations.

Sociologist Emil Durkheim had framed his thesis about collective representations by the end of the 19th century. By collective representations he meant expressions of the ways a group understands its relations towards objects they are somehow involved with (Chaib 1996). Collective representations about myths, epidemics, democracy, sports, etc., are the basis of and help to strengthen social bonds. Durkheim’s theory was neglected for over 50 years, and it was social psychologist Serge Moscovici in the 1960s who revived his theory on collective representations and improved it under the name *the theory of social representations* in his seminal work *La psychanalyse, son image et son public* (1961).

The theory of social representations seeks to understand individual psychological functioning by placing the individual in his or her social, cultural and collective environment. The theory proceeds from the premise that any individual is a social being whose existence is rooted in a collectivity (Augoustinos & Walker 1995). According to Chaib (1996) and Moscovici (1996a), the theory is based on people’s representations about the world surrounding them. The theory explains our behaviour on shaping and reshaping representations with the following: “We stabilize representations of ourselves and of things in concert with others, with a shared pool of categorical perceptions, symbols and conventionalized and habitual behaviour patterns” (Bauer & Gaskell 1999: 169). Moscovici, the author of the theory of social representations, gives his original definition of a social representation as the following:

“A social representation is a system of values, ideas and practices with twofold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication by providing a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their worlds and their individual and group history” (Moscovici, 1963: xiii, in Wagner et al. 1999).

Furthermore, Bauer & Gaskell (1999: 167, see also Wagner et al. 1999) note: “Representations are embodied in communication and in individual minds, shared in a way similar to language.”

Social representations are expressed in the verbal and overt behaviour of actors, which constitutes an object for a social group (Wagner et al. 1999).<sup>8</sup> The phenomena composing the local world of a group are social objects. Social objects are constituted by representations. The view that group members maintain of a social object is specific to the group and, hence, the object itself also takes on group-specific social characteristics. Wagner et al. (1999) propose that at least some part of this shared understanding is always different from outsiders’ understanding.

Groups do not live in isolation; they receive information from the environment around them – both the physical and the social (Rämmer 1997). Moscovici (in Bauer & Gaskell 1999) emphasises the role of diffusion in the shaping of social representations. Ideas and opinions are circulating in the community and being verified, constructed and reconstructed over and over again. They are affected by the opinions of the other representations, the media, the changes in the physical environment, etc. Media influences the social thinking and strengthens representations, and spreads them among a wider public (Chaib 1996). Rämmer (1997) notes that media is not only a mediator of ‘identical copies’ of opinions, but rather that representations are changed by the opinions of the influential people who have access to media.

Formally, a representation can be characterised as the relation between three elements (Bauer & Gaskell 1999: 167–168):

1. subjects or carriers of representation;
2. an object that is represented, a concrete entity or abstract idea;
3. a project, or pragmatic context, of a social group within which the representation makes sense.

According to Bauer & Gaskell (1999), three defining features of representations can be identified. Firstly, they are cultivated in communication systems. Secondly, they have structured contents that serve various functions for communication systems and their participants. Finally, they are embodied in different modes and mediums. Communication systems in Bauer & Gaskell’s (1999) approach are social milieus that are the functional locus of representations. In social milieus, understood as communication systems, representations are elaborated, circulated and received – this is the process of symbolic cultivation. They are embodied in one or more of four modes: habitual behaviour, individual cognition, and informal and formal communication. This multi-method

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<sup>8</sup> By social groups in this context are meant distinct groups in terms of their understanding of social world and of objects composing it providing the ground for communication and other forms of co-action (Wagner et al. 1999).

approach proposed by Bauer & Gaskell observes the different representational modes, as well as mediums, and their consequences. In terms of research, this implies some combination of field observations for behavioural habits, questionnaires, free associations or free interviews to explore individual cognitions, group interviews for informal communication; and documents or mass media contents for formal communication. Abric (1996) adds as well that historical narrative, ethnographic tools, and image analysis are common techniques in studying social representations. The triangulation of these different data sources across modes and mediums is a central objective when doing research, in order to map contradictions and consistencies between different data.

When comparing Durkheim's and Moscovici's theories, Chaib (1996) admits that they have a lot in common; though they do have several conceptual differences. For Durkheim, collective representations are static phenomena. As a typical example of his theory, Durkheim refers to religion and its role in traditional society, where he interprets religion as the cement that holds the community together and organises the relations between people. Moscovici (1996b) is critical towards the static view of representations. He argues that the collective thinking is always on 'the move', being constructed and reconstructed constantly. Jodelet (1996) agrees with this notion, saying that social representations, unlike stereotypes, are dynamic, mobile and in constant change.

Two key concepts in explaining the process of shaping social representations are 'objectification' and 'anchoring'. Representations familiarise the unfamiliar of the world phenomena by the related processes of anchoring and objectifying (Moscovici 1984). For the group to come to a basic understanding of an unfamiliar phenomenon, it is essential to name it and to attribute to it characteristics, which allows the phenomenon to be communicated and talked about. Anchoring involves the naming and classifying of novel encounters, ideas, things or persons (Chaib & Orfali 1995). Moscovici notes:

“Also, images, material exemplars, models, and verbal metaphors, as they are used in everyday life, are the basic means for understanding and grasping of the world, and as such are empirical data in the study of social representations. Personal interpretations of the world take the form of objectification, which saturates the unfamiliar concept with reality, changing it into a building block of reality itself” (Moscovici 1981: 198, in Valsiner 2003).

According to Wagner et al. (1999: 96): “Objectification is a mechanism by which socially represented knowledge attains its specific form. Generally, it means to construct an icon, metaphor or trope which comes to stand for the new phenomenon or idea. Sometimes called a ‘figurative nucleus’ of a representation, an objectification captures the essence of the phenomenon, makes it intelligible for people and weaves it into the fabric of the group’s common sense /.../.” To represent something means that a subject relates itself to an

object. This object could be an individual, a thing, an idea, a theory, etc. An object can be real or imaginary, but it is always necessary to have the object.

Since Moscovici's seminal work deals with the diffusion and popularisation of psychoanalytic concepts throughout sections of French society, social representations has continued occupying itself with the ways in which new scientific, political, and economic ideas proliferate into everyday discourse and common sense. "The diffusion of 'expert-knowledge' is occurring at an ever-increasing rate as the 'lay' population appropriates more and more of this knowledge into its everyday reasoning and sense-making" (Augoustinos & Penny 2001: 4). These social psychological processes have a definite purpose, namely to secure coherence in the group and to stand for a common understanding in relation to the outsider's views, which the members of a group do not know much about or sometimes are afraid of (Chaib 1996).

Moscovici (1984) points out that social representations are determined by people's distinct cultural background and experiences:

"/.../ It is easy to see why the representation which we have on something is not directly related to our manner of thinking but, conversely, why our manner of thinking, and what we think, depend on such representations, that is on the fact that we have, or have not, a given representation. I mean that they [representations] are forced upon us, transmitted, and are the product of a whole sequence of elaborations and of changes which occur in the course of time, and are the achievement of successive generations. All the systems of classification, and all the images and all the descriptions which circulate within a society, even the scientific ones, imply a link with previous systems and images, a stratification in the collective memory and a reproduction in the language, which invariably reflects past knowledge, and which breaks the bounds of current information" (Moscovici 1984: 10, in Chaib & Orfali 1996).

According to Chaib & Orfali (1996), during the last 30 years this theory has managed to establish itself as a theoretical and empirical research in most countries in Europe, as well as in the U. S. The theory of social representations is, besides social psychology, widely used in multiple disciplines like anthropology, ethnology, communication studies, cultural studies, etc. The increased interest in the theory in humanistic disciplines can be explained by the term 'social representations' being found in a border area between the psychology and social studies (Jodelet 1995).

## 2.4. Imagery<sup>9</sup>

In line with the discussions on visuality, it is suitable to introduce the concept of ‘imagery’ in landscape studies and present recent works of geographers in that field. In its wider meaning, imagery is a collection of images and/or photos. At the same time, imagery should be seen in relation to the set of texts that goes along with the images/photos. Imagery can be defined as a set of mental pictures of object/objects that is constructed through experiences, attitudes, memories and immediate perception.<sup>10</sup> As Daniels expresses it: “Landscape imagery is not merely a reflection of, or distraction from, more pressing social, economic or political issues; it is often a powerful mode of knowledge and social engagement” (Daniels 1993: 8). Often, there is no one concrete imagery prevailing in society; rather, several imageries can exist side by side. Imagery is closely connected with power being elitist rather than democratic in its character. So, the imagery of landscape representations is rhetorical rather than scientific and therefore subjective – it is a group of people, often a smaller commission that would make the selection of the landscapes. Whether it gives the ‘real picture’ of the ‘typical’ or ‘unusual’ representations is another thing. One of the main functions of landscape imagery is to present an ethnos or nation by using visual images of landscapes. Häyrynen (2004) defines national landscape imagery as a visual signifying system, representing national space and linking physical sites with national ideology. Landscape imagery is never monolithic. Neither is it an independent cultural formation, but rather a framework of representations, readily utilised by the dominant constellations of each period.

With the rise of interest in landscape imagery in the 1980s, various geographers have been widely studying the topic. Brace (1999a, 1999b, 1999c) shows how Cotswolds as a gardenesque region was mobilised as a model for all of England and became a core for visualising the national identity of Great Britain. Bunkše (1990, 1999) describes the imagery of Latvia with “meadows, of uncultivated flowers, birch groves, large oak trees, large erratic boulders and prehistoric castle mounds”, as well as “a dispersed rural settlement pattern without villages” (Bunkše 1999: 124). Prince (1998) has illustratively shown in his research on the agrarian change in 1710–1815 England how studying only representation may mislead a person to a wrong understanding of history. Prince proposes that the neglect of the agrarian revolution in the paintings he studied were attributed partly to artistic fashions, partly to patrons’ references and partly to widespread feelings of nostalgia. Case studies from Canada and Russia (Osborne 1998 and Bassin 2000 respectively) demonstrate how landscape painters were actively used to reformulate a country’s imagery according

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<sup>9</sup> Parts of this chapter stem from Sooväli et al. 2004b.

<sup>10</sup> For longer discussion see for entry ‘image’ in *the Dictionary of Human Geography* (Thrift 2000).

to state authorities. For Nordic perspectives in studies of national and regional imagery see Daugstad (2000), Sörlin (1999), Häyrynen (1998, 2000, 2004), Raivo (2002), Sporrang (2003) and Mackenzie (2004).

#### **2.4.1. A brief history of landscape painting in Europe and Estonia**

Daniels (2004) points to the need of studying art in geographic perspective:

“Landscape art, in its various forms, is now, along with a variety of cultural representations, an established source in studies of the geographies of broad formations such as modernity, national identity, imperialism, and industrialism, usually through studies of specific subject matter such as rivers, cities and clouds. Geographical interest in art is part of broader, interdisciplinary exploration of the culture and meaning of landscape in the humanities and creative engagement with landscape as a genre in contemporary art practice” (Daniels 2004: 430).

For a better understanding of the landscape representations in Estonian painting, a brief history of European and Estonian landscape painting is presented. Because of the socio-historic context, the development of Estonian landscape painting tradition differs from the European, and therefore a deeper insight in regards to the history is needed. Furthermore, it will be easier to recognise the distinctiveness of the landscape representations of Saaremaa when having in mind a wider context of Estonian painting.

The history of landscape painting in European tradition is brief. “Between the early 15th and the late 19th century, at first in Italy and Flanders and then throughout western Europe the idea of landscape came to denote the artistic and literary representation of the visible world, the scenery (literally that which is *seen*) which is viewed by a spectator” (Cosgrove 1984/1998: 9). Sarapik (2002) outlines the roots of landscape painting as a genre:

“Landscape as an independent genre rises in the works of single authors and some schools (e.g. in 17th-century Dutch painting, and especially, in the great ideas of Romanticism in the 19th century). On the other hand, although mute, landscape has always been there. Only brief glances of it and some singular motifs from nature can be seen in the art of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. But starting from the Renaissance, landscape becomes one of the most exploited backgrounds for Biblical plots and themes from classical mythology. However, such background landscapes have most obviously been shaped by human activities and the human mind (ideal landscape)” (Sarapik 2002: 185).

The depiction of landscape loses its importance after Impressionism and Postimpressionism in the 20th century, and at least in the avant-gardist trends the genre has become marginal again. Landscape can more often be seen in the works of Expressionism and Abstract Expressionism (Sarapik 2002).

Vaga (1941) argues that one of the most visible changes that the 19th century brought along in art was the significant rise of landscape painting. He proposes that the reason for that could have been the rapid urbanisation process in Europe, brought along by industrialisation and the associated consequence of alienation from nature:

“A large per cent of European population have been transformed into the prisoners of rental barracks, offices or sooty factories and lost their connection with nature. Nature, being something very ordinary to rural inhabitant, is changing to a distant, mysterious and attractive object of dreams to city dweller. This purely romantic yearning, establishing of new feeling towards nature creates incredibly positive precondition to the development of landscape painting” (Vaga 1941:281).

Similar idealisation of rurality prevailed among writers and poets in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, as described by Olwig (1981). British Romantic poets tended to write about the rural landscapes of the Lake District, the Scottish Borders, and Wales, which were on the social and economic periphery of an urbanising and industrialising Europe. The readers of this poetry lived in these urbanised and industrialised regions, where the contradiction of the environment was the greatest.

Estonian landscape painting as a genre has a slightly different history from that of European tradition. Sarapik (2002) categorises the primary historic stages in Estonian national landscape painting as the following:

- At the beginning of the 20th century, moderate Impressionism influenced by Latvian painting prevailed, seconded by K. Mägi’s powerful landscape paintings;
- The landscape painting reached its peak in the Pallas school in Tartu in the 1930s;
- The realistic landscape paintings of the 1950s functioned as a refuge and escape from the Stalinist ideology of art;
- The innovative landscape paintings of the 1960s, again functioned partly as a refuge and an easier way to an innovation of form in both painting and graphic art;
- Starting from the 1970s the continuous broadening and metaphorisation of the notion of landscape prevailed with cityscapes, symbolic landscapes, Land Art; the identification of landscape through territory.

Komissarov (1997) has indicated that the abundance of landscapes<sup>11</sup> in Estonian painting at the beginning of the 20th century, its continuing popularity during the second half of the century, the use of nature by Estonian conceptual artists, and several video art discussions stemming from the theme of nature, are phenomena that are prototypically Estonian. In her methodological article *Landscape: The Problem of Representation*, Sarapik has pointed out several aspects as possible reasons for why Estonian painting has been focusing upon landscape:

- The pre-Second World War Estonian culture was predominantly a peasants’ culture. Many of the artists connected with the Pallas school still had their roots in the country; landscape painting and country themes were probably more familiar to them;
- The beginning of Estonian art and its foreign contacts were mostly related to Impressionism and Postimpressionism – the period that was most favourable to landscape in the European art tradition;
- The already-mentioned self-withdrawal and lack of belief of the artists in their talent in other genres;
- The later, post-war focusing on landscape can be considered as the continuation of the earlier trends, except that it already had a clear counter-ideological or escapist attitude: “/.../ wrong and harmful views can still be found regarding landscape, where the depiction of nature is conceived as a quiet and peaceful genre of fine arts, which makes no great demands on the artist and does not require ideological content of the work. /.../ Because of bourgeois and nationalist influence, the depiction of landscape, using corpse-like colours, is still passive and pessimistic in the majority of the works” (Makarenko 1952);<sup>12</sup>
- The wave of landscape paintings of the 1990s is metaphorical, being based on art trends prevalent in other countries of the world – such as specific art, Land Art, maps, photos and territories – and thus the ‘artistic landscape’ is again blended into the geographic notion of the landscape (Sarapik 2002).

To conclude, the perceptions of the elite, the landscape painters, do not reflect those of the general public, “but there seems good evidence to suggest that they affect and precede general preferences, that artists (though doubtless not artists alone) discover new tastes which are mediated by many means, including guidebooks, to the travelling public” (Howard 1991). Hence, landscape paintings are suitable for studying the representations of landscape in the society.

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<sup>11</sup> In the context of this chapter landscape denotes the artistic and literary representation of the visible world, the scenery (*sensu* Cosgrove 1984/1998).

<sup>12</sup> A great number post-war Estonian landscape painters refused to paint in the style of Socialist Realism and did not follow the directives of higher authorities. Bassin (2000) notes that like any other genre of art, landscape painting was used as a tool for propaganda for educating Soviet people in the spirit of communism.

#### 2.4.2. Popular imagery – methodological issues

“Recent research has indicated that material and symbolic landscapes of elite and state power – as ideology, way of seeing, stage, and text – cannot be necessarily used as ‘evidence’ that those in power share similar ideas about the ‘nation’, the ‘state’, or the imposition of power” (Till 2004: 352). In order to look for genuinely symbolic landscapes (*sensu* Häyrynen 1996), one needs to turn to popular imagery, consisting of published representations such as school readers, coffee-table books, etc. Published landscape images provide a commensurate corpus, spanning a long time period and thus enabling the search for discursive patterns and transitions.

Albers & James (1988) emphasise that as a form of meaning, photography is the primary medium through which people relate to visual images and make them their own. Once a picture is seen and filtered through the human symbolic system, it is externalised once again in the act of making other pictures and in the act of selecting what to see. In that sense, mass-produced travel photographs are especially influential arbitrators of sight and knowledge. In subtle as well as obvious ways, these photographs not only formulate and institutionalise what the local people as well as the tourists see and how they see it, but also the way they know and understand what they see. Contemporary high quality photo techniques make the photographer aim for the utmost in authenticity, and this has allowed one to record the landscapes in such details so that a person can almost ‘smell the spring flowers and feel the sea wind touching their cheeks’. Thus, popular expressions such as ‘the camera does not lie’ or ‘pretty as a postcard’ signify the importance of photography as a standard of value and judgement in visual awareness (Albers & James 1988; Markwick 2001). However, at times the power of photography may be seductive. The photos shot in dusk or dawn, or from a certain angle or zooming technique have an influence on audience by mystifying the sights and places – they construct clichés, places that do not exist in reality (see Sonntag 1978/1999).

Waite & Head (2001) argue that by framing physical environments through photography, the visual discourse of the sublime accompanied the transformation of nature into an aesthetic landscape. The discourse of the visual drew on the ideas of Burke, Kant and others, who understood places seemingly untouched by humans as sublime landscapes, places offering the greatest opportunity to glimpse the face of God. These views were of the apparently ‘wild’, seemingly pristine, and unproductive landscapes of deserts and mountains, where feelings of terror and delight could be experienced at the same time. By following the thoughts of Romanticism, a visual code was established in the latter part of the 19th century by which certain combinations of physical elements were deemed most picturesque, including panoramic views from hill-tops, rainbows, thunderclouds, sunsets, waterfalls or lakes. Tourism as scenic travel, or sightseeing, thus gave priority to sensing nature through vision. For sightseers, nature became understood as scenery, views, and perceptual

sensation. Presenting countries as geographical units began in the 19th century due to the activities of photographers-explorers: F. Frith, W. H. Jackson and T. O'Sullivan among others were the first curious Western whites who began depicting faraway exotic places. In the course of these photographic travels, the first canons of pictorial presentation began to be formed – comprehensiveness of a place's visualisation, a brief, wide and superficial glance from afar that could be characterised as 'panoramia' and 'kaleidoscopia' (Jay 1988; in Linnap 2003). Linnap is convinced that: "It is no chance that something like this came to be called albums of glossy pictures, in German glanz (Estonian klants) means 'shine', 'sparkle' and 'gloss', and clearly refers to superficiality. Besides, glanz is also associated with bright sunshine, which well characterises the light of postcard type pictures" (Linnap 2003: 437).

Photos and postcards are an integral part of popular culture and of the place promotion practices of the tourism industry. The photographic images are one of many mechanisms by which the tourist industry appropriates, communicates, circulates, and disseminates place myths to help generate leisure spaces (Waitt & Head 2001; Ateljevic & Doorne 2002). The photographs on posters, slides, snaps, and postcards as well as in advertising brochures, souvenir booklets, and travel magazines form a vast body of pictorial evidence for studying visual imagery in tourism. Albers & James (1988) perceive photographic representation as a primary source of data for understanding the form, meaning and process in tourism. Furthermore, travel guides as the mediators of the authors and tourism promoters instruct tourists on how and what to see, in terms of where and when to gaze. In order to recognise the 'important' places, to point out the really exciting sights and to create an appetite for visiting them, the tourism materials are provided with photos.

The coffee table books are meant both for locals and for visitors. These picture books are regarded as memorable gifts that present 'our' country to take with us to our foreign friends. Furthermore, Linnap (2003) argues that publishers have created a need for standardised picture and tourist albums depicting urban spaces and/or nature – a tourist or just a patriot of the 'beauty of fatherland' must be able to stuff Estonia into their 'pocket' exactly as they hoped it would be. At the same time, they produce and embed the stereotypic views, even clichés of certain images that can lead to over-commercialisation and trivialisation of scenic sights (Woodward 2004).

When analysing photo albums and travel guides several aspects of the making and publishing of a book have to be kept in mind. Firstly, the content of the book depends on the eye of the photographer – the themes they regard as attractive. Here, a quotation from Bunkše (1978: 552) – "No matter how perspective and sensitive artists may be of their cultural situation, they write as individuals" – is valid for artists of various kinds: photographers, painters, poets, film directors, etc. Financial aspects may at times play a role in photographing – distant places are hard to reach and therefore may not be visited because of that reason. Another aspect may be weather conditions. Some places

may be left out of a book because no good photos were taken of places due to a rainy day, bad light, etc. Thirdly, the publisher may dictate which images he/she wants in a book and thereby gives a list of places a photographer has to shoot for a certain budget. Then it is the publisher's understanding and taste that determines what a region's imagery is and what might sell well to potential consumers. Finally, one should not underestimate the power of (the political) ideology and prevailing values in a society that may influence the selection of photos (see Burgin 1976/1999). Consequently, the selection of photos is subjectively driven by several different factors. Having that in mind, the main tendencies may yet be outlined about the imagery of Saaremaa in travel guides as well as in coffee table books.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Qualitative methodology

The starting point of this chapter is the idea that different methodologies and approaches in social sciences have taken standpoints in two central methodological questions: do we explain human phenomena with the help of the methodology and methods of natural sciences, or do we need a different methodology and methods from that of the science for explaining human phenomena? Are we looking for causal rules between phenomena or do we try to understand a human being himself (Kulu 1997)?

The qualitative turn in human geography broke through in the 1970s (Claval 2001a), when quantitative techniques were nearly abandoned in favour of small scale, interpretative, qualitative methodologies (Flick 1999; Hamnett 2003). Today, these methods are regarded as one of the successes of human geography, producing a discipline with new knowledge and high-level skills (Thrift 2002). Qualitative methodologies are increasingly being used by geographers, since there is an interest and a need to explore the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes that shape the social worlds (Dwyer & Limb 2001). According to Smith (2001: 23), qualitative methodologies are for researchers who are: “(1) interested in how people see, experience and make particular representations of the world as it is (and has been); and (2) interested in how people ‘do’ things, in how they (which includes we) make the world as it is goes along, as it becomes.”

Dwyer & Limb (2001) have observed that qualitative approaches share several common characteristics, such as an intersubjective understanding of knowledge, in-depth approach, focus on positionality and power relations, and contextual and interpretative understanding. These claims are supported by Flick arguing: “Qualitative research is oriented towards analysing concrete cases in their temporal and local particularity, starting from people’s expressions and activities in their local contexts” (Flick 1998: 13).

To distinguish qualitative methods from quantitative ones, the difference in regards to qualitative methods lies in that they do not start with the assumption that there is a pre-existing world that can be known, or measured. Instead they see the social world as something that is dynamic and changing, and always being constructed through the intersection of cultural, economic, social and political processes. In other words, a qualitative approach focuses on the feelings, construction of meanings, understandings and knowledges of others (Poon 2003). It seeks a subjective understanding of social reality, rather than statistical description or generalisable predictions (Dwyer & Limb 2001). Moreover, qualitative methods provide access to the motives, aspirations and power relations that account for how places, people, and events are made and

represented (Smith 2000). The quantitative methods seek answers to questions like ‘how much?’ and ‘why?’, whereas the main questions the qualitative methods focus on are ‘whether?’ and ‘how?’. In the case of quantitative methods, one has to use numerical figures in order to find out the relationships between distributions and correlations – but the unavoidable generalisations do not allow us to study social phenomena, and cultural and subjective meanings (Lagerspetz 2001). So, qualitative methods are understood as representing more of a subjective understanding, rather than a statistical description (Smith 2000).

