Heimat – A German concept of regional perception and identity as a basis for coastal management in the Wadden Sea

Beate M.W. Ratter [a,b,*], Kira Gee [b]

[a] Institute of Geography, University of Hamburg, 20146 Hamburg, Germany
[b] Institute of Coastal Research, Helmholtz Zentrum Geesthacht, Geesthacht, Germany

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

The German concept of *Heimat* is closely related to ideas of place, place attachment and sense of place. Despite its difficult history, it is currently experiencing a renaissance in public interest and also in geographical, ethnological and psychological research. This paper explores the perception of *Heimat* by residents on the German North Sea coast. It traces the specific values the concept embodies, asking whether these particular values can ultimately be tapped to engage people in the process of preserving and developing their *Heimat*. Survey results reveal that *Heimat* is constituted by social values, such as feeling connected to family, friends and the wider community. *Heimat* is also a distinct place linked to a wide range of intangible values such as the aesthetic value of the seascape or the symbolic values assigned to the sea. *Heimat* can also be regarded as a practice, as it represents a conscious or subconscious act of putting one's surroundings into meaningful order. Identification with *Heimat* is strong, and there is demonstrable willingness to become involved in preserving it which springs from people's connectedness to place and their felt responsibility for *Heimat*. Viewed from this perspective, *Heimat* is an interesting concept in the context of decision-making processes and regional management.

© 2012 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Natural and social systems are dynamic, non-linear, and subject to continuous change. Change in these systems result from the interchange of its constituent elements, implying that every person in some way plays a system-altering role. If the future development of a region is co-determined by the people that live in it, then their ideas and views, values, knowledge and past experience become all-important factors in determining the trajectory of a system. Beyond the academic interest, this has practical implications for planning processes such as regional development or coastal zone management, in particular when these are understood as iterative, unfolding and participative processes. Understanding what people value about their living environment and why they care about a particular place or region takes these processes beyond a discussion of short-term interests and can lead to a deeper understanding of conflicts that might be experienced over coastal management choices.

Various frameworks have been used for eliciting and subsequently framing place-based values, attitudes and opinions held by people living on the coast. One example is the cultural ecosystem services approach, which brings together a range of tangible and intangible values that spring from ecosystem functions (MA, 2005). A recent study identifies cultural ecosystem services in the sea and the intangible values associated with them, with seascape and place emerging as useful conceptual bridges between ecosystem functions, values and human well-being (Gee and Burkhard, 2010; Busch et al., 2011). Intangible place-related values are the subject of a wide-ranging body of research, focussing i.e. on the satisfaction derived from experiencing nature, the significance of (local) landscapes or wildlife, and the reasons why certain places are valued more than others (Ignatow, 2006; Dietz et al., 2005; Lothian, 1999; Vining, 1999; Collins and Kearns, 2010). The intersection of home, identity and belonging is also widely explored, for instance in psychology (Mitzscherlich, 1997), or the context of "emotional landscapes" of the diaspora, which are constructed around the location of kin, family land, or villages of ancestral origin and often involve an idealized connection to the former homeland (Christou and King, 2010: 638).

In this paper, we use the German concept of *Heimat* as an instrument to draw together place-based values held by residents along the North Sea coast of Germany. *Heimat* is defined by spatial, social and emotional components, which makes it a useful framework for exploring what people consider to be special about their

* Corresponding author. Institute of Geography, University of Hamburg, 20146 Hamburg, Germany.

E-mail address: ratter@geowiss.uni-hamburg.de (B.M.W. Ratter).

living environment and what aspects they particularly value and feel attached to. A particular feature is the strong emotionality the concept of *Heimat* evokes, leading to a 'felt' connection to place which is mediated by spatial and social experiences. We argue that a link can be made between this emotional connection and a person's willingness to engage with their *Heimat*. For example, a strong sense of *Heimat*, and strong emotional attachment to *Heimat* may lead to the desire that similar experiences and values are available to future generations, thus enhancing a person's intrinsic motivation to act towards this goal. A closer look at the concept of *Heimat* is therefore useful on two accounts: Firstly, to test its use in eliciting place-based values, in particular intangible values that are often hidden from view, and secondly, to explore its role in strengthening participative processes such as ICZM by tapping people's willingness to get involved.