Both approaches should be seen as complementary rather than competitive. The decision for or against qualitative and quantitative methods should be determined by the appropriateness of the method to the issue under study and the research questions (Flick 1998). Using both qualitative and quantitative measures gives a researcher the possibility to gain a wider and at the same time deeper spectrum of knowledge about the researched object (Smith 2000; Thrift 2002; Hamnett 2003).

### **3.2. Contextuality, reflexivity and validity**

Three themes are central in conducting qualitative research: contextuality, reflexivity and validity. The following chapter strives to explain the importance of these themes.

The fields of study in cultural geography are not artificial situations in a laboratory, but instead represent the practices and interactions of everyday life. As Flick (1998) argues, most social phenomena cannot be explained in isolation from other phenomena, and one needs to look at the issues under study in a wider social and cultural context. Ley & Mountz (2001: 235) support this idea and add that the background of a researcher in the context of a study is also important: “We are all caught up in the web of contexts – class, age, gender, nationality, intellectual tradition and others – that shape our capacity to tell the story of others.” Rose (2001) assumes that before presenting the results of an academic work, the author must explain how his/her social position has affected the study. Furthermore, qualitative methods are dependent upon contextuality. These methods are embedded in the research process and are best understood and described using a processual perspective. Qualitative approach takes the researcher’s communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge production, instead of excluding it as far as possible in terms of an intervening variable. Subjective viewpoints are starting points for qualitative study (Flick 1998). That in turn means that the methodological procedure must be accurately described in its context in order to follow the course of the study and the results gained. Dwyer & Limb (2001) have pointed to this problem by saying that when reading research conducted with qualitative tools in

geography, one finds little in the ‘products’ one reads that reflect the processes of actually undertaking the research.

Reflexivity is an attempt to resist the universalising claims of academic knowledge and to insist that academic knowledge, like other knowledges, is situated and partial. The interpretation of the results is always dependent upon a researcher’s worldview. A researcher studying the issues of society has a shade of a researcher’s contemporary world, and nobody can in a natural way claim that he/she stands outside the thoughts and representations one wants to study (Mattson 2001). Reflexivity also touches upon the issues of an insider/outsider, looking inwards at the researcher and outwards towards the researcher’s relationship with the researched in the field (Mohammad 2001). “Research as a ‘reflexive’ thinking process involves constant consideration of the researcher, the researched, and the integrity of the process” (O’Leary 2004: 11). There can often be a gap between the researcher and the researched, so that the object of study becomes exotic and may raise interpretational problems. Reflexivity does not mean the mirroring of nature, but rather a profoundly social and interactional capacity of humans to engage in a dialogically based construction of knowledge (Markovà 2003).

Validity in using qualitative methods can be achieved with, as suggested by Winther Jørgensen & Philips (2000), transparency. According to them, transparency can be achieved in two ways: 1) a researcher is responsible for reporting the material that was analysed and systematically indicate methods that were used, and 2) a researcher is responsible for giving an overview of the different steps of the analysis (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000; O’Leary 2004). Here, again the issues concerning authority are important: “Similarly, the background and rationale of the study should clearly show the positioning of the researcher” (O’Leary 2004: 59).

### **3.3. Methods**

In this chapter I discuss the analytical tools with which the research questions raised in the beginning of the thesis can be answered. Different methods are applied for different empirical data. Furthermore, multiple perspectives of how the landscape is displayed by different social groups and texts are studied. Voices of different actors are then compared with one another. To trace the changes in the representation of Saaremaa in the 20th century, a historical narrative overview of the socio-economic conditions of Saaremaa on the basis of scientific literature from the 1930s has been used. The same approach has been used to introduce the landscape painting of Saaremaa: its central themes and trends. In conclusion, the changes in physical landscape are compared with the representational changes.

In the current study I used content analysis and discourse analysis, interviews and surveys aiming to understand the idea of past and current landscapes. With the help of questionnaires we can collect more data-based material for discussing opinions on various subjects today. In-depth interviews help to focus on the issues in greater detail. Questionnaires and interviews provide rich material for the comparing media presentations. Some of the main motivations for studying media content according to McQuail (2000) are:

- Media content mirrors the social and cultural beliefs and values. Media content refers either to a certain time and place, or to the beliefs and values of a social group when that particular media content responds to the general expectations, threats and beliefs among people and at the same time reflects the common values.
- Comparing media with social reality. Does the media content mirror or should it mirror social reality? If this is so, then what kind of reality and whose reality are mirrored?

To get a better overview of the empirical material and analysing techniques for processing data see Table 2.

### **3.3.1. Historical narrative approach**

Kjeldstadli (1999) defines historical narrative approach as a chronological presentation of events. The narrative mediates what has happened in the past, and tries to explain how one situation or state of affairs has led to another (see also Sedgwick 1999; O’Leary 2004). To follow, the nature of narrative can be described as a means by which human beings represent and structure the world (Mitchell 1980). When discussing the essence of narrative the concept to bear in mind is authority – who in the society has right to construct a narrative. White (1980: 10) argues that every narrative is constructed “on the basis of a set of events which *might have been included but were left out.*” This notion leads to the thought that every historical narrative has a desire to moralise the events of which it treats (White 1980).

According to Jones (2003a: 27) “this approach contrasts to consciously theory-informed approaches common in the social sciences, whereby events are structured according to whether and how they correspond with or diverge from theories, laws and concepts.”

### **3.3.2. Interviewing and questionnaire survey techniques**

For gaining empirical data using in-depth interviews, a focus group interview and two questionnaire surveys were conducted. An interview from the point of view of this study helps to gain information about the representations and

opinions of different actors. This idea is supported by Valentine (2001a: 45) who points out that: “In-depth interviews are used to get participants to provide an account of their experiences, of how they view their own world and the meanings they ascribe to it.” The focus group interview can be defined as an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic. Groups typically consist of six to eight people (Flick 1998).

To find out the representations people have about the landscape, they were posed a series of questions regarding the landscape of Saaremaa. The questions asked of the interviewees included questions on peculiarity, favourite and disliked places, the need for protection, and changes of the island landscape. The interviews were transcribed. Transcription is regarded as a necessary step to the text’s interpretation. Later, the transcriptions were coded with the help of content analysis and thereby interpreted.

The starting point for conducting questionnaire surveys was the same as for the interviews – to gain information about the landscape representations of Saaremaa. The open question format questionnaire distributed to respondents included the same questions that were asked from the interviewees – peculiarity, favourite and disliked places, the need for protection, and changes of the island landscape (see the questionnaire in Appendix 1, questions no. 2, 3, 6–8, 11).

### **3.3.3. Content analysis**

Content analysis is mainly used to analyse subjective viewpoints in order to process data derived from questionnaires and articles (Holsti 1969; McQuail 1991; Aitken 1997; Flick 1998).

Content analysis is considered as being in the border between quantitative and qualitative methods. Counting frequencies and thereby trusting numbers to determine what is important and what is not, is in the case of content analysis risky. Things that occur rarely or do not occur at all can indicate more important tendencies than the categories that are frequent (Rose 2001).

Content analysis is a suitable tool for analysing larger amounts of written texts in a systematic way (Holsti 1969). “The method produces a statistical summary of a much larger field and it has been used for many purposes, but especially for extracting from content frequency distributions of references to things with a known frequency in social reality /.../” (McQuail 1991: 184).

Content analysis is designed to produce an objective, measurable, verifiable account of the manifest content of messages (Fiske 1990; McQuail 2000). Krippendorff’s concept of content analysis supports the idea of Fiske and McQuail, who claim that this analysis focuses on two aspects: replicability and validity. Furthermore, according to Krippendorff content analysis is a way of understanding the symbolic qualities of texts – elements of a text always refer to

the wider cultural context of which they are part (Krippendorff 1980, in Rose 2001).

Content analysis must be non-selective – it must cover the whole message, or message system, or a properly constituted sample. The message content is then transformed through an objective and systematic application of categorisation rules into data that can be summarised and compared (Rose 2001). One way of categorising content analysis is that of McQuail’s (1991). He proposes five steps for content analysis:

- Choose a universe or a sample of content;
- Establish a category frame of external referents relevant to the purpose of the enquiry (e.g. a set of political parties or countries);
- Choose a ‘unit of analysis’ from the content (word, sentence, item, story, picture, sequence, etc.);
- Match content to category frame by counting the frequency of the references to items in the category frame, per chosen unit of content;
- Express the result as an overall distribution of the total universe or sample in terms of the frequency of occurrence of the sought-for referents (McQuail 1991).

The category frame in the case of current study can, for example, be place or landscape aspects such as cultural, physical, economic, political and informational issues. The reference then is anything (e.g. phrase, word, image) that is found from newspaper or interview texts that matches with the listed categories.

The categorising procedure is based on two main assumptions: the link between the external object of reference and the reference to it in the text will be reasonably clear and unambiguous, and that the frequency of occurrence of chosen references will validly express the predominant ‘meaning’ of the text in an objective way (McQuail 1991). According to Albers & James (1988), one way to generate these references in the case of analysing images is to organise the pictures around focal themes. A focal theme not only includes the kind of subject that is at the center of a picture but also its essential identifying properties. However, in marking focal themes, these should not merely be associated with a particular frequency and clustering of appearances.

In practice, the categories are compiled into a coding scheme. Coding is the process whereby raw data is systematically transformed and aggregated into units that permit the precise description of relevant content characteristics. The rules by which this transformation is accomplished serve as the operational link between the investigator’s data and his theory and hypothesis. Jackson (2001: 201–202) points out: “Coding is intended to make the analysis more systematic and to build up an interpretation through series of stages, avoiding the temptation of jumping to premature conclusions.”

McQuail (1991) argues that this approach has many limitations and pitfalls, which are of some theoretical as well as practical interest. The normal practice of constructing a category system before applying it involves the risk of an investigator imposing his or her meaning-system, rather 'taking' it from the content. The result of content analysis is a new text, the meaning of which may, or even must, diverge from the original source material. In a certain sense, the new 'meaning' is neither that of the original sender, or of the text itself or of the audience, but rather a construct, which has to be interpreted with care.

Rose (2001) gives three viewpoints in terms of how the interpretations of visual images could be studied: the 'production' of an image, the 'image' itself and the image seen by various 'audiences'. The analysis of visual images in this study focuses on image itself, looking at the symbols and landscapes in the images. With the help of content analysis, the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images are counted and coded, and then the results are interpreted.

#### **3.3.4. Discourse analysis**

The term 'discourse' has many meanings. According to Lyotard (see Edgar & Sedgwick 1999), discourse is a way of organising reality according to particular sets of rules. Another definition is given by Barnes & Duncan (1992), as meaning that discourses are frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideology and signifying practices each relevant to a particular realm of social action. Discourses are heterogeneous in their character: they are not a product of a single author but are constituted socially; involving many types of text and statements, and contain multiple meanings and implications (Gregory 2000). Theorists such as Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk et al. (1997) mean that it is essential to pay as much attention to the information in the discourse as to the information that is left out of the studied context. The central notion in speaking about discourses is language. It is language that embodies discourses. Through language we understand the issues in culture and society. The object of study in the discourse analysis is text. Text in the most traditional form is a written material that occupies anything from a newspaper article to a book (Barnes & Duncan 1992; Aitken 1997). Van Dijk (1997) contends that one should be aware of the theoretical difference between the abstract use of 'discourse' when referring to a type of social phenomena in general, and the specific use when dealing with a concrete token of text or talk. Theoretically, it is emphasised that discourse studies should deal both with the properties of text and talk and with what is called the context – that is, the other characteristics of the social situation or the communicative event that may systematically influence text or talk. Discourse studies are then about talk and text in context.

Discourse analysis is a form of critical reading of meaning construction and a way of finding knowledge about how and why language is used in the way it is (Mattson 2001). According to Parker (1990), discourse analysis involves two preliminary steps – turning the studied objects into texts, and locating those texts in discourses – in which material is interpreted and so put into a linguistic form. Discourse analysis might be divided into more abstract, formal studies, for instance in grammar and artificial intelligence, and more concrete studies of actual texts and talk, socio-cultural contexts – of the ways actual language users and social actors go about speaking, making sense and doing things with words. Other distinctions in discourse analysis could be theoretical and descriptive approaches, on the one hand, and applied and critical on the other. Obvious criterion for different approaches is based on discourse types and genres. One can focus on conversation, news, advertising, narrative, argumentation, political discourse, etc. I have used content analysis of arguments that gives an overview of different opinions of different stakeholders, presented in media. County planning has been studied by looking more generally at the thematic discourses.

To conclude, there are multiple ways of conducting discourse analysis, and which one to choose depends on the aims and theoretical approaches of a particular study (Widerberg 2002).

**Table 2.** Research framework.

Case study	Material	Time	Method
Specialists' views (I)	Interviews (n=8)	Winter 2001	Focus/individual interview/content analysis
Local's views	Questionnaire survey (n=41)	Summer-autumn 2003	Questionnaire survey/content analysis
Tourists' views	Questionnaire survey (n=202)	July–August 2003	Questionnaire survey/content analysis
Scientific imagery	Scientific materials	1930s	Historical narrative
National media	Daily newspapers (n=31)	June 1, 2003–June 1, 2004	Content analysis, discourse analysis
Specialists' views (II)	County plan	2003	Discourse analysis
Paintings	Paintings	1860s–2000s	Historical narrative
Popular imagery (I)	Tourism brochures/travel guides (n=14)	2000–2004	Content analysis
Popular imagery (II)	Coffee table books (n=32)	1900–2004	Content analysis

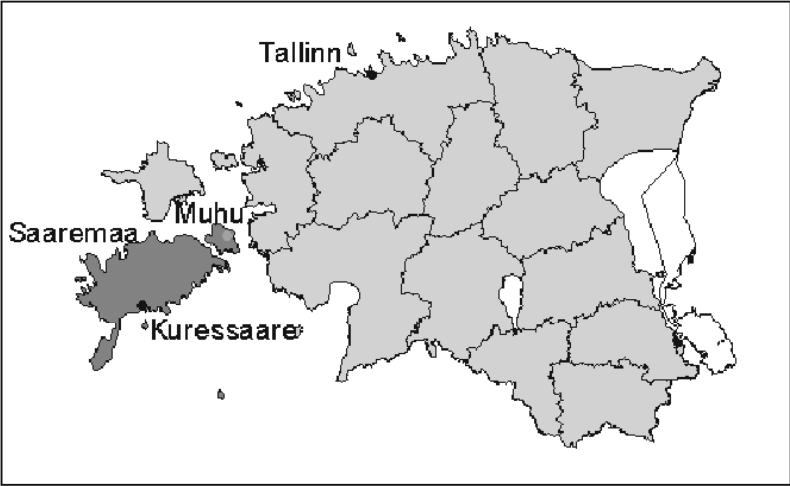
## 4. SAAREMAA IN FACTS

### 4.1. Background

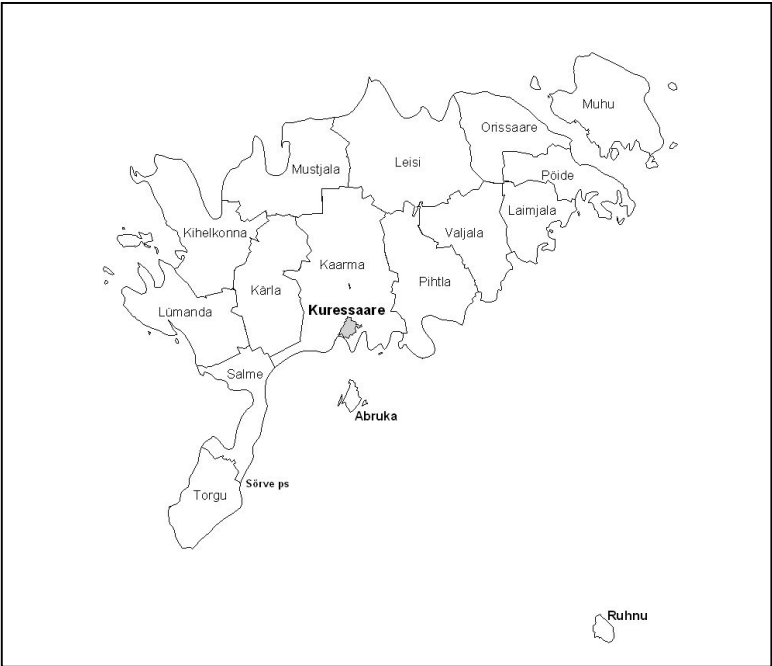
Political, social and cultural conditions have changed Estonia drastically in the 20th century, as well as in the beginning of the 21st century. These changes could not have occurred without leaving traces in the physical setting, but even more extensive are the changes in the attitudes and perceptions of the Estonian people. The potential of Saaremaa becoming a place for medical treatment as well as recreation was recognised during Soviet times (Varep 1985). Still, it is only recently that the Estonian islands have been claimed as places for recreation and retirement. This rapid development over the last years has led landscape conservation into a conflict – new factors forcing intense change in land use and attitudes are becoming more evident. Several problems arise from the diversification of land use and often result in increasing pressure on land (Sooväli et al. 2003a, 2003c). Kaur (2001) in her MSc thesis brings forth the need and importance of studying Saaremaa Island concerning its peculiar character, both in terms of the natural and cultural development that makes it a worthy location for the study of landscape change and transforming values.

The study area, the Island of Saaremaa (known as Ösel in Swedish and German), is one of the largest islands in the Baltic Sea with a current population of 37,000 and an area of 2,673 km<sup>2</sup> (Figure 4). Saaremaa together with other West-Estonian islands are lowlying plains resting on limestone, their average elevation being about 15 meters above sea level. Limestone has become denuded in a great number of places, resulting in cliffs, limestone pits and quarries at Mustjala, Ninase, Pulli, Uugu and Kaugatuma. Because of its mild maritime climate and a variety of soils, Saaremaa has a rich flora, illustrated by the fact that 80 per cent of the plant species found in Estonia are represented here. Over 50 per cent of Saaremaa is covered with forests, mostly mixed forests. Wooded meadows were still common on Saaremaa before the Second World War, but many of these unique natural complexes have gradually become overgrown and thus turned into the ordinary forest. The same is true for alvars (limestone areas covered with thin soil and stunted vegetation). Once a typical and exclusive landscape element in Saaremaa alvars are now in decline. Nature conservation planning for Saaremaa now includes protection of the largest and most unique alvar areas (Reitalu & Trass 2002; *Saaremaa* 2004).

The coastline of Saaremaa is over 1,200 km long. With its adjacent islands and the Island of Ruhnu located some 50 km away, Saaremaa forms administratively Saare County, consisting of 16 municipalities – Kuressaare town and 15 rural communities (see Figure 5). The name ‘Saaremaa’ in daily practice includes the nearby island Muhu and the islets surrounding the Island of Saaremaa. This current study concentrates primarily on the issues concerning Saaremaa Island.



**Figure 4.** Location of case study area Saaremaa Island.



**Figure 5.** Saaremaa County with its 16 municipalities.

## 4.2. Historical background

Saaremaa, as well as the other islands of Estonia, is considered ethnographically different from the mainland (see Lehari 2003). Close contacts with Sweden have had their influence on the island's material culture. The inhabitants of Saaremaa have been on the move throughout the centuries. The islanders have been at sea and sailed on foreign ships, where they came into contact with various innovations. The heroic early history of Saaremaa provides reasons for the myths and stories of even today. I would argue that much of the *genius loci* of the island lies indirectly upon the flourishing era of the 9th–13th centuries. Therefore, to understand the spirit of the island, a brief glimpse at the Viking Age period, 'the golden era' of Saaremaa, as well as the history of the 20th century are presented to the reader.

According to Mägi (2002: 5) “/.../ the Viking Age was a period when both the eastern and the western coasts of the Baltic Sea could be described as having a certain degree of cultural uniformity.” On Scandinavian runic stones, the placename *isilu* (island) may indicate Saaremaa (Salberger 1986, in Mägi 2002). In most Scandinavian sagas, Saaremaa is named as *Eysysla* (in translation, most likely 'district of islands'), *ey* standing for an island and *sysla* for administrative unit (Palmaru 1980). The 13th century chronicler Henry the Livonian used the term *Osilia* to signify the territorial unit of Island of Saaremaa and the islets surrounding the Island of Saaremaa (Luha et al. 1934).

Before Christianisation (800–1200 A. D.), Saaremaa blossomed both economically and culturally. Archaeological findings tell us that the inhabitants of Saaremaa had frequent contacts with the Vikings, with whom they exchanged goods and fought with (Miller 1970; Valdmaa 1995; Mägi 2002) (see Figure 6). Also, linguists suggest that the distinctive Saare dialect is similar to Swedish in terms of prosody because of the centuries-old tight contacts with Swedes (see Ariste 1931 and Niit & Remmel 1985, in Kään et al. 2002). Saaremaa was an active neighbour to an economically strong Gotland, from where the Vikings sailed to Saaremaa and made longer stops before heading on trading trips and forays to Russia. The men of Saaremaa were according to legends known as successful traders of women, who were apparently brought along as slaves from raids on Scandinavia and sold to the Orient (Luha et al. 1934).

The inhabitants of Saaremaa have historically had, on one hand, a very strong communal identity and, on the other, a desire for power and freedom. Before Christianisation in the beginning of the 13th century, the men of Saaremaa conquered the western parts of mainland Estonia and even raided parts of Livonia in 1217 (*Henriku Liivimaa Kroonika*). As the continental part of Estonia was Christianised before Saaremaa (1217), the warriors of Saaremaa fought against the Teutonic Order who organised raids on Saaremaa. Apart



**Figure 6.** The traces of tight contacts between islands of Saaremaa and Gotland are still visible in the landscape, e.g. in the settlement names (Kallasmaa 2000, 2002). Photo: H. Sooväli.

from the Germans, the Swedes and the Danes were also interested in the lands of Estonia. In 1220 the Swedish king Johan and his bishops landed on the coast of Western Estonia, in Lihula, and christianised the villages nearby. The Osilians, who had control over that area, made a raid on Lihula, killed the whole Swedish garrison of 500 soldiers and regained control over the western part of Estonia in 1220 (*Henriku Liivimaa Kroonika*; Tannberg et al. 2001). In 1227 the Order, the town of Riga and the new Bishop of Riga organised another attack against Saaremaa, in the course of which the Muhu stronghold as well as the Valjala stronghold, known as the centre of the Osilians, were destroyed. The Osilians had to accept Christianity (*Henriku Liivimaa Kroonika*). But even then the islanders' courageous fight for freedom did not come to an end. Battles that ended in treaties and compromises in the 13th and even 14th centuries gave the people of Saaremaa a somewhat different social position from the rest of Estonia (Mägi 2002). Mägi (2001) suggests that the character of the 13th and 14th century history of Saaremaa allows for the hypothesising that the local elite of the island kept their privileges, lands and power even after the conquest.

For contextualising the current study we make a further jump to the recent history of the Island of Saaremaa, where one notices drastic changes in many spheres.

As already noted, the islanders have always been adventurous, and notorious as intruders or sailors. Search for a better life has in the 19th century led them to the continental parts of Estonia, Latvia, Russia, and even to North America. For the same reason, a total of 13,887 people on the island (30 per cent) changed their religion from Lutheran to Russian Orthodox between 1846–

1847, hoping to get better living conditions promised by the Russian Tsar (Luha et al. 1934). In coastal areas, additional income was actively earned with the practice of smuggling.

The 20th century has been in many ways devastating to Saaremaa. The changes in population (see chapter 'Population dynamics') during and after the Second World War caused the discontinuity of the traditions on Saaremaa. The establishment of Soviet military bases in the 1950s in several places of Saaremaa resulted in the quick resettlement of people to other parts of Estonia. The Soviet border zone was established in areas where people lived, and that caused resettlement in coastal areas. Fishing, one of the main incomes for the islanders, was minimised due to the strict border regulations. The years between the 1950s and the 1980s could be characterised as the total control over people in the coastal areas and those near the military bases by military forces.

The collectivisation in the early 1950s brought along the mechanisation of agriculture – over 150 *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* (see Figure 7) were established on the islands of Saaremaa and Muhu (Kasepalu 1985; Prooses 1986).<sup>13</sup> This resulted in people being concentrated in larger settlements like Orissaare and Salme as well as in the town of Kuressaare (Soome 1983).<sup>14</sup> By 1984 the number of *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* were reduced to nine and five respectively, by uniting them.

Changes in Kuressaare were drastic as well. The popular harbour and health resort was transformed into an industrial town after the Second World War (Eilart 1965). The first sanatorium, *Kuressaare*, was reopened only in 1979. Until the end of the 1980s, only one hotel with 40 beds functioned in Kuressaare (Marksoo 2002). From then on the tourism industry has been in speedy ascent.