Our exploration is based on the results of two surveys carried out on the German North Sea coast to probe place-based values and the relationship of local residents to their natural and social environment. Based on these survey results we first present some insights into what constitutes *Heimat* along the German coast. We then demonstrate that a sense of *Heimat* can translate into sometimes deep concern and active engagement for one's *Heimat*.

2. The German concept of '*Heimat*'

Heimat is a specifically German term, with neither the Latin-based languages nor the eastern languages such as Chinese offering any exact synonyms. *Domov* or *rodina* is a very close translation in the Slavic and Russian languages (Blickle, 2002: 2), with "homescape" or "homeland" offering the nearest English approximations. To German-speakers, the term has an almost intuitive meaning, with everyone knowing or feeling what is implied even though most would find it difficult to offer a hard and fast definition. The problem in translating *Heimat* is also down to the multiple facets of the term, which encompasses many meanings and contexts of use.

In scientific terms, *Heimat* signifies "a fundamentally positive emotional connection to the area or territory where one grew up and which has represented the centre of one's subjective living world for a certain period" (Weichhart et al., 2006: 23). The link of *Heimat* to "early socialization experiences [...] that influence identity, character, mentality, attitudes and also world views (Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, 2005) sets *Heimat* apart from a positive attitude to a place or place attachment, which can also come about without such socialization experiences.

Research has explored the many facets of *Heimat* from perspectives as diverse as geography, psychology and ethnology. Geography predominantly focuses on the spatial elements of *Heimat*, describing it as a "relatively closely prescribed, but not sharply delineated environment to which individuals are emotionally connected through birth, a long period of residence or other circumstances" (Leser, 2005: 344). The specific character of place is almost incidental here since this kind of emotional connection can be established to any place and any landscape, just as it can arise out of choice (e.g. when actively emigrating to another country) or simply grow over time, becoming noticed only when one's *Heimat* is threatened or when we leave it or lose it. *Heimat* can thus be said to represent a particular spatial-social unit, one that is composed of multiple place-based values and which is also closely linked to feelings of identity. [*Heimat* is] "the human environment and landscape to which we feel emotionally and rationally connected, and which lends identity" (Buchwald, 1984: 54). Importantly, *Heimat* also has elements of comprehensibility and predictability, providing us with a sense of security and reliability and triggering experiences of deep familiarity. Mentally, "Heimat is thus the opposite of foreignness and alienation: an area of appropriation, active pervasion and reliability" (Bausinger, 1980: 20). This does not necessarily imply a spatial connotation, as feelings of familiarity and belonging can also arise from social contexts alone, such as a deep connection to a group of people. It does point to the fact that *Heimat* is created, made and re-made potentially in different social and spatial contexts.

Ethnology and psychology focus less on the spatial and more on the social constituents of *Heimat*. Greverus (1979) describes *Heimat* as an ideal, idyllic world which can only be found in the trinity of community, space and tradition. This trinity alone, she argues, can satisfy the human need for identity, security and active life choices within a culturally structured space. Although literature generally agrees that *Heimat* exists in relation to a spatial core (see Peißker-Meyer, 2002: 17–19), *Heimat* is not simply 'out there', but is actively made. This points to the key role of social belonging in mental constructs of *Heimat*, generated in turn through active engagement with other people and neighbourhoods (Mitzscherlich, 1997). *Heimat* as an active choice is the place where one is at home and feels at home, where "I live in the full sense of the word as someone who has settled down here rather than was necessarily born here" (Waldenfels, 1990: 113). The social construct of *Heimat* meets the human need for a familiar social space, a space which is re-created again and again in the mind and through behaviour. Importantly, none of the above imply that *Heimat* always carries a positive connotation, as it can also be a place that feels uncomfortable and restricting (Mitzscherlich, 1997: 23).

Schwineköper (2005) brings together the three essential elements that define the subjective experience of *Heimat*. First is the emotional component, linked to feelings of safety, calm, and rootedness. Second is a social component, which reflects the human relationships a person is engaged in, including the relationship with family, friends, neighbours or people in the wider community. The third is the spatial component that establishes the link to a particular place. This can either be a narrow interpretation of place such as one's house or village, or extend outwards to a town, landscape or region. *Heimat* is thus a multi-layered phenomenon which always reflects a person's subjective, individual experience of place and the many values ascribed to a particular place.