To sum it up, Saaremaa was a borderland between eastern and western ideologies during the times when Estonia belonged to the Soviet Union – it was the westernmost border of the Soviet Union. Thereby, this island was under special control and at the same time an important military basis strategically.

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<sup>13</sup> For colourful descriptions about the establishing of the first collective farms and the changes they brought along in the countryside of Saaremaa see for example Tooms (1959).

<sup>14</sup> The town of Kuressaare was called Kingissepa during the Soviet occupation.



Figure 7. Distribution of *kolkhozes* and *sovkhoses* on Saaremaa 1947–1950 (Kasepalu 1985).

### 4.3. Saaremaa today<sup>15</sup>

The combination of sea and land is one of the greatest assets of the island, making this a favoured destination for summer visitors.

Any island is marginalised when considering job opportunities and all-year-round activities. At the same time, the islands in Estonia are under increasing pressure due to their attractiveness for second homes and several possibilities for leisure. Environmental problems are caused in local landscapes and habitats by increased property development, conflicting with the objectives of nature conservation. Under Soviet rule, Saaremaa was a closed border zone of the Soviet Union and visiting the island was strictly regulated, for the residents of Soviet Estonia included (Figure 8). In some ways, the forced isolation ‘helped’ to preserve the nature and lifestyle of the island by freezing inevitable development and change.

<sup>15</sup> Parts of this chapter stem from Sooväli et al. 2003a.



**Figure 8.** The heritage of the Soviet Army is still visible in the landscape. When driving around the island visitors notice a typical detail to the domestic farms – the iron blocks used in the airfields. They function as fences and are widely used all over the island today. Photo: H. Sooväli.

The island landscape of wooded meadows, pristine coastline and dispersed farmsteads conveys an image perceived currently as typical of an Estonian island (Figure 9). Domestic travel is increasing and foreign tourists have discovered the charm of the island. Children visit Saaremaa as part of their school curriculum; studies have shown that the island is among their topmost preferences (Palang 1993). Saaremaa is a favoured place to spend summers with family and friends. Several old farms have been converted to second homes by Estonian town dwellers, and increasingly by foreigners (mainly Finns). Many tourists want to experience the rustic features of the island – Saaremaa is perceived as having maintained the character of the Scandinavian summer landscapes of childhood in the 1930s–1950s (Snellman 2000; Assmuth 2001). According to Sooväli et al. (2003a), the motivations among the Finnish retired people and the elite of Northern Estonia to buy a cottage in this prestigious summerhouse region tend to lie in the idyllic intimate landscape with juniper shrubs, windmills and pastures; but not with the customs related to the place. In 1999 there were some 160 foreign landowners on Saaremaa (Snellmann 2000). According to the statistics of Saare County government (*Kinnistute...* 2003), by January 1, 2003, 501 real estates were owned by foreigners. Communication between summerhouse owners and local people is infrequent, and learning about local customs and lore has not been regarded as important yet (Vooglaid 2004).

New possibilities for spending holidays have appeared on Saaremaa with popular beer, opera and other summer festivals, spa and yacht tourism, surfers'

paradise, etc. The local inhabitant, in turn, faces a myriad of choices and asks himself whether it is worth struggling with harsh natural conditions for the sake of outsiders who regard the island as being so idyllic (Talvi 2004).

Saaremaa is a hotspot for visitors; thereby, the landscapes of Saaremaa are under great pressure. Various social groups have expectations and interests – aesthetic, recreational and economic – in the landscapes. The landscapes of Saaremaa are thus an arena for conflicting interests.

Today, in many ways Saaremaa is considered as being on a periphery far from the economic and political centres of Estonia; yet I would argue that Saaremaa is one of the most talked about regions of Estonia in media. The endless discussions since the mid-1990s regarding the construction of a deep-water harbour on Saaremaa and the bridge/channel linking the island of Muhu and the mainland is probably one of the most written topics in Estonian daily newspapers.<sup>16</sup> I presume everybody in Estonia has an opinion on these issues.



**Figure 9.** Advertisements, rock videos, movies, etc., make efficient use of landscapes in conveying ideas and feelings, and thus make use of everyday understanding and subconscious reading of landscape sceneries (Widgren 2004). Saaremaa is well represented on the package labels of goods produced on the island and are thereby distinctive and easily noticed on the counters (e.g. the series of cheeses by Saaremaa Meat and Milk Plant of Saaremaa Ltd.).

<sup>16</sup> While writing this thesis the Estonian Minister for Economics, M. Atonen, was forced to resign due to problems caused by failed negotiations about how to continue the ferry traffic between Saaremaa and the mainland.

## 4.4. Population dynamics

The 20th century brought along significant changes in the population of the island. Population dynamics is a complex issue because of several dramatic events in Estonian history.

The population of Saaremaa was at its highest in the beginning of the 20th century, when it amounted to 58,000 (1922). Interestingly, according to Marksoo (2002), in the early decades of the 20th century Saaremaa was one of the most rural regions in Estonia in terms of the share of rural population. The population of Saaremaa declined somewhat due to emigration to the mainland between the two World Wars. Another reason for decline was the return of the Baltic Germans from Germany. Before the Second World War, the Saaremaa population decreased to 55,000 (1934).

The Second World War, Soviet and German occupations, emigration to the West, and deportations to Siberia caused a rapid decline in the islands' population, to 28,000 (1959) (Marksoo 2002; Vessik & Varju 2002). Many families escaped to the West from the Soviet power (primarily to Sweden and Finland in 1944). 8588 inhabitants were deported between 1940 and 1953 (the number being significantly more than in the rest of Estonia, on average). Moreover, many men were killed in battles on the Island of Saaremaa during the Second World War. Due to these reasons, rarely less than half of the farmers stayed on the island. That led to a situation where after the war ca 70 per cent of the population consisted of women (Toomsalu 1983).

The 1950s could be characterised by extensive collectivisation and industrialisation. During this period the growth of urban and the decline of rural populations was rapid. Half of the rural population left their homes for towns (Tammaru 2001; Marksoo 2002). At the same time, people from other parts of the Soviet Union as well as from other parts of Estonia moved to the countryside. Since then the urban population has increased significantly; however, the island can still be regarded as relatively rural.

The consequences of the drastic changes in society have caused a brutal resettlement of the population of Saaremaa during the last 50 years. Before the Second World War the settlements were concentrated more on the coastal areas of the island, whereas the core settlements have now moved to the centre of the island, i.e. to Kuressaare and Kaarma region. In numbers, the population has increased 1.8 times on the core of the island, whereas on East Saaremaa it has decreased 2 times and on West Saaremaa 3.6 times respectively. The numbers will continue to decrease (Tammaru 2001; Marksoo 2002). Today, the population of Saaremaa is 37,000 (2000).

## 4.5. Land use dynamics<sup>17</sup>

In accordance with the ownership and demographic situation, drastic land use changes have occurred on Saaremaa in the 20th century. The landscapes of Saaremaa have generally emerged similar to the general picture in Estonia, although several specific features can be pointed out. In the beginning of the 20th century, the number of manorial estates was extremely high on the island compared to the rest of Estonia, with a land ownership of 1,000–5,000 ha per estate (Oja 1994). The majority of the estates were public, rented to high officials of state and not privately owned, with a few notable exceptions (Rennit 1986). The number of peasant farms was also high and the farms were small. About 10,000 farms existed on Saaremaa before the Second World War. The first collective farms were established on Saaremaa between 1947–1949 (Kasepalu 1985). By 1950 Saaremaa was collectivised into 156 collective farms. In 1950, the arable land of 38,000 ha was divided between collective farms, on average 567 ha in size. In the 1980s, the heyday of collective farming, these farms had been compacted into nine collective and state farms, five *sovkhoses* and one large state fishery (Kasepalu 1985).

The land use has been heavily influenced by the presence of the Soviet Army. A large part of the former agricultural land was used by the military: airfields, missile bases and border guard stations were built. Land amelioration has left its traces. These activities had already started in 1930, but peaked in the 1960s–1970s (Ratas & Rivis 2002). The main aim then was to remove the numerous stone fences and consolidate the former tiny fields into larger ones.

Landscapes on Saaremaa feature limestone bedrock close to the surface, and poor soils rich in lime. This has favoured meadow vegetation and junipers. The land has mostly been used as pastures or hay meadows. Cultivation of crops has played a secondary role. The share of forest was low but is currently high, due to intensive forestation campaigns in the Soviet period – more than half of the island is forested today (Figure 10). According to official statistics (Palang et al. 1998; *Eesti Statistika...* 2001), 88 per cent of the island was in agricultural use (i.e. pastures, arable land, gardens) in 1918, while in the beginning of the 21st century (2001) this figure had declined to 17 per cent. The satellite image demonstrates the currently overgrown and forested Saaremaa (Figure 11).

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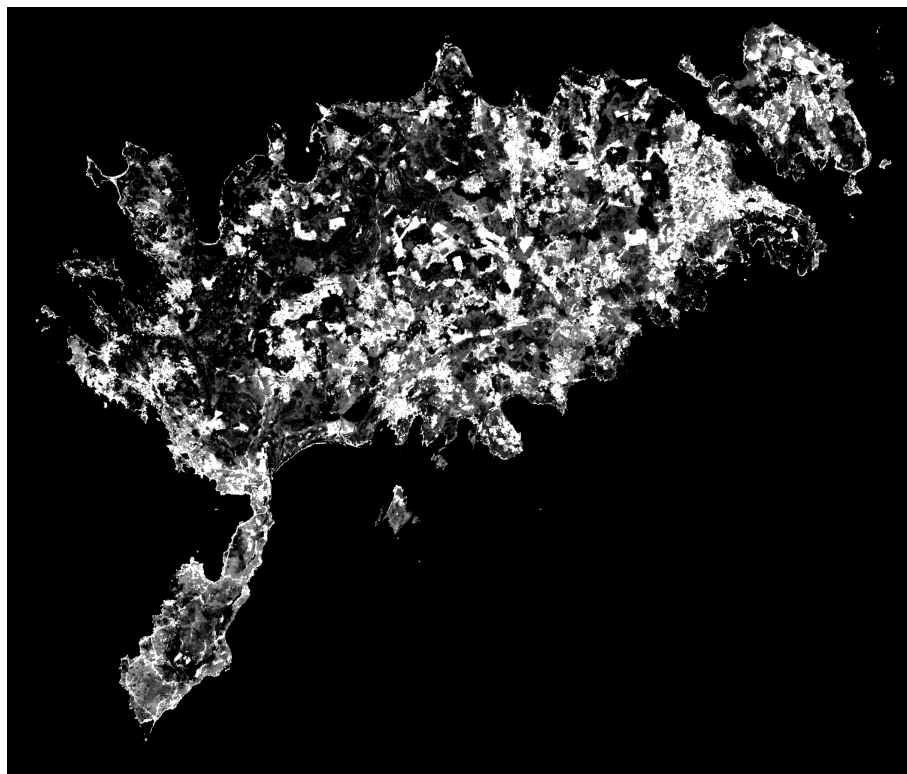
<sup>17</sup> Parts of this chapter stem from Sooväli et al. 2003a.



**Figure 10.** Sõrve Peninsula was one of the most densely inhabited regions of Estonia in the 1930s, whereas today most of the pre-Second World War villages have vanished and the peninsula belongs primarily to second-home dwellers.

Sõrve Peninsula, 1934. Photo: author unknown. SMF 3761: 2019.

Sõrve Peninsula, 2004. Photo: H. Sooväli.

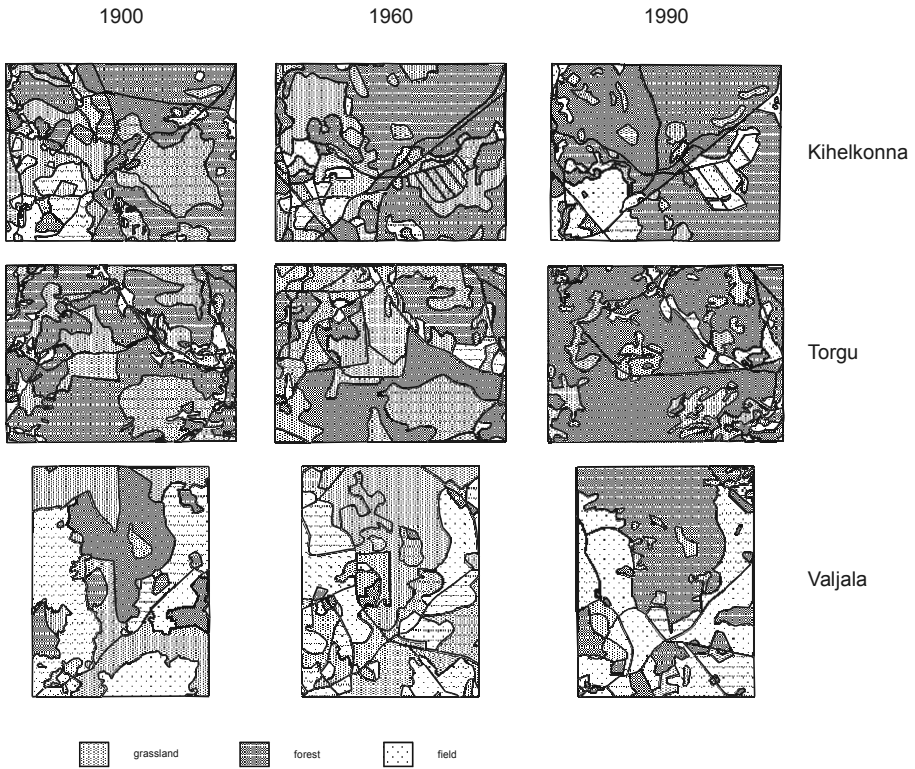


**Figure 11.** Satellite image of Saaremaa Island (Peterson et al. 1998). Light tones stand for the agricultural land and settlements; dark tones stand for coniferous forest.

The changes in land use are illustratively shown in Table 3 and Figure 12. Land use changes on these test sites were followed on maps from four different time periods: Russian topographic map sheets (scale of 1:42,000) dating from 1896–1917 are referred to as ‘1900’; topographic map sheets (scale 1:50,000) published by the Topo-Hydrographic Department, Estonian Army, in 1935–1939 are referred to as ‘1935’; the 1960 land use map of Estonia (scale 1:50,000); topographic map sheets (scale 1:50,000) issued by GUGK in Riga in 1982–1990 are referred to as ‘1989’ (Palang et al. 1998).

**Table 3.** Dynamics of the share of agricultural land on Saaremaa in per cents.

1918	1929	1939	1942	1945	1966	1975	1986	1992	1996	2001
88.1	69.2	69.6	73.2	70.7	37.5	32.7	30.5	30.5	28.0	17.0



**Figure 12.** Land use dynamics in Kihelkonna, Torgu and Valjala sites, Saaremaa in 1900, 1960 and 1990.

## 5. LANDSCAPE REPRESENTATIONS OF SAAREMAA

### 5.1. Three surveys on representations of landscape

#### 5.1.1. Specialists' views

In order to gain knowledge into how the influential actors living and working on Saaremaa display 'their' island, in-depth interviews were carried out with county administration specialists (8): planners, an architect, and specialists in environmental issues. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour and were conducted in Kuresaare, in January 2002. In order to get a consistent overview of the representations the specialists were asked the same questions as the respondents in the project *Evaluating Valuable Cultural Landscapes of Saaremaa* (2003; see Appendix 1).

The most prominent aspects of the distinctiveness of the Saaremaa landscape among the specialists were connected to the natural attributes of landscapes. Juniper shrubberies and limestone outcrops were mentioned most. Among cultural features the specialists listed stone fences, windmills, historical farms and old village patterns. Also, the sea and the island peculiarity were regarded as the most distinctive and unique components of Saaremaa. The peculiarity of the island is vividly expressed by the following citation from one of those surveyed:

“Saaremaa is a place with clean nature. Both the sea and land are present here and we cannot ignore either of them. /.../ In a way, Saaremaa is marked by God – the Kaali Meteorite Crater is mysterious and distinct.”

In addition, semi-natural elements of the landscape (e.g. wooded and coastal meadows, and alvars) were mentioned.

People were asked to name elements of landscape worthy of management and protection on the island. The strongest need for conservation was put on the semi-natural elements of landscapes. The necessity of maintaining semi-natural grasslands – alvars, coastal and wooded meadows and pastures that were seen as representing centuries-old local land use practice – was mentioned by all respondents independent of their occupation. Also, the uniqueness of diversity of nature was mentioned on several occasions:

“To think what rare plant species grow here! And when I bring this knowledge to my consciousness then it is a huge value and I understand why the tourists appreciate it so much.”

The need to protect the landscape from unsuitable development, such as constructing cheap ready-made standardised summer cottages imported from Finland and Sweden, was considered highly important, as illustrated by this notion:

“Every village, every community must protect itself in order to maintain its peculiarity. /.../ [In constructing houses] we have to spring from our own materials, components peculiar to the island. Otherwise we will look the same as in Europe.”

Another danger mentioned was tourism:

“Tourism on one hand is welcomed, but on the other hand dangerous for certain seminatural communities and landscapes.”

### **5.1.2. Locals' views**

In order to understand local landscape representations on Saaremaa, the features regarded as typical or distinct by inhabitants were investigated. As noted by Alumäe et al. (2003) and Palang et al. (2004a), local people play a central role in identifying valuable landscapes in the study area. Being part of the working group of the Saare County plan *Evaluating Valuable Cultural Landscapes of Saaremaa* (2003), I conducted the questionnaire survey and processed the data received from it. The questionnaire was elaborated upon by the working group of the pilot project in Viljandi County (Palang et al. 2004a; KKM 2001), and our working group modified it according to the needs of Saare County. The questions asked from the respondents in the questionnaires involved the issues of (1) landscape peculiarity; (2) threats to landscapes; (3) preservation needs of landscape; (4) disturbing experiences in landscape; (6) expectations in regard to future landscape. Preference in the surveys was given to open questions, which would help to avoid the prejudices that can be caused by pre-given answers (Alumäe et al. 2003). The planning project was introduced on several occasions in public gatherings (Merila 2003). In these gatherings questionnaires were handed out to be filled in by the local inhabitants. Regrettably, only a small number of questionnaires were received back.

The sample consisted of 41 people currently residing on Saaremaa and involved lay people as well as community specialists. The open format questionnaire consisted of 11 questions out of which six were analysed in the frame of the current study. More than one answer was allowed for the questions. The answers of the respondents pointed out specific places and spots on Saaremaa. Regardless, a generalisation of the mentioned features can be brought out.

To the question *Are there landscapes or landscape elements that are particularly distinct to your vicinity or Saaremaa?* the inhabitants of Saaremaa answered that junipers were the most typical landscape features – it was mentioned by more than half of the respondents. The junipers were followed by distinctive features of semi-natural communities: alvars, coastal and wooded meadows and pastures, as well as various spots of limestone cliff. Twenty-five percent of the answered inhabitants regarded the alvars and various coastal areas (peninsulas, bays, coasts, islets, etc.) as typical features of Saaremaa. Man-made elements – stone fences – were listed 11 times.

The second question *What is special in the landscapes of Saaremaa compared to other places in Estonia?* discussed the peculiarity of the landscapes of Saaremaa compared to the rest of Estonia. The juniper shrubberies and the pastures [semi-natural grasslands] were regarded as the most typical landscapes of Saaremaa. Also, the coast, alvars as well as the limestone cliff, pure nature, well maintained villages and farms as well as stone fences were often mentioned.



**Figure 13.** Kärkvere village is one of the many pearls of Saaremaa – a well-maintained settlement with a nostalgic atmosphere, a mixture of the pre-Second World War and collective farm times. Photo: H. Sooväli.

The next question involved the specific keywords that would characterise the landscapes of Saaremaa – *Which keywords would characterise the landscapes of Saaremaa?* Interestingly, the top ranking here was given to alvars, coastal meadows and old villages (see Figure 13). Again, coastal cliffs, wooded meadows and forests were mentioned. The following answers represent a typical view on landscape character:

“Juniper shrubberies, coasts, windmills, well-maintained homes, small animal flocks, rather much forest.”

“One can encounter many sites with pure nature where tourist buses do not come.”

The answers to the following question – *Which places in your home community and Saaremaa would you mention as beautiful (interesting, peculiar)? Please bring out a specific place name and/or try to limit these places somehow* – were various. In total, 118 different places were mentioned. Viidumäe Nature Reserve, Panga Cliff, Üügu Cliff, Lake Karujärv, and Koigi Bog were mentioned more than five times. More than half of the listed objects involved human impact: seminatural grasslands, villages, distinct buildings and specific cultural landscapes.

*What should be maintained in the landscapes of Saaremaa?* was a question that again showed what was regarded as having permanent value on Saaremaa. In general, the respondents talked of open coastal areas, juniper shrubberies as well as the stone fences and the land use specific to Saaremaa.

The answers to the questions *What disturbs you in the landscapes of Saaremaa?* and *What endangers the landscapes of Saaremaa?* indicated that the respondents were worried about the future of the landscapes. The temporal or permanent abandonment of agricultural land, which has caused natural succession, as well as excessive of careless forest felling and the constructing of summer cottages on the beaches concerned the dwellers of Saaremaa most of all. Also, the issue of the increasing number of tourists was mentioned several times. The respondents were worried that the social carrying capacity would set its limits according to the amount of visitors in the nearest future. Poorly maintained juniper shrubberies and selling the land to non-islanders were also mentioned as dangers that might bring along unwished changes in the landscapes, as illustrated by these answers (Figure 14):

“The architecture of the new constructions, garbage left by the tourists, poorly maintained fields that are getting overgrown.”

“The traditional mentality is being changed into that of the European Union.”



**Figure 14.** Open coastal areas are regarded by inhabitants of Saaremaa as having permanent value. Ohessaare coastal meadow with farmstead in the background. Photo: H. Sooväli.

### 5.1.3. Tourists' views

In the summer of 2003, a study among tourists was conducted in Kuressaare in order to find out what the tourists regard as exciting and valuable on Saaremaa. The survey was conducted in the Kuressaare centre. The composition of the questionnaire was grounded on the aim of identifying the motivations, expectations and experiences regarding the visitors' vacation on the island. All in all 202 tourists – 101 Estonian and 101 foreign – were questioned using an open question format questionnaire (see Appendix 2). In order to frame the interpretation of the results of the survey, every single question of the questionnaire was set up as a thematic class expressive of landscape representations on Saaremaa: (1) peculiarity of the island compared to that of Estonia's; (2) landscape peculiarity; (3) interesting sights, and; (4) favourite places on Saaremaa.

#### Estonian tourists

The average age of the Estonian tourists was 29. Among the respondents 66 were women and 35 men, the rest did not give their sex. More than half of them had or were gaining higher education. Sixteen of the respondents had vocational education and 19 of them secondary education. Age and education are factors that influence the intentions and expectations of travel destination as well as the places that one visits. The average stay on the island lasted five days.

To the question *Why did you choose Saaremaa for your travel destination?* the Estonian tourists had various answers. Most often the questioned people were paying personal visits to friends and relatives, or attending birthday parties. The category of ‘personal occasions’ was followed by answers explaining that Saaremaa is a nice place for spending summer holidays. Festivities such as concerts, performances and parties were often mentioned as a reason for visiting Saaremaa. Equally, many people pointed out that it had been long time since they had visited Saaremaa last, or that they were on a business trip.

The next question *What do you plan to do on Saaremaa?* strived to find out the visitors’ plans for their stay on the island. The open question allowed multiple answers. The main activities the Estonian respondents were planning: to have a holiday with sunbathing, swimming, taking walks, etc. Many wanted to travel or hike on the island and visit sights (both cultural as well as natural features were mentioned). Among the most frequent answers, partying was also mentioned.

*What is different/special on Saaremaa compared to other places in Estonia?* involved again multiple answers. Most frequently the peculiarity and purity of the island’s nature was pointed out. Interestingly, the junipers’ was the most mentioned feature of nature. The wish of experiencing nature was followed by the fact that Saaremaa’s geographical isolation and ‘islandness’ makes the place exciting and worthy of visiting. The ferry trip was regarded as adventurous. Also, several times the nice, open and friendly islanders with their excellent sense of humour as well as the small peculiarities of the island (homebrewed beer, eel, smoked flounder, island dialect, etc) were noted as special features of Saaremaa. One of the respondents summed up the peculiarity in the following way:

“Long stone fences, junipers – sea gulls, sea, wind, overturned boats in the yards, dusty roads.”