2.1. Heimat, sense of place and regional identity

There are evident links between *Heimat* and related concepts such as place (e.g. Agnew and Duncan, 1989), sense of place (e.g. Relph, 1997) and place attachment (e.g. Altman and Low, 1992; Eisenhauer et al., 2000). Despite their subtle differences, all concepts of place all share certain dimensions, such as the emotional bonds people form with places over time, the strongly felt values, meanings and symbols attached to place, the valued qualities of a place that even insiders may not be consciously aware of until they are threatened, the set of place meanings that are continuously constructed and reconstructed within individual minds and social practices, and the awareness of the cultural, historical and spatial context within which meanings, values and social interactions are formed (Williams and Stewart, 1998: 19).

An important commonality between place and *Heimat* is that both represent value-based concepts in that "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we endow it with value" (Tuan, 1977: 6, see also Tuan, 1974). Of particular importance in this context are intangible values, which may relate to the natural environment, cultural practices, community, and social interaction. Values, and attachment to these values, arise from the experience we have of place, with surface values arising from what is tangibly present and embedded values from knowledge or long-

standing connectedness to a place (Stephenson, 2008). The same applies to *Heimat* and any experiences of *Heimat*-related values.

Out of the various concepts of place, sense of place, which has been used since the 1970s, probably comes closest to the notion of *Heimat*. Sense of place has several meanings, including a person's perception of a place, the unique character of a place, or the authentic, psychological connection a person feels to a place. A comprehensive definition is to think of it as the "collection of meanings, beliefs, symbols, values and feelings that individuals or groups associate with a particular locality" (Williams and Stewart, 1998: 19). A shared feature between *Heimat* and sense of place (or spirit of place, Relph, 1976: 76) is that they are socially produced. Both take on meanings (and forms) as a result of dynamic social processes including practices (interactions of humans and natural processes) and relationships (located meanings generated between people and their surroundings, such as stories, aesthetics, genealogies, spirituality, art, naming, myths) (Stephenson, 2008). Although sense of place can be generated by the natural environment alone, the cultural features of the place and the people that live and act in make an essential contribution. *Heimat* can thus be understood as an expression of spirit of place on the one hand, embodied as it were in a particular area or location, as well as a personal and emotional experience of spirit of place on the other, a sense of deep connectedness to a spatial-social entity.

Despite these similarities to place-based concepts, we argue that *Heimat* still retains an element that is uniquely its own. Whilst the definition of *Heimat* as a relationship between community, space and tradition broadly echoes definitions of sense of place, *Heimat* still carries a subtly different note which arises from its reference to long-standing connection to an area, the relevance of (early) socialization experiences, and the feeling of safety and deep familiarity that comes from having settled in a place and being at home there in the full sense of the word. We suggest that *Heimat* inevitably comes with a strong sense of place, but sense of place can also be experienced without the deeper emotionality and social connectivity which is inherent in the experience of *Heimat*. Because it is a colloquial term, *Heimat* creates more profound emotions than the technical term sense of place which is predominantly used in science.

The special relationship between the German people and the concept of *Heimat* is explored by Blickle (2002), who considers *Heimat* to be a crucial aspect in German self-perception. Pointing to the romanticist connections implied by the term and its inherent merger between subject and object, Blickle considers *Heimat* to represent the "fusional anti-enlightenment thinking in German romanticism and the idealisation of the pre-modern within the modern […]" (Blickle, 2002: 1). "*Heimat* provides German speakers with a *topos* - in every sense of the word - for such an irrational non-differentiation between subject and object" (Blickle, 2002: 9). Another difference is that concepts of place are not limited to residents, as "it is not the possessors of meanings that are local, but the meanings themselves" (Williams and Stewart, 1998: 19). *Heimat*, in contrast, does imply residence, and requires the possessors of meanings to re-create it again and again.

2.2. The relevance of the concept of Heimat

Currently the concept of *Heimat* is experiencing a surge in popularity in Germany. Regional milk products are labelled "Unsere *Heimat*" (Our *Heimat*), and a new periodical "*Heimat − Land und Leute in Deutschland*" (*Heimat* − Land and people in Germany) was launched in 2010 to cover stories from German regions, recipes and traditional handicraft. And even current IN-shops and IN-bars play with the rather traditional term *Heimat*, drawing on terms like "Second Heimat" or "New Heimat" and turning *Heimat* into a buzz-