The juniper shrubberies, (coastal) meadows with junipers, were predominantly considered as the most peculiar features of Saaremaa landscapes. Several respondents saw Saaremaa’s flat relief as a peculiarity. Again, the keywords ‘islandness’ and ‘isolation’ were regarded as important to visitors. Also, stone fences and the peculiar coastline feature in many answers.

The answers to the question *Which natural sites do you plan to visit/have you visited on Saaremaa?* showed that tourists seemed to have had rather concrete plans as for the sights and places they wanted to visit on the island. Most frequently Kuressaare Castle was mentioned. It could depend on the fact that the survey was conducted in Kuressaare; hence the castle and sights of Kuressaare were often mentioned. Approximately equally, the Kaali Meteorite Crater was pointed out many times, followed by the coastal cliffs (most often Panga Cliff). Medieval churches (Kaarma, Pöide, Valjala) were seen as worth visiting. Also, the prehistoric hill-forts interested local visitors.

The last open-ended question – *Which places do you like the most on Saaremaa? Why?* – provided a long list of different favourite places. Questioned people did not share a similar opinion about the places they liked the most. Still, it could be brought out that Kuressaare with its sights was one preferred destination, followed by different cliffs, churches, villages and recreation areas.

### Foreign tourists

One hundred and one foreign respondents were questioned, among whom 57 were female and 44 male, with the average age of 45. Of the surveyed, 51 did not reveal their nationality. Twenty-nine respondents were of Finnish origin, nine Swedish, followed by occasional visitors from Germany, Denmark, Latvia and Norway. The majority of the respondents had higher education. On the average, the planned duration of visit was four days. The answers to the question *Why did you choose Saaremaa for your travel destination?* indicated that for the vast majority, the visit to Saaremaa was motivated by the rumour/previous knowledge about the beauty of the island, purity of its nature and, on the whole, that it is an interesting place. Still, several people were on the island because of a business trip, holiday in spa, etc. Various answers described the trip as a vacation and cited an interest in learning about the history, landscapes, peculiarity, and culture, etc., of the island.

*What do you plan to do on Saaremaa?* showed that foreign visitors had rather similar plans regarding their activities during their stay. Most of the tourists wished to travel on the island by either bicycle or car, or hike. Additionally, several Finnish tourists were participating in the Estonian language course.

As many of the surveyed visitors had just arrived and were making their first stop in Kuressaare, they were not able to answer the question *What is different/special on Saaremaa compared to other places in Estonia?*, as well as *How would you describe the peculiarity of the landscapes of Saaremaa?*. However, features like pure and beautiful nature, a peaceful lifestyle, the island's detachment as well as open and friendly people were the most frequent answers. The peculiarity of the landscapes of Saaremaa was described by the flat relief, untouched coasts, juniper shrubberies, limestone, interesting vegetation, etc.

*Which natural and cultural sites do you plan to visit/have you visited on Saaremaa?* showed that the sights the respondents had visited or wanted to visit were various. Similar to the previous two questions, here too several visitors did not know yet what they wanted to see. Again, as the survey was conducted in Kuressaare, many tourists mentioned Kuressaare with its castle, old town and other sights as being worth visiting. Interestingly, the frequency of the Kaali Crater and Sõrve Peninsula was exceptionally high. Various coastal cliffs, the Angla Windmills and medieval churches were mentioned (Figure 15).



**Figure 15.** Medieval churches are among the favourite visited sites both by Estonian and foreign tourists. Valjala church. Photo: H. Sooväli.

Consequently, *Which place do you like the most on Saaremaa?* gave the answers by which Kuressaare could be regarded as the favourite spot of the island followed by medieval churches. The majority of the respondents said they looked forward to visiting the island.

### Summary

The intention of the trip to Saaremaa by Estonian visitors differed somewhat from the intentions of the foreign visitors. Estonians were paying visits to friends and relatives as well as attending concerts, open-air performances, festivals. The foreign tourists generally wanted to learn about the culture and history of the island. Estonian visitors were more informed and had more specific motivations for being on the island and knew the places they wanted to visit, whereas foreign visitors had rather vague ideas as to what sights to expect from the island. The trip to Saaremaa was motivated by the previous knowledge about the purity of nature of the island. The uniqueness of the island as compared to the rest of Estonia was regarded similarly by the Estonian and foreign Estonian tourists. Pure nature, Saaremaa's geographical detachment, the flat relief, juniper shrubberies, and the stone fences are regarded as typical to the island. Similar answers were given when asked which sights the tourists planned to visit/had visited: Kuressaare Castle, the Kaali Meteorite Crater, cliffs, medieval churches and the town of Kuressaare were listed.

## 5.2. Landscape representations in texts

### 5.2.1. Image of Saaremaa in scientific literature in the 1930s

In the heydays of regional studies in the 1930s Saaremaa was of particular interest among scientists from different disciplines (e.g. Scheibe 1934, Ränk 1939). Studies of Saaremaa conducted by various scientists in the 1930s were used in this thesis as a documentation of socio-economic conditions, as well as source material for a context analysis of landscape change. As Daugstad (2000) has noted, the scientific texts are – similar to painters' representations or travel descriptions – a part of historical narrative, being scientists' representations of the experienced reality. The analysed sources also give us an understanding as to what issues the scientists regarded as being important to study as well as to write about in those days.

In the first independence period of the Republic of Estonia the monograph *Saaremaa* (Luha et al. 1934) was published, edited by three academics from different disciplines: the historian Blumfeldt, the geologist Luha and the geographer Tammekann. People studying local lore also played an essential role in gathering the material for the monograph. Additionally, several studies dedicated to the socio-economic conditions on Saaremaa in the 1920s–1930s were undertaken: Neggo (1921) *Maaküsimus Saaremaal (Land Issue on Saaremaa)*, Berg (1927) *Saaremaa majanduslik elu (The Economic Life of Saaremaa)*, Käsebier (1933) *Saaremaa majandusolud (The Economic Conditions of Saaremaa)* and Kesanurm & Talvist (1938) *Eesti saarte sotsiaalolustik ja tegelased (The Social Situation and its Actors of the Estonian Islands)*.

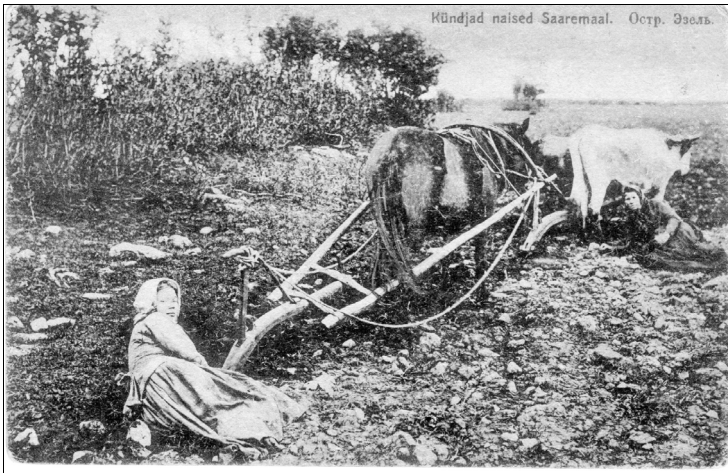
In analysing the texts I have acknowledged that the picture presented in the monograph as well as in the other studies were influenced by the prevailing scientific understandings of the world at that time. The majority of authors were, however, striving for objectivity and for scientifically well-grounded arguments, and their material can be relied upon as an adequate source for analysis.

Luha et al. (1934) depicted Saaremaa as the poorest region of Estonia. The soils of the island were unproductive and the cultivated area was small (Figure 16). In the beginning of the 1930s collective husbandry was still practised in 200 villages, which excluded the possibility of developing individual husbandry.<sup>18</sup> The total number of strip farms was highest in the Lümända, Maasi, and Mustjala communities; less farms were in existence in the Kaarma, Pihitla and Loona communities. On Saaremaa land consolidation was accomplished

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<sup>18</sup> In strip villages one large field could be divided between a hundred or even over a hundred holders into narrow strips or plots. “The consent of two-thirds of the households in a village was required to implement enclosure strips. The maintenance of strip fields together with a three-field system was the response to the insufficiency of arable and to uneven fertility of soils in the villages” (Lust 2000, 2001, 2003).

only in the second decade of the 20th century, whereas the rest of Estonia carried out the consolidation process in the 1860s–1880s. The tight community web bound the strip villages together through the social relations of the village people, and the collective behaviour was led by the rules and norms the village had established long ago. Grazing and making hay were commonly organised. Sowing and harvesting were done simultaneously in the village. The right for using the forest belonged to the village. Also, the village community was responsible for keeping the gardens tidy (Lust 2003).



**Figure 16.** The photo *Women sowing on Saaremaa* (1895) depicts vividly the poor soils of Saaremaa. Photo: E. Allas. SMF 3761: 2683.

Because of the strong communal identity, it was hard to introduce agricultural innovations, which had to be accepted by everybody involved in the village. The reason for the backwardness of the Saaremaa economy could also be blamed on old-fashioned farming equipment (Neggo 1921; Luha et al. 1934). New farming tools and machines were not put into use partly because of the strip field system; but the main reason lies probably in the thin and stony soil, on which the equipment used in the mainland could not be adopted at all (Käsebier 1933). Another reason that can be considered here was that only women worked in the field, and neither did they have the knowledge nor the time to get acquainted with technical innovations and adopt them in their farming practices. Agricultural activities were regarded as not fitting for men on Saaremaa – they either worked at sea or moved to other counties for paid work. Thus they were not directly involved in shaping the agricultural landscape (see Luha et al. 1934).

When comparing the economic conditions of Saaremaa with the rest of Estonia, the main living was earned by cultivating fields and cattle breeding.<sup>19</sup> Only in a few coastal villages was additional living earned by fishing.<sup>20</sup> Out of the total number of local inhabitants, 82.7 per cent worked within the agricultural sector, whereas in the mainland this number was 58.8 per cent. The remaining 17.3 per cent, were also occupied in one way or another with agricultural production. The families that earned their living only by fishing amounted to two per cent of the total population. Fifteen per cent of the families regarded fishing as an additional income (Käsebier 1933).

Käsebier (1933) argued that both grazing lands and fields suffered from over-exploitation. The land used as a pasture was unproductive for other purposes. Therefore the statistical references did not indicate any unproductive land on Saaremaa. Often, the pastures were so stony that cattle could barely move among the stones and junipers. Pastures and meadows were poor, covered either with junipers (*Juniperus communis*) or hazelnut shrubs (*Corylus avellana*) on the inland. Strip farm villages had common pastures that looked rather like downtrodden grounds, as Käsebier called them. Every farm tried to send as many animals to the pasture as possible. The consequences of poor cattle breeding situation were reflected in the milk production. Small-sized stock, poor livestock material, sheds in poor condition, and poorer feeding conditions causing the lower production of milk were in existence. Cows were less productive; the average production of milk was smaller than that of the nationwide production per cow (ca 25–30 per cent). The quality of milk was also worse compared to that on the mainland. A positive tendency at the beginning of the 1930s was the increase in the number of pigs and horses per household.

Although the population density on Saaremaa was among the highest compared to the rest of Estonia, the farms were much smaller than average Estonian farms (Luha et al. 1934). The average size of the farm and the dwellings belonging to it on the mainland part of Estonia was 317 sq. m., while on the island the farms were seldom larger than 226 sq. m. (Kesanurm & Talvist 1938). The average value of the dwellings was estimated to be 1771 Estonian *kroon*, whereas the nationwide average value was 2,988 Estonian *kroon* – that means it was roughly less than half the nationwide average (Käsebier 1933).

The share of forest compared to the rest of Estonia was four times less. This was explained by the clearing of land for tillage that had exhausted the soils. The educational and cultural basis was poor, which, the researchers argued, had its roots in harsh working conditions and extreme poverty.

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<sup>19</sup> Here raises the question whether the men working in the mainland were engaged in the survey or not.

<sup>20</sup> Based on a survey of the 1930s (manuscript) Luts (1985) refers that Mustjala community was regarded as the region that was most actively engaged with fishing on Saaremaa.

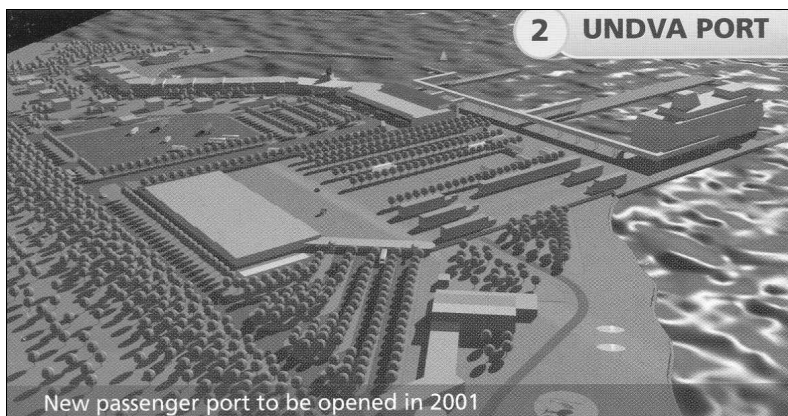
According to Neggo (1921), Berg (1927) and Luha et al. (1934), the backwardness of the island was caused by meager land consolidation. The researchers at that time were convinced that a consolidation of landholdings would enable better working and living conditions. Also, the First World War played its role in the poor agricultural conditions of the island – the island population was doubled by 50,000 soldiers. The soldiers were fed with local resources. At the same time the cattle was evacuated to the mainland. The researchers also suggested that more land could be obtained from draining the bogs. Neggo argued that Saaremaa was a peripheral region whose problems were left outside the government's attention. He also criticised the idleness of the county government that had led Saaremaa to economic destruction.

The socio-economic studies show that Saaremaa was in many ways left behind when compared with the other counties of Estonia. The reasons for that tend to lie mainly in three factors: poor soils, a slow land consolidation process and the consequences brought along by the First World War. Additionally, Lust (2001) suggests that the backwardness of the island was to some extent caused by geographical isolation and the meager possibilities for communicating with the mainland of Estonia.

### 5.2.2. Saaremaa in national media

In the frame of this thesis, a media study as a reflection of the prevailing themes expressed in national newspapers was carried out. The purpose of this study was to find out whether and how much landscape related issues were addressed in the major national daily newspapers *Postimees* and *Päevaleht*. Additionally, Estonia's largest weekly newspaper *Eesti Ekspress*, the business newspaper *Äripäev* and the Saaremaa local newspaper *Meie maa* were viewed in order to outline the main themes that were referred to as important regarding the future of Saaremaa. However, for further analysis only the articles from *Postimees* and *Eesti Päevaleht* were studied, since several articles in the national newspapers originated from local and business newspapers or pointed to these. Therefore, these articles may be regarded as the central ones and therefore of importance. Firstly, content analysis was used in order to classify the articles under the umbrella of key themes. Secondly, an discourse analysis was conducted to study the arguments of voices expressing their opinions on issues under question. All in all, during the period June 1, 2003–June 1, 2004, 786 articles were found with the help of a search engine in *Postimees* and *Eesti Päevaleht* regarding various issues about Saaremaa. Afterwards, 31 articles were selected for analysis, since these reviewed articles addressed the following issues connected to the landscape: the construction of a deep-water harbour; the construction of a passage between Muhu Island and the mainland; and the real estate issues.

*Construction of the deep-water harbour* for the Mustjala community was the most discussed issue during the examined period, represented by 14 articles. The idea of constructing a deep-water harbour had its traces in the beginning of the 1990s, when irregular traffic between Sweden and Saaremaa was established. These connections brought along the idea of having a decent deep-water harbour that could maintain large cruise boats on the Baltic Sea (Figure 17). The discussions as to where to construct the harbour were long and drawn-out, since the formerly proposed harbour location was – despite tough pressure from the business sector – abandoned (Sooväli et al. 2003a; Kaur et al. 2004).

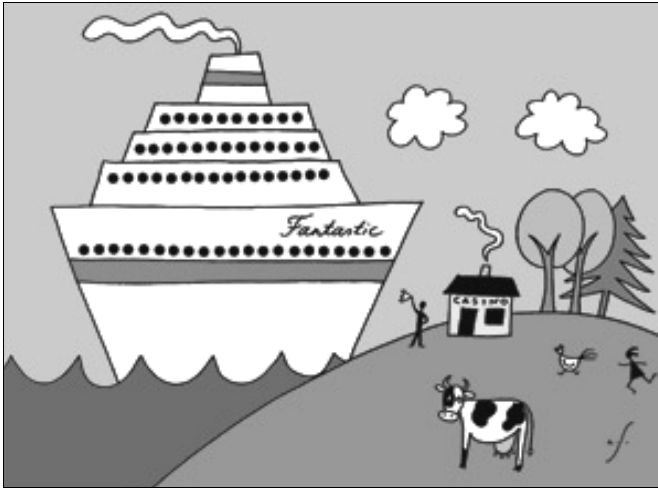


**Figure 17.** A draft of deep-water harbour to be opened in Undva by 2001 presented in Kihelkonna community map.

Then, a new place had been selected for the harbour – Tamme in the Mustjala community. This time the location was regarded as economically satisfactory, as noted by a journalist:

“And the location is super – the cruise ships to St. Petersburg, Bornholm, Gotland and Åland would make potential stops on Saaremaa when they are passing the island” (*Postimees*, Jan. 07, 2004).

Again, a conflict arose between two interest groups, as was the case with the former harbour – the business sector together with the community government and Saare county government *versus* nature protectionists (as journalist Ammas (2003) vividly described the two oppositional parties in the court case: ‘pullovers and tie-wearing lawyers’). Several other interest groups expressed their opinions regarding the harbour such as fishermen, a youth organisation supporting ‘green’ ideas, researchers and the inhabitants of Mustjala community. Even the most popular Estonian weekly newspaper *Eesti Ekspress* uttered its opinion towards the harbour with a sketch (see Figure 18).



**Figure 18.** In every issue the weekly newspaper *Eesti Ekspress* selects one phenomenon in society that in the previous week could be regarded as good and another one as bad, awarding them respectively with the ‘carrot’ and the ‘stick’. In the first week of January 2004 *Eesti Ekspress*, *Areen* reflected vividly upon the discussion of the Saaremaa deep-water harbour in the media, giving the honorary title ‘stick’ to the issue with this explanatory note: “Country people, who condemn nature protection and have a desire in speedy enrichment construct deep water harbours, highways and casinos imagining themselves that tourists, tired of urban life, would like to come to that messed up environment in thousand-headed flocks.”

Although the location of the Tamme harbour was not considered as the best choice according to the Ministry of Environment and nature protectionists, the issue of the conflict was not whether to construct the harbour as it was five years ago with the previous harbour case (Kaur 2001; Kaur et al. 2004). Rather, the question was how to construct it and how to protect the rare bird species that nest in this area (which is also listed as a Natura 2000 site). As noted, the conflict led to a court case and the articles mirrored the case mainly with its pros and cons. The dynamics of the court case revealed that while Port of Tallinn at the beginning of the case declared Tamme harbour to be only meant for cruise boats, it later appeared as the case proceeded that the cruise harbour was only the first phase of constructing the harbour. Later, the harbour would be adopted according to the needs of fast boats, fishing boats and ro-ro boats. The Ministry of Environment accepted the environmental impact assesment report in Tamme harbour, claiming that:

“/.../ the harbour will be used only during the summer time when the birds’ nesting period is about to come to an end and the wintering birds have not arrived yet” (*Postimees*, Dec. 12, 2004).

Estonian Fund for Nature (ELF) and Estonian Ornithological Society sued Mustjala community and Port of Tallinn for claiming that the environmental impact assessment report was incomplete and in favour of the interests of the investor and the community. They argued that several bird species belonging to the Natura 2000 list would become endangered in the event that the harbour was constructed. In addition, the nature protectionists pointed to the need to discuss the employment problems on the island and whether this harbour could really 'sustain' the community. They also pointed to an 'actual' reason as to why the harbour had to be built in Tamme, Mustjala:

“The reason why the location of the harbour to Ninase Peninsula, in the north-western coast of Saaremaa, seems tempting to Port of Tallinn is simple: it is cheaper to construct the harbour there. With the budget of barely 70 million kroon it is possible only because the state would give 30 ha of land for free, and the natural 10-metre deepness of the sea does not oblige one to make additional dredging work” (*Postimees*, Jan. 07, 2004).

Another group that took part in the harbour discussion were the local young greens. The pupil representing the young greens on Saaremaa had conducted a survey among the pupils in a gymnasium, and according to it most of those questioned supported the harbour. He declared in one of the public meetings that the harbour was:

“/.../ a window to Europe. /.../ The harbour should be constructed for the sake of the young people of Saaremaa” (*Postimees*, June 16, 2003).

Various articles as well as presentations in public meetings showed that the task of the community specialists and the representatives of Port of Tallinn were to convince the audience why the harbour was needed as well as that no harm would be done to nature.

Another large-scale project of permanent connection between Muhu Island and the mainland has a long history. The first discussions about a possible bridge originate from 1896, when the bridge between Muhu Island and Saaremaa Island was completed. Since 1996 there have been ideas and wishes to construct a bridge or a tunnel to link the islands with the mainland.

In the 12 reviewed articles no arguments against the passage were presented. The articles gave an overview of the dynamics of the process for constructing the passage. The arguments that supported the passage were many. An expert commission was formed to analyse: 1) whether it was profitable to construct a bridge/tunnel, and 2) where to construct it. Additionally, the rapid increase of traffic intensity between Saaremaa and the mainland, the fast development of industry, an increase in living standards and intense construction work on the

islands indicated the growing needs for the bridge. Also, an illegal ice-road in the winter of 2004 was used yearly by hundreds of car owners risking their lives on it.

Seven articles in the current study represented *the issues of real estate*. The coasts of Saaremaa face pressure from real estate owners and developers. In several cases, people violated the law that restricts a person to constructing houses closer than 200 metres from sea. Also, there was a lot of fuss over identifying the Natura 2000 areas, as the newspaper article mediated cases from Saaremaa where the real estate developers as well as the community specialists visited village after village, misinforming people that their lands would be nationalised by the state.

Conclusions on societal priorities can be drawn on the basis of the frequency of the occurrence of the above-discussed themes in newspapers. In the current study, all the selected articles discussed infrastructure developments and this, in turn, indicates the main concerns for the island future.

### 5.2.3. Saare County planning *Valuable landscapes*

With regulation no. 763 of the Estonian Government on July 8, 1999, and no. 239 on April 11, 2001, a task was given to all county governments of Estonia to draft the theme planning *Environmental conditions directing the settlement and land use*. The planning consisted of two sub-projects, one focusing on *Ecological Networks* and the other on *Defining Valuable Landscapes (Planeeringud 2004)*. The latter was expected to be conducted in all Estonian counties in line with the methodologies developed by the working group of the pilot study carried out in Viljandi County (KKM 2001).

The county planning *Valuable landscapes* aims, among other goals, at identifying *national landscapes* – landscapes that have strong peculiarity and would be regarded as peculiar/unique on local and county levels, as well as in the nationwide context. Studying these landscapes in Saare County gives a wider perspective as to what is considered as characteristic on Saaremaa, and hence different from the rest of Estonia. On the basis of the opinions of different stakeholders (university specialists, local planners and dwellers), the selected areas can be interpreted as the ‘official’ ‘unique’ imagery of Saaremaa. For that the report *Evaluating Valuable Cultural Landscapes of Saaremaa (Saaremaa väärtuslike kultuurmaastike hindamine)* conducted by Merila (2003) was studied. Firstly, an explanatory overview of the principles of the county planning is presented to introduce the selection criteria of the areas identified as valuable landscapes.

According to *Planeeringud (2004)*, the identification of valuable landscapes is in essence a subjective task – the participating parties of the theme planning should reach a consensus as to which landscapes are the most valuable in the county. Furthermore, the counties should elaborate measures on how the selec-

ted landscapes are to be maintained in the future. The co-objective in identifying the valuable landscapes was to find new tourism routes and sights (Hellström & Lokk 2004). The planning also requires taking into consideration objective information such as data on land use history, the existence of valuable species, and objects under nature or heritage protection. However, in defining valuable landscape the subjective criterion has a decisive role stemming from the standpoint “to my/our mind this place/community is beautiful/valuable.” Identifying valuable landscapes should be an agreement between many different interest groups. In elaborating the list of valuable landscapes the following aims are important:

- To inform and make local people conscious of landscape values on the place;
- To include local people in the identifying process and through that facilitate their training and engaging in the outcomes of theme planning;
- To activate people and enhance participatory democracy.