word in contemporary German culture. The first mention of the term can be traced back to the medieval period, but it only truly gained popularity during the romanticist period. Still, the German relationship with this term is not an easy one. During the Nazi regime the term was misused as an important element in propaganda of German superiority (Blickle, 2002: 47), and much like the term "Fatherland" and the concept of "Blut und Boden" it has carried that association ever since. In the Nazi context, the rather local concept *Heimat* was nationalised, making *Deutschland* synonymous with *Heimat*. This is a contradiction in itself since *Heimat* was generally localized, representing an anti-national construct seeking to counterbalance nationalistic feelings and helping to integrate local and regional identity on a sub-national level (for more on the identification process of Germans in the 19th and 20th century see Elias (1989)). After the Second World War many Germans avoided the term and some continue to remain suspicious about its use (for more about the misuse and corruption of the term in Nazi time see Blickle (2002), Franke et al. (2009)). Nevertheless, in the 1950s and 1960s the concepts of *Heimat* and landscape experienced a certain renaissance, this time as innocuous representations of regional identity. *Heimat* became synonymous with the romantic genre of *Heimat* films featuring regions such as the Alps, the Black Forest or Lake Constance. After the war, *Heimat* acted much like it did in the 19th and 20th century, helping to re-connect people to regional identity and landscape and also to heal the war-beaten and broken soul of the German people.

So why is it useful to revisit the term in the present context? In today's world, places are increasingly shaped by distant market forces and policies. The pace of social change has led to challenges to established place identities and also attachments to particular places. Long-term residents may be at odds with newcomers or visitors over the meanings assigned to places, feeling their sense of place or *Heimat* is increasingly threatened by powers outside their control. One example from the case study region is the resistance to offshore wind farming on the West coast of Schleswig-Holstein, which can partly be explained by attachment to a particular place identity and the fear of losing a range of intangible and above all irreplaceable aesthetic, symbolic and spiritual place values (Gee, 2010). The re-discovery of regional identity can be read as a counter-movement to globalisation and a search for "new points of orientation, efforts to strengthen old boundaries and to create new ones, often based on identities of resistance" (Paasi, 2003: 475). *Heimat* thus plays an important role in "shaping the spatiality of social life" (Soja, 1989: 121).

The conceptual premise of this paper is that *Heimat* brings together key values that influence people's readiness to become actively involved in shaping the future of their region. Given the many facets of the concept, the first question is how residents themselves define the elusive term of *Heimat* and what values they associate with it. We then relate this to residents' views of the particular resources of their home region, the threats they perceive to their respective locality or region, and what they particularly wish to preserve for the future. We end by showing what aspects about *Heimat* are instrumental in encouraging people to become active.

2.3. Methods

The first survey (subsequently termed the North Sea coast survey) was primarily interested in opinions and perceptions of *Heimat* and the region. It also covered views of nature, the environment, hazards and necessary mitigation and prevention measures, as well as attitudes to future regional development (Ratter et al., 2009). A total of 862 persons aged 15 to 88 were interviewed in 18 towns and four islands between Greetsiel in Lower Saxony and Niebüll in Schleswig-Holstein in the period June

to September 2008. Towns were selected for their proximity to the coast, distance to one another (at least 20 km apart) and comparable size (with one exception, none had more than 10,000 inhabitants), with the aim of conducting at least 30 interviews in each. Interviews were conducted by eleven undergraduates and two graduates using a standardised survey form containing predominantly open questions (Fig. 1). Passers-by were surveyed at random in public places, shopping malls, greens and train stations, consciously avoiding door-to-door surveys in order to ensure truly voluntary participation and respect people's privacy. Only residents were included in the survey that had lived in the respective localities for more than five years. The great majority of passers-by were more than willing to participate, leading to many more completed survey forms than originally foreseen. 422 men and 440 women participated, with 46 as the average age. Multiple answers were possible for many survey questions, leading to total numbers of responses that exceed the actual number of 862 respondents.

The second survey (subsequently termed Schleswig-Holstein survey) had a more place-based focus, concentrating not on *Heimat* per se but on views of the landscape and the specific values local residents attach to the coast and sea. This was a self-administered postal survey carried out in the state of Schleswig-Holstein in 2005/6 in the administrative districts of Dithmarschen and North Frisia. A total of 1095 surveys were mailed out to a random sample of households in selected municipalities, with

a rate of return of 22% (245 completed surveys received). Due to publicity in the local press, an additional 142 residents actively requested a copy of the survey, so that a total of 387 returns were used as an empirical basis (for more details on methods see Gee (2010)). Responses were received from 225 men and 157 women, with 55 as the average age. Although the two surveys had a slightly different orientation, both thus yielded results on perceptions of '*Heimat*' and the particular values associated with it.