The initiators of the plan foresee that the foremost result of the theme planning would be the following: to engage a wide range of people in the planning process, to inform them about landscape values on the place, as well as to guarantee the maintenance of the landscapes. Founded on that work, the identifying of national landscapes could be developed with the help of a wider consensus.

According to the working group (KKM 2001: 15, *sensu* Eilart 1994) of the pilot study on identifying valuable landscapes, national landscapes are defined as “landscapes that have interwound the nature and identity of our homeland. The identity of human beings is connected to some particular places or landscapes.” The identity value is defined by Alumäe et al. (2003: 9) as the “ability of landscape to allow local people to delimit their territory, to identify themselves with landscape. /.../ Landscape identity also encompasses the concept of *genius loci* and knowledge about local oral heritage, such as story telling.” In other words, the nationwide identity value shows the authentic landscapes peculiar to that particular county in the context of the entire Estonia.

The defining of the valuable landscapes of Saare County was launched in 2002 by the County Government. The outcomes of the project and the process of identifying places with identity value on Saaremaa have been reported by Merila (2003). During the project local governments were asked to express their opinions, since they are the ones who have the best knowledge of the domestic situation. Regrettably, the feedback from the communities was meager – only one third of all the communities gave some feedback. The response from the dwellers and the results of the survey were considered as the primary sources for identifying areas having identity value for the local dwellers. However, the expert selection of the areas having potential for nationwide attention is of high importance here. Also, as confirmed by Alumäe et al. (2003), the expert decision is needed at times because the local people seem not value traditional

landscapes' certain aspects – such as settlement and land use patterns or *kolkhoz* constructions – as these features may be regarded as everyday landscape.

The technical procedure of categorising the valuable landscapes according to identity value included the classification of landscapes in a register. The procedure itself was the following: (1) entry number and name, and (2) 'area class' (KKM 2001). In the latter category the landscapes were further classified into three distinguished classes:

1. First class areas (I) as the most valuable areas with county (and/or potentially national) level importance.
2. Second class areas (II) as very valuable areas with county or local level importance.
3. Problematic areas as areas that would have great value (I–II classes) provided they were maintained.

In my study I concentrated on the first class areas that have potential national value. On Saaremaa, according to Merila (2003) five areas were selected that were regarded as landscapes having county as well as national importance. They were Põide, Kõljala, Kuressaare, Karujärve and Panga Cliff. Here the small islands around Saaremaa, also listed as valuable landscapes, were left out since the current study concentrates distinctively upon the landscapes Saaremaa *sensu stricto*. In the following paragraphs, the uniqueness of these five regions is presented based on respective evaluations in the county planning report.

In the *Põide* region several historical layers are present: the medieval Põide church, the ancient Põide stronghold, castle, vicarage, Oti manor with its park, Kahutsi stronghold, Tornimäe church, ancient settlement and well preserved villages. The area is rich in several natural sites such as M. Ranna dendrarium, coastal meadows and thickets of reed bed, geobotanically valuable areas, and Koigi Bog. Open landscape expanses can still be encountered in this area.

The *Kõljala* region comprises both remarkable cultural sites as well as valuable geobotanical areas. The area can be characterised by a high concentration of history, represented by sites like Kõljala manor and ancient burial places. The Kaali Meteorite Crater group is one of the most valuable and most visited natural sites of Saaremaa. The Kaali Crater is unique among its kind in Europe.

*Town of Kuressaare.* Kuressaare settlement existed already before the Danish and German invasion in the 12th century. The main tourism sights of the town are the old town of Kuressaare, town hall, the citizen museum and the beach of Kuressaare. The foremost tourism sight of Kuressaare is the Kuressaare bishop castle, constructed in 1380. The town park is considered one of the nicest town parks in Estonia. Kudjape graveyard with its chapels, bell tower and monuments is regarded as valuable both from the county and national perspective.

The *Karujärve Lake* region is a very popular tourism site. Karujärv, the oldest and one of the largest lake on Saaremaa, is highly valued for its clean

water and sandy beaches encircled by high pine forest. The surrounding area can be characterised as having well-preserved landscape structure. In the Dejevo military area, the largest rocket base of the Soviet Army on Saaremaa was located. At present there are plans to turn the former military area into a tourism attraction.

The *Panga Cliff* area on the northern coast is remarkable for its relatively well preserved landscape structure, valuable geobotanical regions, boat harbour and piers. Above all, the area is renowned for Panga Cliff, which offers a nice view to the sea as well as along the coast of Saaremaa, enabling one to examine the bedrock structure.

To conclude, the five areas selected from Saaremaa for the final list of valuable landscapes with state importance could be characterised by both natural as well as cultural features. These landscape regions should embody, according to the specialists, the essence of Estonian national landscapes. The interplay of the different historical layers and the uniqueness of natural attributes together shape extraordinary landscapes in Estonian context.

## **5.3. Landscape representations in images**

### **5.3.1. Saaremaa in landscape paintings**

The springs of landscape representation of Saaremaa take us back to Estonian landscape painting tradition. Parallel to this, the paintings depicting Saaremaa have helped researchers to construct the conception of representations about Saaremaa. Hence it is worthwhile to study the development of landscape painting in Estonia as well as the role of Saaremaa in the context of Estonian landscape painting history.

The paintings and painters presented in the following have been selected by going through biographies as well as art history books. As there have been numerous painters working on Saaremaa, conventionally only the most significant ones have been selected in accordance with Estonian art critics and art historians. The painters are introduced in chronological order.

The nature and people of the islands have always been an inspiration for artists all over the world. In that sense Saaremaa is not an exception in Estonian art – the island has been and still is stimulating for artists, with its coastal motives as well as a special light characteristic to Saaremaa. It is hard to find painters in Estonia who have not been interested in Saaremaa. Art expressions represented in this chapter date back to the second half of the 19th century, having their focal point in the first half of the 20th century. This could be explained with the rise of the national Romantic Movement, a time when the art centred on depicting the landscapes and lifestyles of Estonia. The majority of

the Estonian artists of those days gained their education in art centres and universities such as St. Petersburg, Düsseldorf in Germany, and also France and Italy in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The artists kept travelling back to Europe in search for new ideas and to improve their techniques. It was from there, mainly Italy and Germany, that the ideas of the Romantic Movement were imported to Estonia.

Among many nations art and literature have been the main instruments for carrying the message of nationalism to the wider public. The first painters to depict the national romantic landscape motives were the Baltic German estophiles. In the second half of the 19th century the bond between Estonian art and Estonian national movement became more visible, and thereby it got separated from the Baltic German mainstream painting tradition (Helme & Kangilaski 1999). New winds in the society and attempts for Estonian independence inspired Estonian artists to paint in national romantic and mythological themes. This powerful national movement cooled down to some extent in the beginning of the 1920s, soon after Estonia had gained independence.

The earliest references of the painters depicting Saaremaa date back to the beginning of the 19th century (Pärt 2002). It was the Baltic Germans who took an interest in the views of places and people of the island. Probably the most outstanding painter of that time was E. G. Dücker (1814–1916), a professor at the Düsseldorf Art Academy (being one of the most important art centres of 19th-century Germany) (Pütsep 1991). His clear and simple works established a new era in landscape painting (Abel 1980). Dücker is considered to be one of the establishers of the Russian realistic landscape painting school, as well as one of the foremost influences on landscape painting in Germany in the later half of the 19th century (Helme & Kangilaski 1999). According to some, he is considered one of the establishers of modern landscape painting tradition, as noted by critics such as Urussov (cited in Abel 1980) in 1872: “Dücker, Savrassov, Kamenev, Shishkin, Amossov, Vassiljev and the others carried out similar turn in landscape painting as Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenyev and others did in depicting nature in fiction. Simplicity and truth in fine technique – these are the values of new landscape painting.” With the concurrence of Dücker, the Düsseldorf painters lost their interest in the worn-out themes of depicting meadows and forest landscapes. His talent was exemplified above all by paintings depicting the Estonian coast. Dücker’s paintings on Saaremaa depict the lifestyle of the local inhabitants and the coastal landscapes. His well-known painting *Landscape of Saaremaa* (1860) (Figure 19) is an example of his fine taste, of his techniques being ahead of his time, characterised by his search for the outmost reality.



**Figure 19.** E. G. Dücker *Landscape of Saaremaa* (1860). EKM M: M52.

At the turn of the 19th century, Finland (Helsinki), Germany (Berlin-München), Norway (Oslo) and France (Paris) became particularly important in regards to the development of Estonian art. The Estonian painters were somewhat influenced by the Finnish open-air painting style as well as by the symbolic-decorative national romanticism (such as Edelfeldt) (Pütsep 1991).

Pärt (2002) suggests that Estonian painters became interested in islands when Estonian national painting was born. In the last decades of the 19th century Estonian artists recognised the beauty and charm of the islands – firstly Hiiumaa, thereafter Muhu and Saaremaa (Gladkova 1991).

The first Estonian painter whose works were considerably intertwined with the island theme was K. Mägi (1878–1925), who cured his rheumatism on Saaremaa. Mägi was one of the artists who managed to leave an indelible mark on people's memories, since he was the first Estonian painter who dared to approach Estonian landscape with the new techniques of modern art (Komissarov 1997). Mägi's paintings of Saaremaa contributed a great deal to the development of Estonian landscape painting – he was one of the very first artists whom one could call a genuine Estonian landscape painter (Paris 1932). Mägi is also considered as one of the first Estonian painters who consistently depicted Estonian nature and gave it a steady artistic interpretation (Pihlak 1982). Mägi depicted neither the peculiar island villages nor the stone fences and junipers, as these themes became so popular later. Rather, he was attracted by the shallow sand and stony beaches with their poor yellowish vegetation. He searched for scenic places and found them in and around Kihelkonna and Panga

Cliff (Kroon, R., pers. comm., June 18, 2004). His paintings *Sea kales* (Figure 20), *Landscape with the church*, and *Saaremaa motif* could be characterised as having been painted in a Neo-Impressionist style filled with light, air and colours. Hence, in Estonian art he is known as the man who put an end to the classic epoch of landscape painting; the man who, in creating a new epoch, found new meanings for the concepts of colour, light and vision (Komissarov 1997). The art historian Pütsep interprets his style in the following way:

“Mägi was as if in ecstasy by the surrounding colours: the sparkling ultramarine of the sea, the lush clumps of the blue-green sea kale, the white sun-bleached pebble, the orange blotched cliffs, the red fucus at the edge of the water” (Pütsep 1991: 332).

Kompus has noted that Mägi’s landscapes become vivid in the canvas. Moreover, landscape becomes a whole, in which everything is tightly connected to one another – the sky with the ground, the sea with the coast, trees with bushes, flowers with stones, the road with its path. *Sea kales* has been regarded as the paragon of colour perfection in Estonian art (Pütsep 1991). Furthermore, Mägi managed to touch the essence of an Estonian relationship with nature (Komissarov 1997). His daring use of colours in Nordic nature inspired several younger artists of that time (Helme & Kangilaski 1999).



**Figure 20.** K. Mägi *Sea kales* (1913–1914). EKM M: 443.

Another excellent painter who spent a few summers on Saaremaa was N. Triik (1884–1940). His paintings depicted coastal as well as inland landscapes. Stylistically, Triik’s paintings were simple sketches of some pines and junipers on the sandy beach with the blue sea and clouds in the background.

After the Second World War, when Saaremaa became a restricted area, despite the limited possibilities of visiting the island painters nevertheless found their way to Saaremaa. Moreover, during the 1970s–1980s many artists established their summer cottages on Saaremaa, where lively artistic activity is still taking place up to the present (Pärt 2002). In landscape painting several senior Estonian artists gained strength from the painting heritage of the first period of the Republic of Estonia. One fine example of that time is E. Kits (1913–1972), who ignored a request by Stalin to paint in accordance with Soviet ideology.<sup>21</sup> Kits re-established the Impressionism-like use of bright colours and scenic drawing (Kangilaski 2001). Kits is considered one of the best depictees of Saaremaa, as he painted on several themes typical to Saaremaa: junipers, stone fences, stunted coastal pines as well as airy seacoasts filled with light, winds, and stony fields and juniper shrubberies (Bernstein et al. 1970).

An outstanding painter born on Saaremaa, E. Haamer (1908–1995) dedicated his work to depicting the harsh life of the people living in the coastal areas. Haamer’s uniqueness is expressed in his way of depicting people in interaction with nature and not, as traditionally, with scenic elements in landscapes (Matt 1983; Gladkova 1991). “The touch of harsh weather conditions is transmitted with draught, chilly grey days full of wind” (Pütsep 1991: 332).

J. Võerahansu’s (1902) *Saaremaa* series of paintings and charcoal drawings depict sketches of village milieu such as woman watering sheep in the well, people on the village road, festivities of the coast dwellers, etc. The painter painted people with a warm, intimate glance. Often in his paintings the feeling is conveyed by the background landscape of stony and dry ground. In his paintings, Võerahansu has tight contact with the land and its inhabitants. In *Sheep clippers* (Figure 21) and *Rye cutting in Sõrve* (both 1945), landscape is not depicted as being just a background, but rather we can see how the human activity was closely connected with the surrounding environment (Bernstein et al. 1970). In *Road* and *Wild* the artist has caught the peculiarity of the nature of Saaremaa, with its open and flat ground and the windy sea.

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<sup>21</sup> “There was a common belief that the most important Soviet political and social values could be conveyed through the imagery of the natural landscape” (Bassin 2000: 313).



**Figure 21.** J. Võerahansu *Sheep clippers* (1945). EKM M: 2215.

One of the most exceptional contemporary Estonian painters, P. Mudist, represents painters who move to Saaremaa every summer in search of a specific light. His landscape paintings are depicted in white-grey tones that bring forward the humbleness of the landscapes of Saaremaa (Pärt 2002). It is probably these tones with that special something that hold a large part of the Estonian art audience captive in his spirituality (Saar 1998). Mudist himself has characterised his relation to the landscapes of Saaremaa as the following:

“This Saaremaa is no-man’s-land with no-man’s junipers. First of all, I imagine before me a barren, pitiful landscape, which has become so dear to me. So much so, that I’d like to paint it. That those fields are inhabited, that they’re indiscernible to the locals, that they don’t sow them full of pity, and that they’re familiar like childhood spots you see after many years. – For me, even the first juniper is too painful” (in Kullas 2004: 35).

Saaremaa has been a favourite painting region among Estonian landscape painters. In fact, no other region of Estonia has been painted as much as Saaremaa (Kroon, R., pers. comm., June 18, 2004). The reasons behind it could be the archaic themes, backwardness, and flat openness as well as nature that might inspire painters. Kroon argues that there really exists some sort of specific light on the coasts of Saaremaa – on a sunny summer day the shallow sea (covered with fucus) and the reflection from it creates a light that can be experienced most probably only on Saaremaa.

### 5.3.2. Saaremaa in tourism brochures and travel guides

The first travel guide published about Saaremaa aimed at giving an overview of the unique and peculiar places of Saaremaa and presenting travellers with places and sights worth visiting that time was *Illustreeritud Saaremaa ja Kuressaare juht* (*Illustrated Saaremaa and Kuressaare guide*) (Sannik 1931). This book provided a detailed outline of Saaremaa. Interestingly, the same places and sights worthy of visiting as were pointed out then are the same as the tourism materials today suggest – rural lifestyle, the Angla Windmills, the Kaali Meteorite Crater, medieval strongholds and churches. The coastal lifestyle with fishing, fishermen, lighthouses and harbours were depicted vividly in the book – features so characteristic of Saaremaa life in the 1930s. The uniqueness of Kuressaare was also expressed by the sanatoriums that were popular among the Swedish, German, Russian and Estonian visitors. At present, in the last two years several health spas have appeared, like mushrooms after the rain in Kuressaare.

Henceforth, I will discuss the central themes that outline the image of Saaremaa presented to potential domestic as well as foreign visitors today by noting the elements used to popularise Saaremaa and introduce its uniqueness. All in all 14 tourist brochures and travel guides published in Estonian, Swedish, English and Finnish between 2002–2004 were analysed. Both texts and images were studied. Also, the recommended highlights of the Estonian official tourism website as well as the information gained from the Kuressaare Tourist Information Centre in the Town Hall (May 13, 2004) were studied. Travel guides present more detailed information about the places worthy of visiting, in comparison to tourism brochures. Also, the guides are orientated towards readers with somewhat different interests such as car tourists, bicycle tourists or tourists having a specific interest in culture. Having that in mind, the main sights and attractions that could give the overview over what Saaremaa is about were listed in both types of materials and therefore these materials can be analysed altogether.

Firstly, to look closer at how the tourism materials generally present Saaremaa, excerpts are hereby offered from the travel guides. Saaremaa was commonly depicted as a place with an idyllic aura, and a way of bringing forward its peculiarity was through historical as well as rural perspectives, as for example in *Lonely Planet 2000*:

“Mainland Estonians say Saaremaa, the country’s biggest island at 2668 sq km, is ‘like the old Estonia’. Soviet industry and immigration barely touched this place. It retains the appearance and old-fashioned pace of agricultural pre-WW II Estonia, even though its famous windmills (which numbered 800 in the 19th century) no longer work and its ‘typical’ reed-thatched roofs aren’t so typical anymore. /.../ The land today is thinly populated place of unspoiled rural landscapes

with wooden farmsteads dotted among forests that still cover nearby half of the land. /.../ Though known for its juniper groves, Saaremaa is also home to four-fifths of Estonia's roughly 1400 plant species /.../" (Williams et al. 2000: 212).

The authenticity and traditionality were moreover stressed in the travel guide *Estonia. The Bradt Travel Guide* writes: "Both horses and windmills maintain their role in agriculture, and traffic lights and cats-eyes are still unnecessary" (Taylor 2002: 191). Here, the myth of a deeply rooted pastoral lifestyle is slightly overstated, since none of the present 40 windmills found on the island function for daily purposes currently (Sepp 2004), and horses are seldom used in daily practice.<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly, in the introductory title page of the Estonian part of *Lonely Planet*, among the highlights to be experienced regarding Estonia Saaremaa's peculiarity is presented as the following: "Confront Soviet-era military installations and WW II battle sites on Saaremaa" (Williams et al. 2003: 95). Saaremaa is particularly rich in military heritage. According to Etverk (2000), military tourism has a potential in Estonia due to its uniqueness and exoticism in the global context. Today, the prospective of military tourism is widely acknowledged, but thus far no investments have been made in developing infrastructure, and therefore it is yet under-exposed (Figure 22).



**Figure 22.** Soviet border guard station on Sõrve Peninsula (2004). Photo: H. Sooväli.

The *Lonely Planet* guidebooks (Williams et al. 2000, 2003) hint at the negative tendencies of tourism on the island by writing that tourism had become somewhat of a problem that should be taken into account when one was in search for peace on Saaremaa:

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<sup>22</sup> According to the inventory carried out by National Heritage Board R. Alatalu (2004) suggests that the number of windmills on Saaremaa and its nearby islands reaches to ca 150 today.

“In recent years, Saaremaa has become an almost painfully popular tourist resort between May and September, especially with Finns, who flock there for a cheap break. This trend sharply contrasts with 50 years of practical isolation from the mainland and has not been greeted with equal enthusiasm by all islanders” (Williams et al. 2003: 190).

When counting the frequency of the places mentioned in the tourism materials, the results (presented by frequency) indicated that medieval churches, various museums like the Mihkli Farmhouse Museum in Viki, medieval strongholds, the Angla Windmills, the Kaali Meteorite Crater, Sõrve Peninsula, Viidumäe Nature Reserve, Kuressaare Castle and various places where one could enjoy ‘pure nature’ (like coastline, Koigi Bog, Panga Cliff, etc.) (Figure 23) were the top listed tourism attractions as suggested by the tourism industry.



**Figure 23.** Coastline is one of the most represented photos in the tourism materials. Photo: unknown. With the kind permission of Huma Publisher.

The photos illustrating the tourism materials involved images of windmills (mostly the Angla Windmills), the Kaali Meteorite Crater, and Kuressaare Castle as well as idyllic photos of coastline, old farmhouses, women in national costumes, and juniper shrubberies (Figure 24). Interestingly, the foreign travel guides adopted the Saaremaa idyllic rural imagery for all of Estonia: for example, on the front cover of the travel guide *Estonia. The Bradt Travel Guide* (Taylor 2002) depicted one of the Angla Windmills. Also, proportionally one third of the photos of the same travel guide used Saaremaa photos for illustrating all of Estonia.



**Figure 24.** Kuessaare Castle. Photo: K. Saar.

To summarise, assumingly, the imagery of Saaremaa in the tourism materials has stayed more or less the same over the course of the 20th century, when comparing with the first travel guide about Saaremaa.

### **5.3.3. Saaremaa in coffee table books**

In line with a study by Häyrynen (2004), the photos used in current study were analysed in terms of their spatial references (region, landscape type, building; presented by frequency). The primary aims of the coffee table books (picture books) are to introduce the remarkable, peculiar as well as ordinary places of the country. J. G. Granö wrote in the foreword of the first picture book of the Republic of Estonia *Eesti. Esthonie. Esthonia. Estland*:

“The object of this book is to furnish proper information regarding Estonia and her people, reviewing in picture and story the most remarkable and characteristic features in the life of the young Republic” (Granö 1923: 41).

In that way the landscape representations presented in the coffee table books reveal, construct and reproduce our national identity, as expressively noted by E. Varep in his foreword to *Eesti kaunis loodus (Beautiful Nature of Estonia)*:

“Our entire nation’s history, our entire national culture is inseparably connected with this nature. Therefore our landscapes and beautiful places belong to our nation’s common heritage in the same way the works of literature and art do – and they are surrounded by entire

nation's attention and care. /.../ The task of this book is to help to introduce the beautiful places of our nature, rare natural objects and other sights" (Varep 1957: 3).

All in all 35 coffee table books and booklets presenting Estonia (28) and Saaremaa (7) were found from different time periods. The data set consisted of 601 photos, 210 photos found in Estonian albums and 391 photos in the books about Saaremaa. The photos were divided into three historical periods: 1) popular imagery until the Second World War; 2) Soviet popular imagery, and 3) popular imagery 1990–2004. The focus of the study was on the symbolic imagery of the island during the above-named three historical periods; on the dynamics of the imagery, and thereby on the comparison of the imageries of the coffee table books of Saaremaa and Estonia.

### Popular imagery before the Second World War

Five albums about Estonia were published before the Second World War. Furthermore, three books published by authors in exile in the 1940s and 1950s were added to the data set of this period, since the photos taken for these books stem from the 1930s. Kompus' book *Through Estonia's islands* was not selected to the analysis (1950) since the chapter about Saaremaa was a direct copy from his book *Picturesque Estonia* (1937) (translation of the book into Estonian *Maaliline Eesti* was published in 1939). In this period, no books covering merely Saaremaa were published. The books of that time could be characterised as being of an educative and introductory kind, telling people what was worthy to look at in Estonia. The forewords expressed the authors' concern for inhabitants' lack of knowledge about Estonia:

“Those really knowing his/her homeland truly well are apparently not many. Otherwise we would not hear so often that our land is of little interest, does not offer any natural beauty, landscape charm or historical art heritage. This is not right” (Kompus 1939: 5).

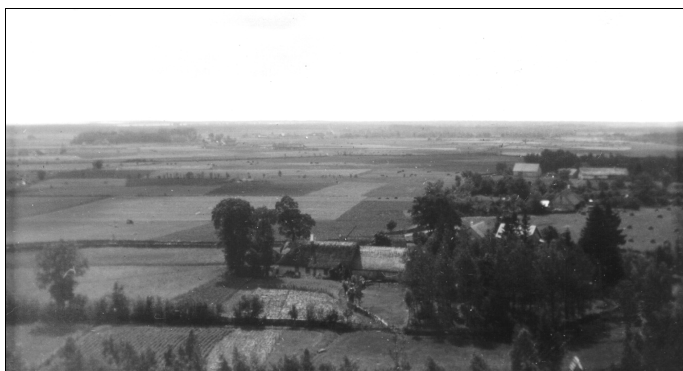
Kompus continued by calling people to make it a habit to travel around Estonia, as Estonian travelers did overseas. He suggested Estonians should visit the scenic places that the nation should be proud of. The books published in exile by Kesa (1948), Pekomäe (1955) and Kangro & Uibopuu (1956) were nostalgic retrospects to 1930s Estonia, and thereby added to the list of studied books of this time period as well.

All in all Saaremaa was represented in albums on Estonia with 50 photos. In this period presentations of 'ordinary landscapes' as well as natural coastal landscapes prevailed. The traditional agrarian everyday practices with people

working together in the field, farm architecture, and village patterns acquired a rather significant position in the visual definition of Saaremaa. Kompus described the idyllic life of Saaremaa:

“A picture of vivid contrast to the mainland is supplied by the villages of Saaremaa. The farmsteads are generally clustered together and often surrounded by a veritable wreath of windmills. These windmills peculiar in their construction – in that the entire vertically boarded, four-cornered body of the mill revolves round a shaft rammed into the earth – form a characteristic land-mark visible from afar” (Kompus 1950: 78–79).

The openness of the coasts with coastal meadows and cliffs were popular imageries of that time, symbolising the uniqueness of the island compared to the rest of Estonia (Figure 25).



**Figure 25.** Kihelkonna parish, the 1930s. Photo: author unknown. SMF 3761: 127.

Additionally, the images of Kuressaare as a pleasant historical curort town with its castle and medieval churches were ‘compulsory’ icons represented in the books. Here, what was interesting were the representations of the two powerful icons of Saaremaa today – the Kaali Meteorite Crater and the Angla Windmills – the first being represented by one photo and the latter missing from the books.

### Soviet popular imagery

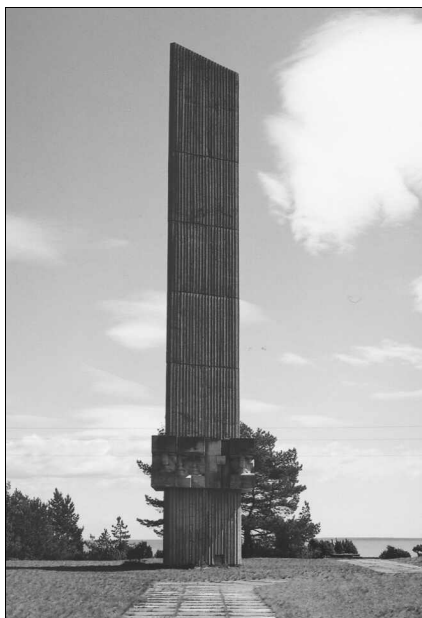
Eleven photo albums about Estonia, among them three about Saaremaa, were published during the Soviet period. One could easily recognise a change in the audience to whom the books were directed to when looking at the albums. The coffee table books of the pre-war period were at that time intended only for

Estonian readers; from the latter half of the 1960s the texts were translated into Russian, German and English.

Two albums introducing diverse sights of Estonia did not involve photos of Saaremaa. Proportionally, merely a small number of photos were represented compared to other places of Estonia such as Otepää, East Estonia, etc. This could be explained with the notion that it was complicated to reach the island – one had to have special permission that was not easy to receive, and one could stay on the island only a certain number of days at a time.

The central themes used to identify Saaremaa were the sea and the coast. The cliffs, open coastal meadows abounding in junipers, fishermen at sea as well as bare beaches allowed the reader to take an illusionary mental journey to the seascapes, with their own living conditions and criteria. Apart from the public sandy beach of Pärnu, the photos of Saaremaa were most probably mainly selected for the books to represent the coastal areas of Estonia.

Another feature that was strongly represented in the albums following in frequency after coastal landscapes were monuments dedicated to the lost souls in the battles of the Second World War. The Soviet propaganda seemed to be a compulsory component of the picture books, since through them one reached wider audiences in promoting the Soviet ideology both in Estonia and across borders. The monuments were the reminders of the Soviet heroic past and thereby the carriers of Soviet collective memory (Figure 26).



**Figure 26.** A monument in Tehumardi raised for a battle held on Saaremaa during the Second World War. The much-visited monument is also one of the icons of Saaremaa today. Photo: H. Sooväli.

Kuressaare, the Castle of Kuressaare and the windmills as well as the Angla Windmills and the Kaali Meteorite Crater were represented more or less in every book. Interestingly, the medieval churches<sup>23</sup> gained rather little attention in introducing Saaremaa.

Despite the restricted access to Saaremaa the coffee table books presented the island as a hot tourism destination:

“Peculiar nature, a bunch of sights worth visiting from the Kaali Meteorite Crater to Kuressaare Castle as well as the pleasant hospitality of the islanders has turned Saaremaa into a tourism Mecca” (Itra 1975: 96).

In depicting themes as well as places the albums about Saaremaa shared similar traits. Still, F. Jüssi and G. German photographed the themes they regarded as interesting for themselves. Jüssi’s book documented primarily the nature of Saaremaa and the nearby islands as well as the islets. In the beginning of his book Jüssi discussed that special something that lures visitors to Saaremaa: “What is it that attracts people here? Past in the present? Yes. Saare beer and smoked eels. Who knows? But most of all it is the peculiarity of nature of Saaremaa” (Jüssi 1966: 8). German’s book *Saaremaa* focused on the life of the fishermen. Photos of sea life involved the sea showing its different moods, fishermen at work, fish, yachts, the lighthouses and sea gulls. Depicting everyday work at sea created an exotic, mythical image that one would like to experience, too.

Another group of photos that illustrated life on the island was of the ‘everyday’ activities and dwellings in Kuressaare, the district center. Both the historical core of the town as well as the new dwelling houses and offices are represented. The positive image of the Soviet progress that had to reach every corner of Soviet Estonia was strengthened by the numerous photos of the industry and *kolkhoz*-life all over Saaremaa. Interestingly, both imagery of progress as well as of historical nostalgia were presented side by side in the books. The books were dominated by the representations of rural idyll with old farmhouses and coastal meadows. And again, proportionally, the various monuments raised in honour of the battles held during the Second World War on Saaremaa were represented multiple times. The Angla Windmills, the Kaali Meteorite Crater and the pristine nature of Viidumäe Nature Reserve as well as the cliffs were represented as characterising Saaremaa, too (Figure 27).

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<sup>23</sup> Religion was defined as anti-propaganda against Soviet ideology and thereby strictly regulated.



**Figure 27.** Cliffs are regarded as unique and peculiar to Saaremaa. Tagamõisa Peninsula. Photo: H. Sooväli.

### Popular imagery 1990–2004

For conducting a study of the imagery of Saaremaa 1990–2004, 16 photo albums were analysed, four of which were on Saaremaa.

The top listed theme in the books that covered the entire Estonia was, again, the coastal landscapes. Several photos on the stereotypical deserted shallow stony coast, with lazy waves licking stones, were present in every book, showing the audience the uniqueness of peace one could find in walking those ‘untouched’ beaches. Time and place seemed not to matter – the photos were often of an anonymous kind. This timeless touch was further strengthened with the photos of rural idyllic life – the photographers often searched for themes of decay and abandonment when depicting old sad farmhouses that were about to finish their existence. The medieval churches with their stone fences in the background were another dominant trait in the books. Equally much represented were the town of Kuressaare and the castle. The photos of the Angla Windmills and the Kaali Meteorite Crater were present in all books, often with several images (Figure 28).

The landscapes of yesterday were also prevalent in the books about Saaremaa. The overall image was directed to the past rather than to today or to the future, as vividly expressed by A. Kuus in the foreword of his photo album:

“During the past half-century many a windmill and stone fence in Saaremaa has been rapidly falling apart and are now growing in moss, lighthouses have been abandoned and churches left without care. Beautiful beaches have been locked up by foreign force, as though waiting for better times to arrive” (Kuus 2002: 6).



**Figure 28.** The Kaali Meteorite Crater. Photo: H. Sooväli.

The coastal landscapes and seascapes, often in a kitschy package with yellow-red sunsets and dawns, mystify the island and make the audience yearn to experience these moments. Again, the panoramic photos of medieval churches being wonderful land marks in the flat land were represented as the relics of the long history of Saaremaa. Kuressaare with its fine holistic architecture and its pearl, the castle, was the third theme that intertwined all of the books. Coastal meadows with sheep, cows and horses, among junipers or in the water brought forward the touch of rurality in every book. Again, the agrarian idyll with old farmhouses was strongly represented in the books.

### Summary

The results of the study on the pictorial representations of Saaremaa imagery allow one to draw conclusions regarding the dynamics of the values and the intentions of the authors in presenting a region in popular media during the three historical periods. Characteristic to the books of the pre-Second World War period was introducing the significant and culturally, historically or naturally interesting sights to the local population. Apparently, the intention of the books was more about educating the people to be proud of their national heritage than about amusing the readers with beautiful, expensive books to be kept on bookshelves. Saaremaa in the pre-war period was presented as an agrarian society with peculiar nature, such as a nice coastline and high cliffs. Still, the authors seemed to regard Saaremaa as a somewhat exotic place compared to the rest of Estonia. Equally much attention was paid to the

beautiful curort town of Kuressaare, with its castle and possibilities to cure and amuse oneself in an international atmosphere.

In the Soviet imagery two equally prevailing themes existed side by side – that of the socio-economic progress in a peripheral region, and that of an idyllic rural life tracing back to history. The optimism of Soviet success in turning rural areas into urban-like environments infected every reader to believe in a brighter future. The strong Soviet ideology was embedded in the monuments dedicated to the heroic battles of the Second World War. Saaremaa’s uniqueness was emphasised in its islandness – fishermen at sea, seabirds and pristine coasts. Rather little attention was paid to the cultural heritage.

The focal theme of the most recent historical period was contrary to the previous one – the nostalgia was intertwined with abandonment and a certain melancholy. Photographing the landscapes that have a connotation to past and decay, have been selected even on purpose, as noted by photographer A. Kuus:

“These times are here now and you will not see the same Saaremaa again in years to come. Windmills will be dilapidated or fixed, old churches coated with fresh paint, sandy beaches and junipers shrubs crowded with holiday-makers” (Kuus 2002: 6).

## 6. DISCUSSION

“Perhaps more characteristic of Saaremaa is not a juniper, but a kind of plucked juniper, a damaged or half-burnt variation. There, they are driven over as well. They have trouble in starting to grow in a new spot, but then they are relatively resilient. Yes, truly, junipers do well together with Saaremaa. And sheep, and even those broken junipers, they are so painful to look at. The people themselves don’t protect them either, they are simply snapped down, broken, and ...” (Mudist, in Kulles 2004: 36).

### 6.1. Persistence and change in Saaremaa landscape imagery

The departing point for analysing landscape imagery of Saaremaa Island stems from the idea that landscape representations and the ‘real’ landscapes are mutually dependent. Hence, the possible explanations about the reasons for stability and/or dynamics in the ‘real’ landscapes could be found in investigating landscape representations and *vice versa*. Studying these processes gives an applied perspective for managing landscapes and gives an insight for planners to how the future landscapes will possibly look like. As landscape imagery and identity are closely linked with each other, researching the imagery gives us an opportunity to find out the physical attributes that are linked to regional and national ideology (see Häyrynen 2004).

Antrop (1998) argues that even though landscapes tend to change, these changes are seldom planned. The changes are seen and evaluated by man as an improvement or deterioration of the previous or existing state. Not everybody perceives the transformations in the same way, and positive and negative evaluations may be conflicting for the same type of change. Moreover, Palang et al. (2004d) state that the only thing that is permanent in landscapes is change. The hidden paradox in the relationship between permanence and change is that “all change implies that something is preserved”, and that “in all permanence there is some degree of change” (Jones 1991: 235). Within landscape research, this paradox has in multiple ways been structuring the discipline – how we have come to understand and interpret both the material and symbolic aspects of landscapes.

Theoretical discussions in the thesis indicate that there is an epistemological shift from the textual to the visual taking place in humanities and social sciences due to wider ongoing transformations in the society (Mitchell 1994).<sup>24</sup> This in turn pinpoints the need for analysing both texts and images for gaining more

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<sup>24</sup> This is not to declare that researchers have to follow all the ‘shifts and turns’ in academic discussions; rather, to make them aware of new perspectives.

detailed knowledge about the social representations in the cultural construction of our social lives. Hence, current research project has concentrated primarily on surveying landscape representations through texts and images. The study draws theoretically on Keisteri's (1990) landscape concept model, into which I have added a dimension of practice, signifying an interface between human, and the material and symbolic aspects of landscape.

The early shaping of the imagery of Saaremaa Island has been studied from two different perspectives: landscape paintings and scientific texts. The Baltic-German landscape paintings of the 19th century and the paintings of Estonian artists from the beginning of the 20th century are among the first visual depictions of Saaremaa. The 1930s are today commonly remembered as 'golden era' in Estonian history. Since much of the current Estonian national imagery has its roots from this period (Sooväli et al. 2003b), it allows suggesting that the dominant landscape imagery of Saaremaa Island has its roots from the beginning of the 20th century, as well. The analysed sources give us also an understanding of the issues scientists regarded as important for studying and writing about in those days. The notion that in the first half of the 20th century the island became a popular region among Estonian painters illustrates the idea that the artists were in search for themes that would represent them wilderness and the past: the harsh open landscape, and the archaic lifestyle of the islanders. This admired archaic lifestyle, caused by the isolation of the island, has been conversely defined as backwardness and poverty in reports by researchers in the 1930s. Socio-economic studies explain that Saaremaa was in many ways left behind compared with the other counties of Estonia.

The representations by the county administration specialists, local inhabitants, domestic as well as foreign tourists, statements of diverse actors in the media and the county plan *Valuable landscapes* express the multitude of opinions about landscape in the society today. These views reflect what is regarded as being valuable and genuine on Saaremaa Island, both by insiders as well as outsiders. Whether the selection of national landscapes reflects the uniqueness and the islandness is to be asked. It is worth to consider on what basis the selection was based on. For example Sõrve Peninsula and Kihelkonna region, historical core areas of the islands were left out of the list. Additionally, it may be asked why the Angla Windmills were not included to the Kõljala region. Apart from Panga Cliff, no areas connected to coastal landscapes have been pointed out as valuable in Estonian context.

Additionally, future perspectives of the island can be forecasted when we analyse the issues the local people, county specialists and the national media discuss in regards to possible threats to the island. When comparing information received from the respondents, as well as from the county plan and media, one could trace similarities in the opinions. The distinctiveness of Saaremaa lays in general in juniper shrubberies, the purity and peculiarity of nature, the coastal areas, the island's geographical isolation, the stone fences, the cliffs, the semi-natural communities and the medieval churches. The dangers concerning the

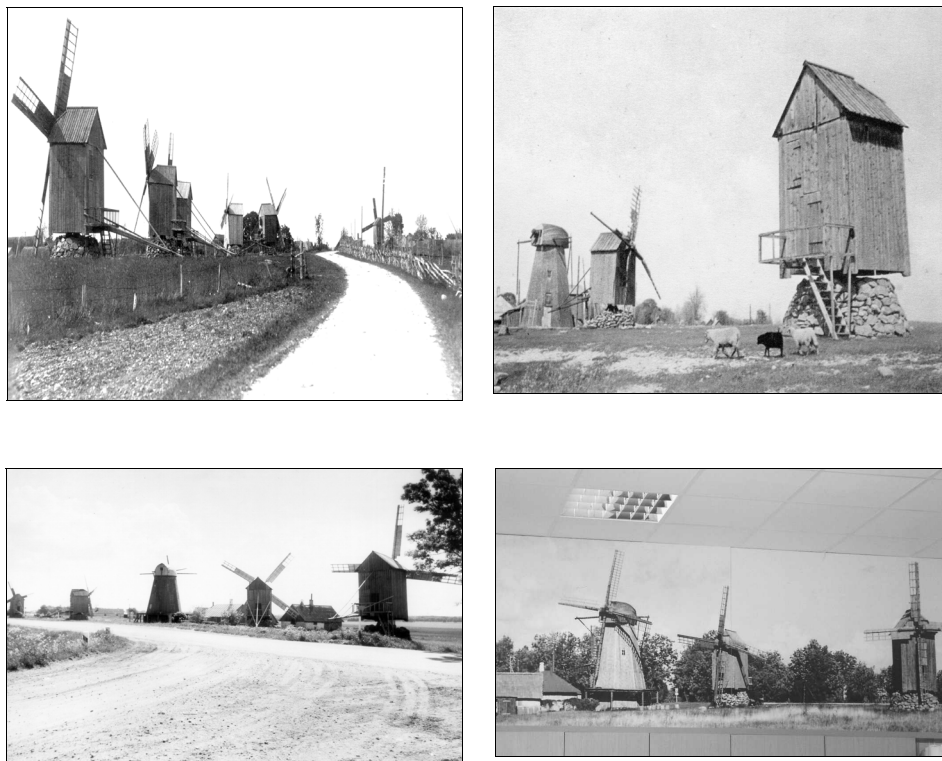
island's environment are regarded in the issues of real estate, booming tourism, careless forest felling and the construction of the deep-water harbour.

A similar survey (see Kaur et al. 2004; Sooväli et al. 2003a) that focused on the issues of peculiarity and future perspectives of the island was conducted on Saaremaa between January 1999 and December 2000. When comparing the results of the surveys conducted four years ago and the surveys presented in the current thesis, the results coincide in many respects. Kaur et al. (2004) report that the most prominent aspects regarding the distinctiveness of the Saaremaa landscape among local inhabitants were connected to the natural attributes of landscapes, such as juniper shrubberies and limestone outcrops, as well as cultural features such as stone fences, windmills, historical farms and village patterns and semi-natural elements of the landscape. The danger factors that concerned younger people were about the changes induced by economic practices (e.g. industrial developments and excessive and careless forestry), as well as about major infrastructure developments (e.g. constructing new roads, asphalt paving of gravel roads, construction of a permanent connection, and construction of a deep water harbour), whereas the adult respondents were most disturbed by the loss of a 'traditional' lifestyle brought about by general rural decline due to agricultural decline, tourism and 'newcomers', i.e. second home owners. One can trace clear contradictions when comparing the results from the study regarding the perceptions of different social groups and that of media in Kaur et al. (2004). On one hand, local people feared large-scale infrastructure development on Saaremaa, which was on the other hand promoted by businessmen and raised even to levels of national priority by politicians in regional policy plans. The same contradictions can be noted in the opinions of local inhabitants and the issues reflected upon in media today. Consequently, these contradictory results demonstrate that analysing various sources with various methods lead us to clashing results concerning the same research issue, and that the 'truth' may be situated in multiple sources (see also Gustafson 2001).

The themes on pictorial landscape representations of Saaremaa in tourism materials, coffee table books and landscape paintings share numerous common features. In general, the seascapes, the open coastal landscapes (with juniper shrubberies) and the rural idyll/archaic lifestyle are the main themes of the photos and paintings through all time periods. The island has also remained one of the painters' favourite painting regions today. The reasons behind this could be the search for archaic themes, flat open landscape and the somewhat mystic light that might inspire the painters. Coffee table books reflect vividly the time periods when they were published. Saaremaa in the pre-war period is presented as an agrarian society with peculiar nature, such as a nice coastline and high cliffs. At the same time, the curort town of Kuressaare, with its castle and possibilities to cure and amuse oneself in an international atmosphere, is a popular topic. Two equally prevailing themes exist side by side in the Soviet imagery – that of socio-economic progress in the peripheral region and that of idyllic, conservative rural life having traces to history. The focal theme of the

most recent historic period is somewhat contrary to the previous one – the nostalgia intertwined with decay. The overall image is directed to the past rather than to today, or to the future. This current pictorial representation of Saaremaa is similar to the representation of Estonia – retrospective rather than ‘a true to life’ description of today, “/.../ all offering a weird concept of entire Estonia as national open-air museum” (Linnap 2003: 439).

Additionally, coffee table books have helped to create and promote the icons of Saaremaa: the Angla Windmills, the Kaali Meteorite Crater and Kuressaare Castle (Figure 29).



**Figure 29.** The Angla Windmills, popular tourist sights, in four different time periods. The photos indicate that this place has gone through minimal changes during the last century.

Angla, the 1930s. Photo: K. Grepp. SMF 3756: 67.

Angla, 1969. Photo: R. Maran. SMF 3671: 2006.

Angla, 1989. Photo: J. Vendelin. SMF 3915: 11.

Iconographic representation of the Angla Windmills. Large poster hanging at the bakery counter in Rae grocery shop, Kuressaare, 2004. Photo: H. Sooväli.

To summarise, the landscape imagery of Saaremaa could be located into three reciprocal axes: *traditionality* (heroic past/backwardness and archaic lifestyle) *versus progress*, *nature versus culture* and *center versus periphery*. The ima-

gery has remained to a great extent unchanged over the course of the 20th century. Saaremaa has been depicted as an isolated island, making it distinct in many ways. The islandness involves several connotation categories. The outsiders regard the geographically isolated situation as being something exotic, as well as sublime. Already the boat trip itself constitutes crossing a limen between two places, which makes visitors expect new events. These expectations are tightly connected to the coasts, the cliffs and openness to the sea, where the gaze can wander freely. This wild and rugged nature signifies the primeval (Lowenthal 1985). The search for nostalgia towards past landscapes is another category regarded as attractive both by insiders and outsiders. The pastoral past in the landscapes of Saaremaa is anchored in the islanders' common memory and is admired by outsiders. Hence, the icons of Saaremaa, like the Angla Windmills, are constantly used as the traditional image of Estonian national identity (see e.g. Unwin 1999). Le Goff (1992) points out that there are many nostalgia merchants selling us the memory, for which there is wide public demand; thus memory has become a best-seller in a consumer society. Lowenthal (1985) argues that it is the mistrust of future that also fuels today's nostalgia. Hence, Saaremaa is regarded as an adventurous trip to a 'foreign land' – it is a past loaded with childhood memories or fantasies. At the same time, nostalgia is blamed for alienating people from the present. "The enormous popularity of reconstructed 'landscapes that we never knew but wish we had' suggests refusal to face up to the dilemmas of the present" (Wood 1975: 344; in Lowenthal 1992). As Raivo (2002: 97) explains: "the values and meanings attached to landscapes represent cultural conventions regarding what people can see and want to see in their surroundings." Almost as a rule, these landscapes are of a historical character loaded with traditions and thereby with an evident cultural code.

Simultaneously, the island's strive for a better future is commonly expressed through oppositions. In the beginning of the 20th century the conservative and poor countryside was opposed to the elitist curort town of Kuressaare. The imagery of Soviet Saaremaa opposed nature with the power of man. Urbanisation carried out in the countryside, mechanisation of agriculture, industrialisation and transformation of Kingissepa into a modern Kuressaare signified the right to the well being of the Soviet man even in the isolated periphery. Still, the picture book photos of the landscapes convey the image of pure nature as well as rural idyll – picturesque scenery to gaze at, both for the domestic dwellers as for the tourists. Currently, progress is expressed in the two primary icons of Saaremaa – the permanent connection and the deep-water harbour.

## 6.2. Future perspectives – tourism and real estate development?

Sensu Cosgrove (2004) the capacity of a region to exploit its past in ways that it appears meaningful and satisfying to contemporary residents, as well as to investors and tourists is widely recognised as a major competitive advantage for places and regions seeking to attract capital. Inevitably, for that, the public presentation of history as heritage is highly selective, emphasising ‘positive’, romantic and heroic aspects and ignoring or repressing darker features of the past.

The two factors that transform the landscapes of Saaremaa significantly today are tourism and real estate development. The surveys of current thesis indicate that, among other factors, these are regarded as dangers for the future landscapes of Saaremaa. At present, Saare County lacks a tourism strategy that would help to organise the booming tourism in a more sustainable way. Real estate development is another hot issue with its conflicts and problems on the island. Therefore, the concerns and possibilities relating to the hectic tourism and real estate development activities are presented in a wider context.

Tourism constitutes one of the major contemporary forces of change in landscapes by providing the most significant means of direct large-scale physical contact and cultural exchange (Terkenli 2002). This might result in reorganising the meaning systems of the landscapes. Pae & Kaur (2004) argue in their study about the functions of churches on Saaremaa the sacral buildings have become increasingly important as tourist attractions over the last ten years, both as monuments and as symbols of local history. “The appropriateness of this highlighted interest in religious sights can be questioned, as secular visits to sacred places sometimes result in conflicts with local worshippers” (Pae & Kaur 2004: 128). Prioritising tourism in regards to regional and local development might imply several threats; such as a dependency on external factors and the sacrifice of other local needs and values to those related to tourism.

Sooväli et al. (2003c) state that the tourism industry changes landscapes in terms of where it can be easier to transport tourists, goods, and also to have easier access to tourism accommodations and tourist sites. Roads are built for the convenience of driving, not for the patterns of human life that might be engendered. This has further impact on the whole infrastructure: new roads and larger accommodations are needed. Additionally, there is a threat that the places which hundreds or even thousands of tourists visit every day may lose their identity and authenticity, their *Genius loci*, and become a consumable Disneyland, or ‘ready-made packages’ to be consumed quickly (Teo & Yeoh 1997). So, allowing the market to develop without regulation may result in destroying the very places that are the objects of the tourists’ gaze. This kind of self-destruction has happened in places of St. Tropez, Greece, Turkey, etc. (Urry 2002).