3. *Heimat* along the German North Sea coast

In the North Sea survey, *Heimat* was approached by asking residents directly how they would personally define *Heimat*. In the Schleswig-Holstein survey, an indirect approach was chosen, using place values and attachment to place as proxies for the meanings and significance ascribed to a place or region.

Definitions of *Heimat* obtained in the North Sea coast survey can be assigned to the broad categories of emotional (e.g. feelings of belonging), wider regional (e.g. landscape, the coast) and place-based (e.g. specific places in the region) (Fig. 2). Nearly one third of the responses describe *Heimat* as a feeling of social belonging and safety (32%), with the statement "*Heimat* is where I feel comfortable" particularly common. This is linked to the category "family and friends" (18%), which emphasises the particular significance of social contacts and family in engendering a feeling of
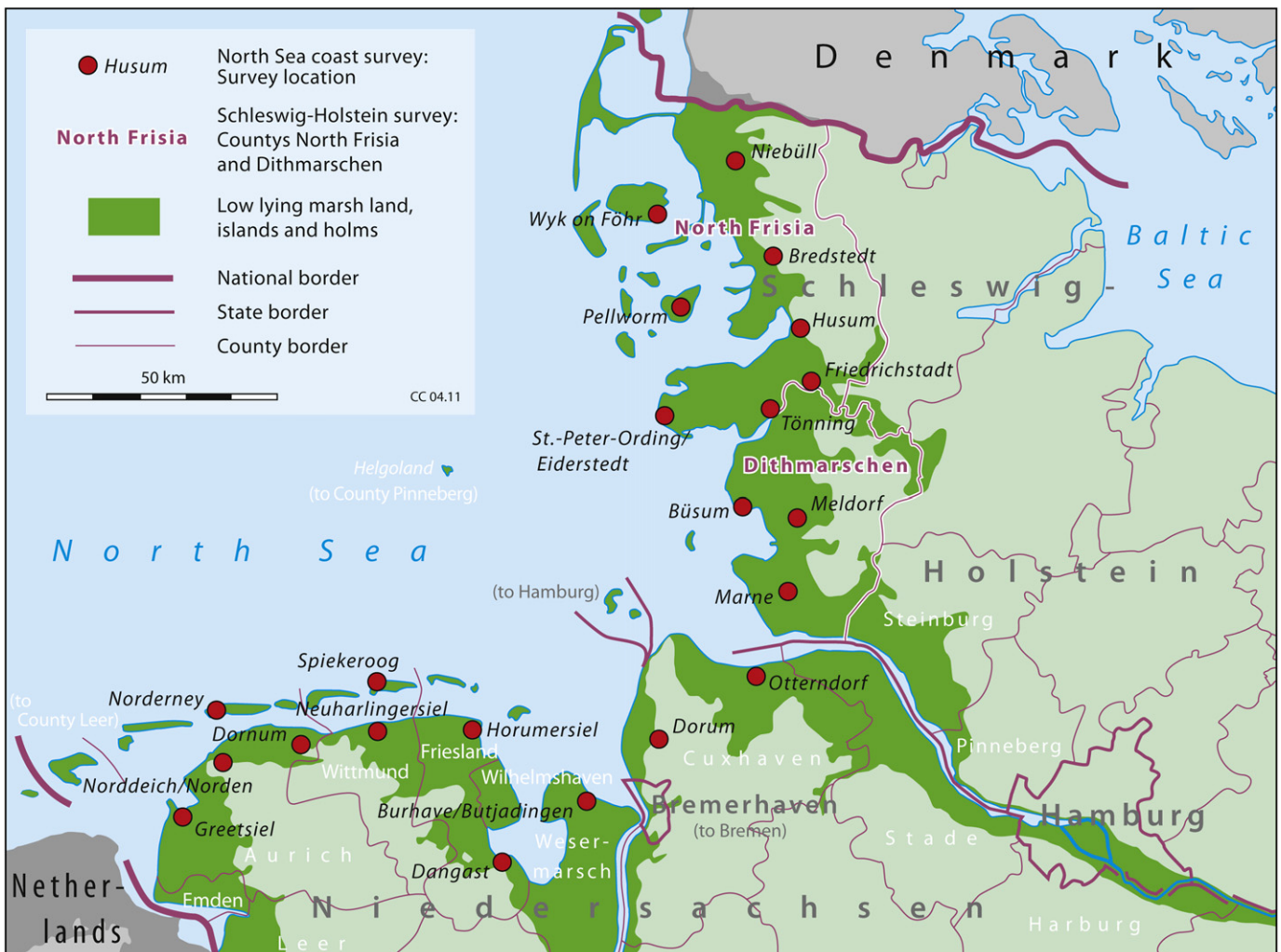

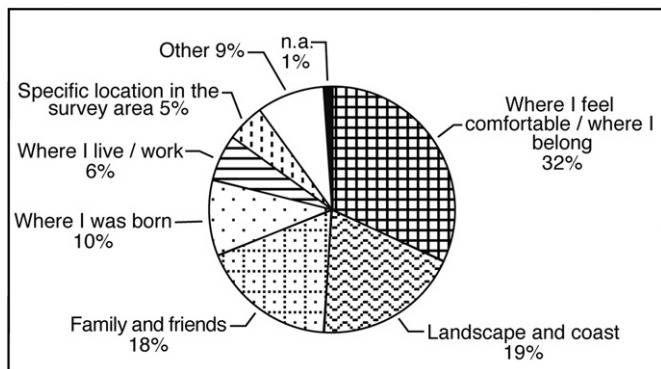**Fig. 1.** Map of the Wadden Sea – survey locations.

Fig. 2. What is *Heimat* to you? (*n* = 1468; multiple answers possible).

safety. One respondent went as far as saying "*Heimat* is the most important thing in the world for me". Only two out of 862 respondents said that *Heimat* did not exist for them. *Heimat* is also shown to serve as a refuge from an increasingly globalized world, "somewhere where you know you are welcome" or a "place you can return to any time". One respondent put this feeling of safety and familiarity into a broader social context by defining *Heimat* as "where you know everyone when you cross the street and say good morning to them". These results confirm *Heimat* as a social construction and the importance of social relations and interactions in shaping a sense of *Heimat*.

The category "landscape and coast" (19%) can be interpreted in two ways. Over half of the responses refer to the North Sea, pointing to the particular symbolic character the North Sea carries and indicating strong connectedness of the respondents to the region. Numerous responses also refer to untouched nature and the close relationship that exists with nature, such as "being on the beach with the horses and dogs", or "when I look out to the Wadden Sea I feel at home." The Schleswig-Holstein survey corroborates these results. Although not specifically asked about *Heimat*, many respondents also express strong attachment to the natural environment, in particular the coastal landscape and seascape. 87% of respondents said that clean air and water was very important to them for their lives on the West coast, compared to 72% for a healthy plant and animal community, 58% for an attractive landscape, and 40% for untouched nature (compared to only 23% for economic growth (Busch et al., 2011)). Seascape values (aesthetic landscape values) and symbolic values assigned to the sea emerge as particularly important place-based values here, making an essential contribution to sense of place and also to quality of life (Gee and Burkhard, 2010).

A simpler understanding of *Heimat* is its definition as the place where one lives or earns a living (6%). Only 10% of the respondents in the North Sea study refer to their birthplace as *Heimat*, a low percentage compared to other studies. In the central Rhine valley for example, 19% of respondents described their birthplace as *Heimat*, 23% in the Nahe valley, and 20% in the Mosel valley (see Ratter (2005), Ratter and Treiling (2008), Franke et al. (2009)). Only 5% of all mentions refer to specific places in the survey region as their *Heimat*. Irrespective of whether this is their birthplace or a chosen location to live and work, what matters is the feeling of "being at home" there and feeling connected to it.

The Schleswig-Holstein survey also yields empirical evidence for the existence of *Heimat*. An open question asked respondents what spontaneously sprang to mind when they heard the term "West coast of Schleswig-Holstein". 24% of respondents mention *Heimat*, or variations of "where I feel at home" ("zuhause") (*n* = 387). In this survey, respondents use *Heimat* as an all-

encompassing term covering the natural environment, the land- and seascape, the social context and last not least their sense of history and rootedness. Descriptions also reveal profound place attachment and belonging, which is not unlike the concept of safety set out above. One respondent described their West coast *Heimat* as "a great diversity of places with unique flair, historic islands and Hallig islands, loveable people even though they don't always like one another." Another respondent saw it as "incredible sunsets, walking along the dykes, tranquility, relaxation, the smell of mudflats in your nose, shells, sea gulls, agriculture, unhurried people, windmills, islands, fresh air, not much industry but high quality of life, prawn sandwiches, dykes." The concept of *Heimat* is also linked to the idea of survival in the face of harsh environmental conditions: "Men fought hard to reclaim their land from the sea. Costs of sea defence are likely to go up in the face of sea level rise".