Estonian domestic tourism will be likely worn out on Saaremaa in the nearest future, and multiple reasons can be traced for this (Kikas, T., pers. comm., 24 May 2004). Tourism operators on Saaremaa have rarely more than just a bed and breakfast to offer – tourism lacks a niche that would invite the customers back. In order to attract the local/foreign tourists on multiple visits to Saaremaa, tourism operators may have to consider what is the genuine and authentic for Saaremaa that they can offer for local as well as foreign tourists, so that instead of feeling like ‘been there, done that’, the tourists would like to come back. Nordic regions have fine experiences to offer. In the case of Scotland we see how a programme was launched for drafting together tourism operators as well as local tourism farms in order to prolong the season. Hughes (1995) describes how in the spring of 1972 some 20 cultural organisations cooperated with the Scottish Tourism Board in a pilot project for extending the tourism season. A range of events was offered to attract visitors to Scotland during the early-season months of March, April, and May. The program was themed a *Taste of Scotland* and featured ‘unique’ products, events, and attractions. Finding such niches help, on one hand, to prolong the season. On the other hand, finding new activities like the second home tourism (for the Danish example see Tress 2002) or the popular theme camps (such as painting and ceramic holidays on tourism farms in South Estonia) would offer a variability of activities on the island. Also, tourism operators as well as domestic tourism farms could promote and organise nature/ecotourism excursions, as nature is regarded so challenging and distinct to Saaremaa. Saaremaa is rich in ancient history and mythology – the stories of the heroic ancient warriors and the sites of the ancient Estonian strongholds are additional potential challenges in need of better exposure than they receive today. Kneafsey (2000) points out that there are plenty of local development projects available in the European Union schemes that could be a catalyst for tourism. The sea has a lot to offer. Currently, possibilities for practicing sea culture are almost non-existent. There are no organised cruises, for example for seal or bird watching, and to rent a boat or a yacht is unlikely. The beaches face similar problems. In the current situation there is no possibility to buy ice cream and snacks on most of the beaches, nor are public toilets available. Moreover, when travelling around on the island one seldom is able to see the sea. Beautiful views overlooking the sea from the road are closed; overgrown by reeds or hidden behind the forest, as shown in a study conducted by Merila (2003).

All the above-mentioned opportunities in turn would reduce the pressure for the carrying capacity of the most visited sites and at the same time offer interesting, more intimate holidays for families above and beyond worn-out icons and numerous and crowded beer and opera festivals.

Several tendencies can be traced concerning Saaremaa’s real estate development, and this allows us to make the assumption that the imagery and the actual situation are opposing. Today, Saaremaa is regarded as the fastest developing resort area of the Baltic Sea (Kramer Kinnisvara 2004).

In the surveys conducted in the frame of this thesis, several local dwellers and county specialists listed among the major threats to Saaremaa landscapes the recently constructed houses that do not follow the peculiarity of the rural traditional architecture. In recent years relatively much land has been sold to foreigners, primarily to Finns. The Finns design their summer cottage regions in line with their tastes and customs (Figure 30).



**Figure 30.** ‘Finnish holiday village in Saaremaa’, as Tarimaa holiday village advertises itself in its homepage.

Cases where new landowners transport the standardised ready-made log cabins from Finland are not rare. The Finnish countryside architecture differs from that of Estonia and hence Saaremaa may change into ‘Small Finland’. Moreover, in recent years the Estonians have come to value the Finnish log houses, and it has become fashionable among Estonian second-home dwellers to construct similar houses. Estonian architecture historian M. Kalm (pers. com., 25 January 2004) has noted that the total attack of Finnish log houses has been like an Egyptian swarm of grasshoppers on the Estonian countryside. The know-how of constructing Estonian traditional log houses has almost perished, and building them is more costly and time-consuming. In addition, the Estonian real estate developers, considering market’s wishes, are eagerly investing in the so-called luxurious *mökki*-cottages. The first village has been built and successfully sold (Figures 31 and 32) and several others are planned. The Finnish *mökki*-cottages are regarded as ideal country houses among many Estonians. These ideas have most probably been ‘imported’ to Estonia by Estonian family and garden magazines, owned by Finnish and Swedish publishers. The articles in every issue present the latest trends of the Finnish and Swedish countryside. The Nordic idyll, regarded as a symbol of welfare, has with the help of magazines become a popular trend to follow among numerous Estonian dwellers (see also Palang et al. 2000).



**Figure 31.** A red summer cottage in Finnish style in Ohessaare. Photo: H. Sooväli.



**Figure 32.** ‘Summerhouse to Saaremaa’, an advertisement in Internet of the largest developer recreational property on Saaremaa Island, Kramer Real Estate.

In addition, there is a great pressure on the coastal areas. More and more ‘summer islanders’ want to build their cottages directly in the vulnerable habitats and species-rich sea-coast. E. Kant (1926) pinpoints that the peculiarity of the landscapes lies in its natural and well-planned human features based on authentic local architecture. Maintaining these features equally allows us to sustain the local culture and identity. Twenty years ago Jackson has emphasised

that there is too little attention in studying landscape and, thereby we may lose interest in our own identity:

“In a more socially conscious mood we worry about ecology and pollution and the exhaustion of natural resources, and clamor for the preservation of wilderness. All these movements have the effect of making us want to see the landscape less as a phenomenon, a space or collection of spaces, than as the setting of certain human activities” (Jackson 1984: x).

Gustavsson & Peterson (2003: 319) argue: “/.../ authenticity is something we cannot escape taking into consideration when dealing with landscape conservation and management, or with cultural heritage.” Palang et al. (2004d; see also Graham et al. 2000) state that landscape is *heritage* that needs *protection*. There are indications that conservation is growing out of the site-oriented approach. For living landscapes, argues Renes (2004), conservation is not enough – planning should be involved as well. Estonian Planning Act was launched in 1995. Kalm (2002) argues that there are numerous cases when detail plannings have been drafted for certain regions; but they are rarely initiated by the local authorities. Rather, it is the real estate developers that initiate and dictate the plans aiming at gaining profit. Hence it is no wonder that in detail planning no wider perspectives, i.e. the interests of the whole region, are considered. The planning interests of local authorities are mostly limited to finding possibilities for quick financial projects for the community.

To conclude, in the near future a new layer of summer cottages will be added to the Saaremaa landscape. However, I would argue that the dominant imagery of Saaremaa will not go through any major transformations. As this study has illustrated, it is not the actual landscape that matters; rather it is the imaginative landscape representation.

### **6.3. Concluding remarks**

The image of Saaremaa differs greatly from that of the actual physical landscape today. Saaremaa is represented and perceived as an open landscape, contrary to the contemporary reality of a forested island where agriculture has a minimal role. The maps and their analysis illustrate a clear trend of diminishing agricultural land, which in the minds of the people still plays a dominant role. The idyllic rural image of Saaremaa that the respondents and the media have today has its origins in the mid-1800s, and was originally enforced by outsiders. However, the study of scientific texts from the 1930s makes it clear that survival in the island environment was a struggle at best, and one of resignation

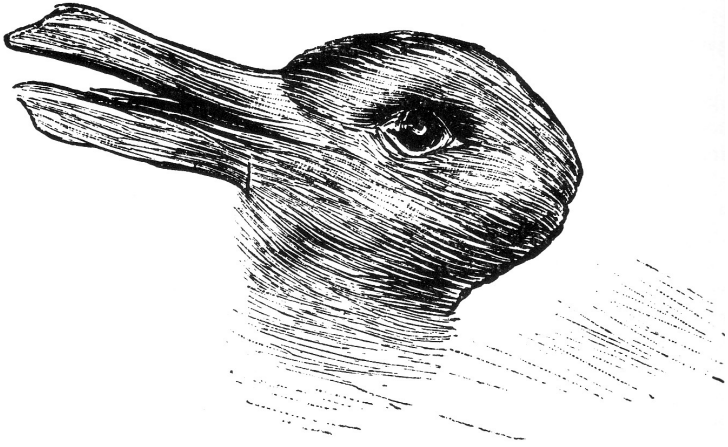
and surrender (by leaving the island) at worst, in which all available resources were used to the highest degree. This resulted in a well-ordered ‘clean’ landscape, which is perceived today as aesthetically pleasing. It follows that people today admire something that in reality was created and dominated by uttermost poverty and misery. To continue, the ‘reality’ and long-lasting image of Saaremaa of open coastal meadows as well as semi-natural grasslands differ greatly from one another. Due to the forestation propaganda as well as the agricultural decline, the meadows are in many places either covered with forest or overgrown (Figure 33).



**Figure 33.** Wilderness is taking over. Forested landscapes of Viidumäe, Saaremaa. Photo: H. Sooväli.

Moreover, tourism materials, postcards and picture books promote the icons of Saaremaa – to visit them has turned into a cliché. The icons attract tourists interested in ticking them off from their compulsory sites list – to take a photo home as evidence to be archived in ones’ ‘iconothèque’ of tourist memories. Gallarza et al. (2002) argue that it is the perceptions, rather than reality that motivate consumers to act and not to act. In fact, the virtual or pre-hand knowledge of the places can be more intense. The physical place/object might merely imply at the meaning, remind us of it, the meaning is part of the mindscape (Unt 2004).

Hence, a tourist expects to see and experience ‘the’ picture of Saaremaa that he/she has learned from tourism materials beforehand – stone fences, windmills, coastal meadows and mosaic landscapes.



**Figure 34.** The optical illusion ‘Duck-Rabbit’ (Mitchell 1994).

In a way, the imagery of Saaremaa could be compared with the optical illusion of ‘Duck-Rabbit’ (Figure 33), a metaphoric term for a meta-picture, objects that seem not only to have presence, but a ‘life’ of their own, talking and looking back at us (Mitchell 1994). The imagery, metaphorically called *Saaremaa waltz*, lives a life of its own parallel to the reality. Furthermore, there is a certain circular relationship between the imagery and the actual situation – “the particular form of representation can shape the landscape represented, and the landscape thus represented can shape its representation” (Olwig 2004: 42).

To conclude, in many respects this nostalgia-driven imagery perceived as ideal has rather little to do with the historic reality, and thus the actual social and economic conditions have only a peripheral connection to image construction and creation.

## 7. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### *Saaremaa valss. Saaremaa maastike kuvand 20. sajandil*

#### KOKKUVÕTE

Käesolevas doktoritöös on vaadeldud Saaremaa kuvandi kujunemist 20. sajandil läbi maastike representatsioonide. Teaduslik ning laiemalt ka ühiskondlik huvi Saaremaa vastu on suur saare merelise asendi, looduse eripära ja huvitava aja- loo tõttu, samuti sellepärast, et saar on atraktiivne suvituskoht. Need asjaolud on Saaremaa maastike kuvandit oluliselt mõjutanud. Tänapäeval on saar erinevate huvigruppide konfliktide areen, kus domineerivate gruppide ja ideoloogiate surve tagajärjel muutub maastik kiiresti.

Käesoleva töö eesmärkideks on välja selgitada:

1. Kuidas on Saaremaad kujutatud läbi tekstide ning piltide?
2. Kuidas käsitlevad erinevad sotsiaalsed grupid maastikega seonduvat problemaatikat?
3. Kui palju on Saaremaa maastike kuvand muutunud sotsiaal-ajaloolises ning poliitilises kontekstis 20. sajandil?
4. Kuidas on maastiku representatsioonid seotud tegeliku maastikuga?

Need eesmärgid aitavad uurida erinevaid ettekujutusi maastikest ning välja selgitada Saaremaa maastike kuvandi dünaamikat.

Käesoleva doktoritöö maastikke puudutav teoreetiline osa keskendub eel- kõige humanistlikele ja sotsiaalteaduslikele lähenemistele. Eesti maastiku-uuri- mise ajalugu võib määratleda ligikaudu saja aastaga. Sõna 'maastik' võeti kasutusele 20. sajandi alguses Eesti kunstnike poolt. Algselt kasutasid maali- kunstnikud ning luuletajad terminit 'maastik' maastikuilme kirjeldamisel (Suits 1906, vt. Paatsi 1995). Eesti geograafias kontseptualiseeris maastikku esimesena J. G. Granö (1924, 1929/1997; Kant 1923; vt. ka Jones 2003b), kes kirjeldab maastikke kui territoriaalseid üksusi. E. Kant (1926, 1931/1999; vt. ka Buttimer 2002) arutleb oma töödes, kuidas on võimalik uurida holistlikku maastikku erinevate metodoloogiliste lähenemiste kaudu. Humanistlik ning sotsiaalteaduslik traditsioon maastike uurimises katkes Nõukogude Liidu oku- patsiooniga, sest seda uurimissuunda mõisteti ohuna uuele kehtivale ideo- loogiale. Pärast Teist maailmasõda on Eesti maastiku-uurimises domineerinud vene-saksa teadustraditsioonidel põhinev süsteemne loodusteaduslik käsitlus (Raukas & Paatsi 2000), mis põhines paljuski Markuse (1930) ideedel. Pärast nõukogude okupatsiooni lõppu 1990. aastate alguses taastasid Eesti maastiku- uurijad kontaktid Põhjamaade teadusasutustega ning läbi nende kontaktide taasloodi ka humanistlik ning sotsiaalteaduslik lähenemine maastiku uurimises (Peil et al. 2005).

Kultuurigeograafias on maastiku uurimise teoreetiliste ning empiiriliste lähtekohtadena anglo-ameerika kultuurigeograafias valitsenud arusaam maastikust kui representatsioonist ning maastikust kui keskkonna sotsiaal-kultuurilisest väljendusvormist (Mitchell 2002, 2003; Dorrian & Rose 2003; Castree 2004a, 2004b). Uurimustes on vähe tähelepanu pööratud maastiku kui representatsiooni ja maastiku kui empiirilise reaalsuse paralleelsele analüüsile. Siiski on viimastel aastatel kultuurigeograafia diskussioonides hakatud rõhutama maastike sümbolistlike ja materiaalsete uurimuste ühendamise olulisust (Keisteri 1990; Jones 1991; Cosgrove 1998, 2003). Neid kahte lähenemist võiks ühendada interdistsiplinaarne maastiku uurimine. Jones (1991) toob välja kolm erinevat lähenemisviisi maastiku uurimiseks: loodusteaduslik, rakenduslik ning humanistlik. Jones rõhutab, et akadeemilised distsipliinid ei ole neutraalsed – neil on oma subjektiivsed väärtused, mis on vormitud lähtuvalt ühiskonna institutsionaalsetest huvidest. Ta väidab, et neid kolme lähenemist kombineeritult kasutades on võimalik saavutada maastikes toimuvate protsesside mõistmine (vt. Dixon & Jones III 2004; võrdle maastikuökoloogia diskussiooni samal teemal – Brandt 1999; Fry 2001; Tress et al. 2001, 2004). Tänapäeva maastikuuurimused keskenduvad samaaegselt keskkonna-, sotsiaalsete, kultuuriliste, esteetiliste ja majanduslike probleemide lahendamisele. Selline kompleksne lähenemine aitab kaasa ühtse teoreetilise raamistikuga väljatöötamisele. Meetodite ja lähenemiste kombineerimine võimaldab paralleelsete uurimuste läbiviimise asemel ületada uurimisvaldkondade vahelist lõhet.

Widgreni (2004) arvates on vaja uurida maastiku 'reaalsust', st. maastikuga seotud fakte ja sündmusi, selleks, et täielikult mõista maastike sümbolseid aspekte. Sellest lähtuvalt keskendub antud töö: 1) maastikule ja selle ajaloole kui representatsioonile ning 2) maastikule kui 'reaalsusele', st. faktidele ja sündmustele. Maastike fakte ja sündmusi võib vaadelda kahest aspektist. Ühelt poolt võib maastikku mõista kui materiaalsete (looduslike) elementide kogumit ja seda uurida loodusteaduslike meetoditega (Palang & Fry 2003). Teiselt poolt võib maastiku materiaalseid aspekte vaadelda kui inimeste igapäevaste tegemiste praktikaid (sensu Ingold 2000; vt. ka Setten 2002). Praktika tähendab ka inimeste mittekognitiivset suhet maasse, kuhu eelnevad ja praegused inim põlvkonnad on maastikul töötades jätnud ja jätmas oma väärtusi ja kogemusi.

Antud uurimuse teoreetilises raamistikus on kasutatud Keisteri (1991) maastikumõiste mudelit. Keisteri järgi koosneb maastik materiaalsest/nähtavast osast, mittemateriaalsest/tajutavast osast ja neid suunavatest ajalistest/ideoloogilistest teguritest. Keisteri mudelit mugandades on doktoritöö autor lisanud mudelile ka praktika-dimensiooni, mis hõlmab samaaegselt materiaalsest/nähtavat maastikku (empiirilist reaalsust) ning mittemateriaalset/tajutavat maastikku (ettekujutus/sümbolilisust). Antud doktoritöö keskendub Saaremaa maastike uurimisel peaasjalikult maastiku representatsioonidele. Töö uurib lähemalt erinevate ühiskonnagruppide sotsiaalseid ettekujutusi ning institutsionaalseid ja populaarseid ettekujutusi maastikest. Paralleelselt representatsioonide uuri-

misega leiab käsitlust ka Saaremaa maastike tegeliku seisundi hindamine läbi maakasutuse ning rahvastiku dünaamika uuringute.

Käesoleva uurimuse empiirilist osa toetavad teoreetilised arutlused representatsiooni ja kultuurigeograafia, samuti kuvandi konstrueerimise teemadel. Lisaks leiab põhjalikumat käsitlust tekstiline ning visuaalne pööre kultuurigeograafias ja sotsiaalsete representatsioonide teooria. Teoreetilise diskussiooni lähtekohaks on Hall'i (1997) väide, et tähendust ei kanna edasi mitte ainult materiaalne maailm, vaid ka meie poolt kasutatav keelesüsteem, mis tähistab meie arusaamu. Ettekujutuse all mõistetakse käesolevas töös üldisemalt praktikate kogumit, mille abil luuakse ja vahendatakse tähendusi. Antud doktoritöö teoreetiliste lähtepunktide kontekstualiseerimiseks on valitud sotsiaalsete representatsioonide teooria, mis aitab mõista, kuidas representatsioonid ühiskonnas igapäevaselt ja/või pikema aja jooksul luuakse ja taasluuakse ning kuidas me nende abil suhtleme. Representatsioonid võivad väljenduda suulisel või kirjalikus tekstis, läbi graafiliste või pildiliste vahendite. Representatsioonid võivad samas võtta ka elamusliku vormi nagu seda on skulptuur, tants, rituaal või arhitektuur (Olwig 2004). Samas hõlmavad representatsioonid materiaalsel kultuuri, nt. maastikke. Maastikud toodavad ja vahendavad erinevaid alateadvuslikke sõnumeid, nii nagu Lowenthal (1985); Schama (1996); Cosgrove (2000); Duncan (2000a); Antrop (2004) oma uurimustega on näidanud. Veelgi enam, Olwig (2004) väidab, et maastik ei ole pelgalt üks representatsiooni liik, vaid pigem tsirkulaarne, dialektiline koosmõju erinevate representatsiooni kategooriate ning sotsiaalsete ja keskkonnamuutuste protsesside vahel.

1980. aastate teisel poolel antropoloogias esile kerkinud väljendus kriisi diskussioonidest tulenevalt ollakse sotsiaalteadustes kahtleval seisukohal, kas sotsiaalteadlane saab otse ja täielikult haarata elavat kogemust (Gross 1996; Flick 1999). 1980. aastatel tekkinud uue kultuurigeograafia seisukohad on osa vastureaktsioonist geograafilisele väljendus kriisile. Uue kultuurigeograafia teoreetilised lähtekohad keskenduvad kirjelduse ning interpretatsiooni probleemidele (Cosgrove & Jackson 1987; Gregory & Ley 1988; Duncan et al. 2004). Tänapäeva uus kultuurigeograafia keskendub sellistele märksõnadele nagu tähendus, identiteet, refleksiivsus, keel ja representatsioon.

Kultuuriline pööre kultuurigeograafias tõi kaasa kõrgendatud huvi erinevate lähenemiste vastu keeleteaduses. Kuna keele kaudu väljendame oma mõtteid ja tundeid ümbritsevast, siis ei tohiks alahinnata sõnade, lausete ja tekstide olulisust maastike uurimisel. Uurimused, mis on ajendatud lingvistilisest pöördest, keskenduvad ümbritseva vormimisele tekstiks ning võimu küsimustele tekstides. Mitmed süstemaatilised uurimused (nt. Jones & Daugstad 1997) on viidanud vajadusele uurida näiteks teadlaste, poliitikute, otsustelangetajate keelt selleks, et mõista erinevate huvigruppide lähte kohti maastiku muutmisel.

Geograafia uurimistraditsioonis on visuaalsusel olnud oluline koht. Rose'i (2000) väitel on geograafilised teadmised tihtipeale omandatavad just visuaalselt. Geograafia kasutab mitmeid visuaalseid tehnoloogiaid ja žanre: kaarte,

topograafilisi jooniseid, fotograafiat, filmi, GISi jne. Traditsiooniliselt on oldud arvamusel, et need imidžid mitte ei näita geograafi ettekujutust maailmast, vaid pigem mõnd uurimise all oleva objekti tõdemuslikku aspekti (Rose 2000). Sellest tulenevalt on geograafia teoreetilistes diskussioonides tõstatunud vajadus imidžite kriitilisema uurimise järele. Huvi visuaalsust puudutava problemaatika vastu kultuurigeograafias kasvas 1980. aastate teisel poolel. Vaatamata sellele on visuaalse pöördega kaasnenud teoreetiline diskussioon geograafide hulgas jäänud vaevumärgatavaks. Sellepärast on antud doktoritöös pikemalt tutvustatud visuaalset pööret.

Noble (2004) väidab, et vajadus uurida visuaalset kultuuri on ühtaegu nii sümptom kui ka vastus tänapäeva imidžitel põhinevale kultuurmaastikule, milles me elame ja mis omakorda elab meis. Imidžitest ning visuaalsest tehnoloogiast on saanud meie igapäevaeltu rutiinne osa. Veelgi enam, me oleme ümbritsetud imidžitest ja nad edastavad meile tihtipeale mittesoovitud ning mittevajalikku informatsiooni. Mitchell'i peetakse esimeseks teoreetikuks, kes toob välja muutuvad rõhuasetused erinevates humanitaardistsipliinides ning kultuuris laiemalt, nimetades neid muutusi 'pildiliseks pöördeks'. Oma raamatus *Picture theory* (1994) väidab Mitchell, et pilt on humanitaardistsipliinides saavutanud sama staatuse nagu tekst ning rõhutab ühtlasi, et ekslikud on väited nagu saaks teksti ja pilti sama metodoloogia abil uurida. Metzi (1974; vt. Evans 1999) arvates saab imidžite vaataja hulga ebamäärast informatsiooni, mida iga vaataja peab enda jaoks ise lahti tõlgendama.

Käesoleva doktoritöö metodoloogiline raamistik põhineb kvalitatiivsel lähenemisel. Kvalitatiivsete meetodite läbilöök inimgeograafias toimus 1970. aastatel (Claval 2001b), mil kvantitatiivsed tehnikad asendusid suures osas väiksemamõõduliste, kvalitatiivsete meetoditega (Flick 1999; Hamnett 2003). Tänapäeval peetakse neid meetodeid inimgeograafia edu võtmeks, mis on aidanud teadusesse tuua uusi teadmisi ning kõrgetasemelisi oskusi (Thrift 2002). Üha aktiivsem kvalitatiivsete meetodite kasutamine geograafide poolt on tingitud vajadusest uurida igapäevaeltu keerukust ning mõista sügavamalt sotsiaalseid maailmu loovad protsesse (Dwyer & Limb 2001). Dwyer & Limb (2001) on välja selgitanud, et kvalitatiivsetel lähenemistel on mitmeid ühiseid karakteristikuid, nagu näiteks intersubjektiivne arusaamine teadmisest, süvitsi uurimine, keskendumine uurija ja uuritava objekti omavahelistele suhetele ja võimusuuhetele, samuti ka uurimisobjekti kontekstuaalne ja tõlgendav mõistmine. Flick (1998) toetab antud väiteid, öeldes, et kvalitatiivne lähenemine on orienteeritud konkreetsete juhtumite ajalise ja paikkondliku erisuse uurimisele. Kvantitatiivseid meetodeid eristab kvalitatiivsetest see, et viimased ei eelda meile eelnevalt teada ja tuntud maailma olemasolu. Kvalitatiivne lähenemine näeb sotsiaalset maailma kui dünaamilist ja muutuvat üksust, mis on pidevas loomises läbi kultuuriliste, majanduslike, sotsiaalsete ning poliitiliste protsesside. See lähenemine pöörab tähelepanu sotsiaalse reaalsuse subjektiivsele mõistmisele, mitte statistilisele kirjeldamisele või üldkehtiva prognoosimisele (Dwyer & Limb 2001). Nii kvalitatiivsete kui kvantitatiivsete meetodite

paralleelne kasutamine annab uurijale võimaluse saada uuritavast objektist igakülgsmaid teadmisi (Smith 2000; Thrift 2002; Hamnett 2003). Käesolevas doktoritöös on kombineerituna kasutatud nii kvantitatiivseid kui ka kvalitatiivseid meetodeid: ajaloolise narratiivi lähenemist, kontentanalüüsi, diskursusanalüüsi, süvaintervjuusid ning küsimustikke.

Saaremaa maastike kuvandi kontekstualiseermiseks on uurimuses vaadeldud saare ajalugu, maakasutuse dünaamikat ning rahvastiku dünaamikat. Saaremaa 'kuldajaks' ajaloos võib pidada varast keskaega, mil saarlaste ja Skandinaavia viikingite vahel käis tihe kaubavahetus ning viimased kasutasid oma retkedel Saaremaad peatuspaigana. Võiks väita, et osa Saaremaa kohatundest pärineb 9.–13. sajandist, mil saarele ehitati tänapäevani tähelepanu köitvad võimsad kirikud ning maalinnad. Saarlased on kuulsust kogunud kui südikad võitlejad erinevate võõrvägede vastu ning isegi pärast ristiusu vastuvõtmist 1227. aastal säilitasid saarlased mõneti teistsuguse sotsiaalse positsiooni kui ülejäänud elanikud Eestis ja Liivimaal (Mägi 2002). Mägi (2001) väitel võib 13. ja 14. sajandi ajaloosündmuste põhjal oletada, et kohalik eliit säilitas oma privileegid, maa ja võimu ka pärast saare vallutamist.

Tehes ajaloos pika hüppe 20. sajandi sündmusesse, näeme, et eelmine sajand oli Saaremaale keeruline ning kohalikele elanikele laastav. Teise maailmasõja märksõnadeks võiksid olla saarlaste põgenemine läände, sadade saarlaste elu nõudnud ägedad lahingud, ning saarlaste küüditamine Siberisse. Laastustööst kõneleb ilmekalt Saaremaa elanikkonna vähenemine 55 tuhandelt 1934. aastal 28 tuhandele 1959. aastal (Marksoo 2002; Vessik & Varju 2002). Sõjajärgsetel aastatel sai Saaremaast Nõukogude Liidu läänepoolsemaid alasid, mis piiritsoonina jäi hoolika kontrolli alla kuni 1980. aastate lõpuni.

Maakasutusdünaamika muutused 20. sajandil näitavad, kuidas põllumajanduslik maakasutus (rohumaad, haritav ja aiandusmaa) on 1918. aasta 88 protsendilt langenud 2001. aastal 17 protsendile. Maakasutust mõjutas tugevalt ka nõukogude armee kohalolek. Suurt osa endisest põllumajandusmaast kasutati militaarsetel eesmärkidel: ehitati lennuvälju, raketibaase ja piirivalvekordoneid. Märgatavaid muutusi tõi kaasa ka maade kuivendamine ning metsastamine.

Tänapäeval peetakse Saaremaad majanduslikest ja poliitilistest keskustest kaugel asuvaks perifeerseks saareks. Siiski on Saaremaa meedias üks enim tähelepanu all olevaid piirkondi kavandatava süvasadama ning püsiühenduse tõttu.

Saaremaa maastike kuvandi teket on käesolevas doktoritöös uuritud maastikumaalide ja teaduslike tekstide kaudu. Baltisaksa 19. sajandi teise poole ja 20. sajandi alguse Eesti kunstnike maastikumaale võib pidada esimesteks Saaremaad kujutavateks visuaalseteks kirjeldusteks. Saaremaa sotsiaal-majandusliku olukorra kirjeldused ja analüüsid 1930. aastate teaduslikes tekstides annavad võimaluse jälgida selle piirkonna kujutamist ajal, kust pärineb Eesti rahvuslik idealiseeritud tänapäeva kuvand (Sooväli et al. 2003c) ja mis lubab arvata, et ka tänapäeva Saaremaa kuvand pärineb suures osas just sellest ajast. Analüüsitud allikad näitavad, milliseid teemasid tolle aja teadlased pidasid oluliseks uurida

ja millest kirjutada. Tõik, et 20. sajandi esimesel poolel sai Saaremaast maalikunstnike seas populaarne peatuspaik, tõestab, et karm avatud maastik, mõneti müstiline valgus ja saarlaste arhailine elulaad inspireerisid mitmeid Eesti maalikunstnikke. Seda saare isoleeritusest tingitud ja palju imetletud arhailist eluviisi on 1930. aastate teadlaste uurimustes kirjeldatud kui mahajäetud ja vaest piirkonda. Peamised põhjused olid uurijate arvates tingitud kolmest tegurist: kesised mullad, aeglane maa kruntimine ning Esimese maailmasõja järgsed kahjud.

Tekstilistest representatsioonidest on uuritud Saare maavalitsuse spetsialistide, maakonna elanike, Eesti ja välituristide ettekujutusi, erinevate asjaosaliste väiteid meedias ning teemaplaneeringu *Asustust ja maakasutust suunavad tegurid* alateema maakonna planeeringut *Väärtuslikud maastikud*. Need representatsioonid väljendavad maastikke puudutavate arvamuste paljusust tänapäeva ühiskonnas ning peegeldavad seda, mida nii insaiderid kui autsaiderid peavad Saaremaal väärtuslikuks ja eripäraseks. Lisaks uuriti saare tulevikuperspektiive, pidades silmas kohalike elanike, spetsialistide ja meedia arvamust Saaremaa maastikke ohustada võivate arengute kohta. Võrreldes respondentide, maakonna planeeringus ja meedias kajastuvaid arvamusi võib täheldada mitmeid sarnasusi. Saaremaa eripära väljendub üldisemalt kadastikes, looduse puhtuses ja erilisuses/ainulaadsuses, rannikualades, saare geograafilises asendis, kiviaedades, pankades, poollooduslikes kooslustes ning keskaegsetes kirikutes. Võimaliku ohuna saare keskkonnale käsitleti kinnisvara arenguga seotud probleeme, turismi kiiret kasvu, aga ka hoolimatut metsaraiet ning süvasadama ehitust. Võrreldes doktoritöös esitatud uurimuse ning Kaur et al. (2004) neli aastat tagasi läbi viidud uurimuse tulemusi saare eripära ning saarega seotud tulevikuperspektiivide kohta, näeme selget vastuolu erinevaid uurimusi võrreldes. Ühelt poolt pelgavad saarlased suuri infrastruktuuridega seotud arenguprojekte, mis on aga ärimeeste õhutusel regionaal-poliitilisel areenil tõusnud koguni rahvusliku prioriteedi seisusesse. Vastuolulised tulemused näitavad, et analüüsides erinevaid allikaid erinevate meetoditega on võimalik samas küsimuses jõuda lahknevate tulemusteni ning nõndanimetatud tõde võibki peituda arvukates allikates (vt. ka Gustafson 2001).

Pildilistest representatsioonidest uuriti lähemalt maastikumaale, turismimaterjale ning Eestit ja Saaremaad käsitlevaid fotoalbumeid. Analüüsist selgus, et pildilised representatsioonid on üldjoontes sarnased – peamised fotodel ja maalidel kujutatud teemad on meremaastikud, avatud rannamaastikud (kadastikega) ning ruraalne idüll/arhailine elulaad. Fotoalbumid peegeldavad ilmekalt neid ajaperioode, mil nad üllitati. Teise maailmasõja eelse perioodi Saaremaad on kujutatud eeskätt põllumajandusliku ühiskonnana, kuid kajastust leiab ka eripärane loodus ja kuurortlinnana tuntud Kuressaare oma lõbustusasutustega. Nõukogude aegses kuvandis figureerivad kaks võrdset teemat – sotsiaalmajanduslik progress vabariigi perifeerses piirkonnas ja ruraalne idüll. Nii viimase kümne aasta kui ka tänapäeva keskseks teemaks pildilistes representatsioonides on nostalgia põimununa mahajäetusega. Pildialbumid on aidanud

luua ja püsivaks muuta Saaremaa tänapäeva populaarsed ikoonid: Angla tuulikud, Kaali meteoriidikraatri ja Kuressaare lossi.

Kokkuvõtlikult võib väita, et Saaremaa maastike kuvand on jäänud suures osas muutumatuks läbi sajandi. Saaremaad on kujutatud kui geograafiliselt isoleeritud piirkonda, mis on saare eripärasuse kujunemist mitmeti määranud. Saarelisus koondab endas mitmeid konnotatsioonikategooriaid. Autsaiderid peavad saarelisust millekski eksootiliseks ja tavatuks. Paljudele külastajatele imponeerib võimalus jõuda saarele meritsi, kusjuures praami- või paadisõit otsekui sümboliseeriks piiri ületamist kahe erineva paiga vahel ning sisendaks ootust uute sündmuste järele. Saarelisus on tihedalt seotud mererannaga, rannikupankadega ning mereavarustega. Püüe kogeda nostalgiat endisaegsete maastike järele on omane nii insaideritele kui autsaideritele. Saaremaa maastike pastoraalne minevik püsib ühtviisi nii saarlaste kogukondlikus mälus kui pälvib ka külaliste lugupidamise.

Uurimuse tulemusena esitletud Saaremaa kuvandi arengu väljendamiseks võib selle asetada mitmele kahedimensioonilisele teljele, kus ühte mõõdet esindavad 'traditsioonilisus', 'loodus' ja 'keskus'; teist aga 'progress', 'inimene' ja 'perifeeria'. Saare püüdlused helgema tuleviku poole läbi 20. sajandi väljendusid paljuski vastuoludes. 20. sajandi alguses vastandus vaene ja konservatiivne maapiirkond teravalt Eesti ja rahvusvahelist eliiti lõbustava kuurortlinna Kuressaarega. Nõukogude Saaremaal vastandus loodus inimese mõjuvõimuga. Maapiirkondade linnastumine, põllumajanduse mehhaniseerimine, industrialiseerimine ja Kingissepa muutumine moodsaks linnaks pidi tähistama nõukogude inimese õigust heaolule isegi kõige kõrvalisemal äärealal. Pildialbumite maastikuvaadetes leiab siiski kajastust ka looduse puhtuse ja ruraalse idüllilise teema. Praegusel ajal väljendavad progressi peamiselt kaks ikooni – süvasadam ning püsiühendus – kajastudes läbi meediarepresentatsioonide.

Töö diskussioon lähtub seisukohast, et isegi kui maastikud muutuvad, on need muutused harva planeeritud (Antrop 1998). Mitte kõik ei taju samu muutusi ühtviisi positiivse või negatiivseks. Võiks koguni väita, et ainus jääv joon maastikus ongi selle muutlikkus. Püsivuse ja muutlikkuse vahekorras varjul olev paradoks seisneb Jones'i (1991) tõdemusel, et muutus osutab millegi püsimisele, samas kui jäävus kätkeb alati mõningast muutumist. Maastikuuurimises on nimetatud paradoks mitmel viisil kujundanud maastiku materiaalsete ja sümboliliste aspektide tõlgendamist. Maastikku lähemalt tundma õppides on võimalik sealt välja lugeda erinevaid aja- ja kultuuriloo kihte. Nende protsesside uurimine sisaldab praktilist võimalust ennustada edasisi maastikumutusi, aidates planeerijaid maastikku planeerida.

Autori arvates on tänapäeva Saaremaa maastike ilme kaks kõige suuremat mõjutajat turism ning kinnisvara müük. Kuna Saaremaal puudub jätkusuutlikku turismi tagav turismiarendustrateegia, siis on turistide masside suunamine saarel olnud hektiline. Võrreldes teiste piirkondadega Eestis on Saaremaal turismi vaid vähesel määral arendatud, pakkudes üksikuid vaba aja veetmise viise. Sellest

tulenevalt on nii looduse taluvuskoormus kui sotsiaalne taluvuskoormus muutumas saarel probleemiks.

Eestlaste ja soomlaste hulgas on viimastel aastatel saanud populaarseks suvekodu soetamine Saaremaale. Kinnisvaraarendajad on asunud ehitama suvilate piirkondi. Saaremaal ringi sõites on näha soomlaste suvekodusid, mis on ehitatud Soome arhitektuuritraditsioone järgides. Veelgi enam, ka paljude eestlaste hulgas on populaarsed nn. Soome *mökkid*, mis läbi Eesti kodu- ja aiandusajakirjade on saanud Põhjamaa heaolu kehastuseks. Karjala ehitusstiilis majakesed ning Eesti ehitustraditsioon on teineteisest erinevad ning seeläbi võib oletada, et osa Saaremaast muutub 'väikeseks Soomeks'. E. Kant (1926) rõhutab, et maastike eripära seisneb nii looduses kui autentsel kohalikul arhitektuuril, mis omakorda põhineb hästi planeeritud inimkomponentides. Neid komponente säilitades jääb alles ka kohalik kultuur ning identiteet. Saare maastike eripära tagamiseks on oluline säilitada kohalikud traditsioonid ja tavad. Probleemseteks piirkondadeks on viimastel aastatel saanud ka saare rannikualad, mis on sattunud suvekodude ihalejate surve alla. Hoolimata ehituskeelust ehitada habrastele looduslikele elupaikadele on tung sinna suvilaid ehitada suur.

Lähitulevikus lisandub Saaremaa maastikele uus kiht – suvekodud – ning maastik selle läbi muutub. Siiski, suure tõenäosusega Saaremaa maastike kuvandit see aga oluliselt ei mõjuta, sest nagu näitas antud doktoritöös läbi viidud uurimus – kuvandi konstrueerimisel ei ole oluline tegelik maastik, pigem ettekujutus maastikust.

Saaremaa kuvandit võib võrrelda 'Part-Jänese' optilise illusiooniga, mis metafooriliselt tähistab meta-pilti objektidest, millel on välimus, ent samal ajal ka 'omaette elu', mis meile vastu räägib ja vaatab (Mitchell 1994). Saare kuvand, mida doktoritöös olen metafooriliselt nimetanud *Saaremaa valsiks*, elab reaalsusega paralleelselt oma elu.

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# APPENDIX

## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire survey on Saaremaa valuable landscapes

1. Are there landscapes or landscape elements that are particularly distinct to your vicinity or Saaremaa? What are these landscapes or landscape elements like?
2. Which places in your home community and Saaremaa you would mention as beautiful (interesting, peculiar)? Please bring out a specific place name and/or try to limit these places somehow.
  - a) From home community I would point out
  - b) From county I would point out
3. What does disturb you in the scenery of your vicinity landscapes? Please indicate to the three prominent aspects
  - a) littering leavings;
  - b) fields left fallow;
  - c) overgrowing with shrubs;
  - d) left-behind constructions;
  - e) over felling of forests;
  - f) unsuitable constructions
4. To what extent and how has your home community changed during the last ten years?
5. In which place of Estonia would you like to live if you had a choice to choose?
6. What does endanger the landscapes of Saaremaa?
7. What should be maintained in the landscapes of Saaremaa?
8. What does endanger the landscapes of Saaremaa?
9. What is special in the landscapes of Saaremaa compared to other places in Estonia?
10. How would the future landscapes of Saaremaa look like?
11. Which key words would characterise the landscapes of Saaremaa?
  - a) forest;
  - b) old villages;
  - c) bog;
  - d) cliffs;
  - e) alvars and coastal meadows;
  - f) wooded meadows
12. How long have you lived on Saaremaa?

## Appendix 2

### Questionnaire

This questionnaire is compiled by the researchers of Tartu University, Institute of Geography and the results are used only for scientific purposes. The aim of the study is to find out what makes Saaremaa to a popular tourism attraction and what are the places the visitors like.

For more information:  
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1. Why did you choose Saaremaa for your travel destination?  
.....
2. What do you plan to do on Saaremaa?  
.....
3. How long do you plan to stay on Saaremaa?  
.....
4. What is different/special on Saaremaa compared to other places in Estonia?  
.....
5. How would you describe the peculiarity of the landscapes of Saaremaa?  
.....
6. Which natural and cultural sites do you plan to visit/have you visited on Saaremaa?  
.....
7. Which place do you like the most on Saaremaa? Why?  
.....
8. Sex and age  
a. male.....                      b. female.....                      Age.....
9. Education  
a. primary school..... b. secondary school.... c. vocational school.... d. higher education.....
10. Profession.....

Thank you!

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<b>Praegune töökoht</b>	Tartu Ülikool, Geograafia Instituut, inimgeograafia lektor, alates 2002

## Haridus

2000–2004	TÜ Geograafia Instituudi inimgeograafia doktoriõpe
1998–2000	TÜ Skandinavistika eriharu, MA
1995–1998	TPÜ Põhjamaade keelte osakond, rootsi keel, BA
1994–1995	Stockholmi Ülikool, The Institute of English Speaking Students
1982–1993	Tallinna 7. Keskkool.

## Teenistuskäik

1994	<i>au-pair</i> , Rootsi
1997–1998	Tallinna Kalamaja Põhikooli rootsi keele õpetaja
1997–2001	Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikooli rootsi keele õpetaja
1999–2002	Tartu Ülikooli rootsi keele lektor

## Teadulik ja arendustegevus

### 1. Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad

Eesti maastike kuvand, maastike representatsioonid ning piirkondlik, rahvuslik identiteet

### 2. Saadud uurimistoetused ja lepingud

- Eesti Kultuurkapital *Kaduvad Eesti maastikud. Piimapukid*, 2001
- Osalemine põhitäitjana ETF grantis nr. 4589 *Eesti kultuurmaastike ajalooline pärand*, 2001–2003
- Osalemine põhitäitjana ETF grantis nr. 5858 *Piiriülesed maastikud*, 2004–

### 3. Muu teaduslik, organisatsiooniline ja erialane tegevus

- *The Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape* 20. sessiooni (Tartu, Otepää, 2002) korraldaja

- Nordic Research Course *Landscape and seasonality* (Roosta, 2003) korraldaja
- *The 21th Session of The Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape 20.* (Lemnos, Lesbos, Kreeka, 2004) organiseerimiskomitee liige
- *Eesti Sotsiaalteadlaste Aastakonverents V* (Tartu, 2004) organiseerimiskomitee liige

### **Erialane enesetäiendus**

- Stockholmi Ülikooli Põhjamaade keelte osakond, 1996
- Islandi keele ja kultuuri suvekursus, Sigurður Nordal Institute, Islandi Ülikool, 1998
- Grööni keele ja kultuuri suvekursus, Gröönimaa Ülikool, 2000
- Rootsi keele ja kultuuri suvekursus, Stockholm, Rootsi Instituut, 2000
- Doktorantide kursus “Studying Multifunctional Landscapes and Participating in Scientific Conferences”, Roskilde Ülikool, 2000
- Doktorantide kursus “NOLD Nordic Research School on Local Dynamics and Rural Development”, Swedish School of Social Science, 2001
- Doktorantide kursus “Land, landscape, society”, Stockholmi Ülikool, 2002
- Doktorantide kursus: “Philosophy of Science and methodology in ‘global/local’ analyses”, Roskilde Ülikool, 2002

### **Ühiskondlik ja publitsistlik tegevus**

Avaldanud artikleid ja reisijutte ajalehtedes *Postimees*, *Eesti Ekspress*, *Maaleht*, ajakirjas *Eesti Loodus*  
Eesti Üliõpilaste Seltsi “Põhjala” vilistlane

## PUBLICATIONS/PUBLIKATSIOONID

1. Palang, H. & Sooväli, H. (eds.) 2001: *Maastik: loodus ja kultuur. Maastikukäsitlusi Eestis. Publicationes Instituti Geographici Universitatis Tartuensis*, 91. Tartu: Tartu University Press, pp. 145.
2. Sooväli, H., Kaur, E. & Palang, H. 2001: Landscapes in Change – Opposing Perceptions. In: Mander, Ü., Printsman, A. & Palang, H. (eds.) *IALE European Conference 2001 Development of European Landscapes. Conference Proceedings. Publicationes Instituti Geographici Universitatis Tartuensis*, 92, pp. 390–394.
3. Sooväli, H., Palang, H., Alumäe, H., Külvik, M., Kaur, E., Oja, T. Prede, M. & Pae, T. 2003: (Traditional) landscape identity – globalized, abandoned, sustained? In: Tiezzi, E., Brebbia, C. A. & Usó, J. L. (eds.) *Ecosystems and sustainable development*, Vol 2 (Advances in Ecological Sciences, 19). Southampton: WIT Press, pp. 925–935.
4. Palang, H., Printsman, A., Alumäe, H., Kaur, E., Oja, T., Prede, M., Pungas, P., Reimann, M. & Sooväli, H. 2003: Local people as shapers of sustainability of rural landscapes. In: Tiezzi, E., Brebbia, C. A. & Usó, J. L. (eds.) *Ecosystems and sustainable development*, Vol 2 (Advances in Ecological Sciences, 19). Southampton: WIT Press, pp. 873–882.
5. Sooväli, H., Palang, H., Kaur, E., Peil, T. & Vermandere, I. 2003: Combining Approaches in Landscape Research. The Case of Saaremaa, Estonia. In: Palang, H. & Fry, G. (eds.) *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 357–375.
6. Sooväli, H., Palang, H. & Külvik, M. 2003: The role of rural landscapes in shaping Estonian national identity. In: Unwin, T. & Spek, T. (eds.) *European Landscapes: From Mountain to Sea. Proceedings of the 19th Session of the Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape (PECSRL), London and Aberystwyth, 10–17 September 2000*, pp. 114–122.
7. Palang, H., Sooväli, H., Antrop, M. & Setten, G. (eds.) 2004: *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
8. Palang, H., Sooväli, H., Antrop, M. & Setten, G. 2004: European Landscapes of Persistence and Change. In: Palang, H., Sooväli, H., Antrop, M. & Setten, G. (eds.) 2004: *European Rural Landscapes: Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 1–11.
9. Kaur, E., Palang, H. & Sooväli, H. 2004: Landscapes in Change – Opposing Understandings and Valuations. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 67 (1–4), 109–120.

10. **Sooväli, H.**, Külvik, M. & Palang, H. 2004: Rural Landscape Representations in Estonian Imagery. *Estonia. Geographical Studies*, 9, Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, pp. 171–180.
11. Palang, H., **Sooväli, H.**, Printsman, A., Peil, T., Lang, V., Konsa, M., Külvik, M., Alumäe, H. & Sepp, K. 2004: Estonian Cultural Landscapes: Persistence and Change. *Estonia. Geographical Studies*, 9, Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, pp. 155–171.
12. Semm, K. & **Sooväli, H.** 2004: Võimuideoloogiate peegeldused Setumaa kultuurmaastikes. In: Aun, M. & Jürgenson, A. (eds.) *Setumaa kogumik 2. Uurimusi Setumaa arheoloogiast, geograafiast, rahvakultuurist ja ajaloost*. Ajaloo Instituut ja MTÜ Arheoloogia Keskus, pp. 19–31.
13. Printsman, A., Alumäe, H., Külvik, M., Palang, H., **Sooväli, H.** & Oja, T. 2004: Lookout towers in Estonia: visual control or managed tourism? *Fifth International Workshop on Sustainable Land-Use Planning, Wageningen. Multiple Landscapes: merging past and present in landscape planning*. CD.
14. **Sooväli H.**, Semm, K. & Palang, H. 2005: Coping with landscapes – the Setu and Saaremaa people, Estonia. In: Peil, T. & Jones, M. (eds.) *Landscape, Law and Justice*. Oslo, Norwegian Academy of Sciences. In press.
15. Peil, T., **Sooväli, H.**, Palang, H., Oja, T. & Mander, Ü. 2005: Estonian landscape study. Contextual history. *Belgeo*. In press.
16. Peil, T. & **Sooväli, H.** 2005: National landscapes – sum and its parts. In: Peil, T. & Jones, M. (eds.) *Landscape Law and Justice*. Oslo, Norwegian Academy of Sciences. In press.
17. Printsman, A., Alumäe, H., Külvik, M., Oja, T., Palang, H. & **Sooväli, H.** forthcoming. The purpose of a lookout tower: the case of Estonia. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. Submitted.
18. Palang, H., Fry, G., Jauhainen, J., Jones, M. & **Sooväli, H.** 2005: Landscape and seasonality – seasonal landscapes. *Landscape Research*, 30, In press.