These results confirm *Heimat* as a multi-faceted and highly relevant term in the German context for approaching place values, sense of place and attachment to place. *Heimat* is confirmed to be a concept that links place to social relations and which carries a strong emotional component indicative of perceived intangible place values or "spirit of place".

4. Natural resource perception on the North Sea coast

Natural resources play a strong role in shaping people's perception of *Heimat*. In an open question, the North Sea survey sought to identify what people considered the natural resources of the region. This yielded a plethora of references to the Wadden Sea coast as a natural space. Specific mentions included resources such as the Wadden Sea, beaches, the coastal landscape, nature on the coast, fresh air, as well as fish and seafood, all of which are used by the people living on the coast in many different ways. The North Sea region is thus appreciated as an area rich in resources (Fig. 3).

The most prominent elements perceived as a natural resource are the Wadden Sea and beaches (20%), which are often linked to their specific use value: "We market water and air… they are our livelihood", as well as "tidal power stations". The category "wind" drew 17% of answers mostly referring to wind energy. Results in the category "agricultural production" (13%) confirm the importance of agricultural production in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. Irrespective of the detailed responses given (which included the general term agriculture, or cabbage in the district of Dithmarschen), respondents appreciate the significance of this economic
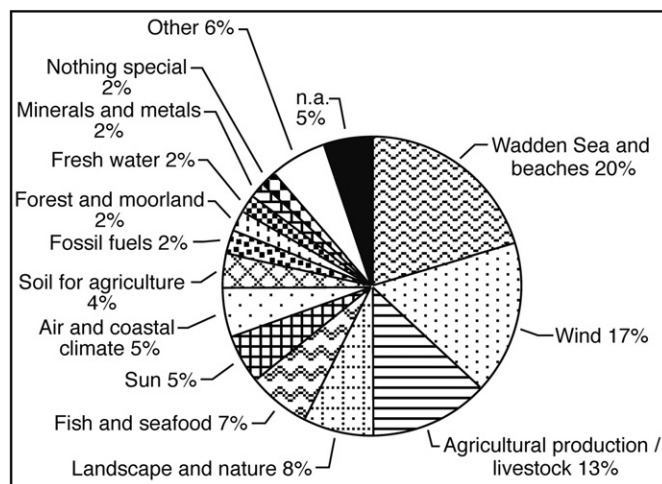

Fig. 3. What do you consider to be the natural resources of the region? (*n* = 1684; multiple answers possible).

sector. Only 2% think their region has no or few resources, with answers such as "there are no specific resources or "none here". The category "other" (6%) comprises a great variety of responses, with the most common "tourism" or mentions that relate to the local community, such as "the people themselves – they don't let live get them down". It is important to point out that these results are more than a list of resources. Many respondents specifically refer to the need to protect the Wadden Sea, indicating that landscape and nature – after all, the fourth-ranked category – are considered to have intrinsic value.

The Schleswig-Holstein survey shows that immaterial values play a crucial role in the perception and appreciation of natural resources. In the open question "What springs to mind when you hear "West coast of Schleswig-Holstein"?", descriptions of the natural environment (e.g. air, beaches, waves, islands, plants and animals) were the most commonly mentioned value base, immediately followed by immaterial benefits such as "enjoying the incredible sunsets", "experiencing the seasons", or "feeling the stiff breeze in my face". The third most common associations were aesthetic experiences of the landscape, followed by symbolic meanings assigned to coast and sea ($n = 1363$, multiple answers were possible) (Gee and Burkhard, 2010).

The open question "What springs to mind when you hear "North Sea"?" revealed images of the sea as summer leisure, sun and beach life, but also a place of quiet contemplation and passive enjoyment, contributing to a sense of inner balance and contentedness. As a space, the most important characteristic is the sea's vastness and inconceivable depth. Above all, however, sea is also fascination and mystique, a place that can never quite be described and always

seems to retain a degree of mystery. The endless horizon is an important value and key to experiencing the beauty of the sea and the seascape: gazing into the distance, accompanied by the sounds of the sea, the wind and the salty air, allows for mental escape and triggers images of freedom and distant shores. The particular quality of the sea is its combination of physical reality and imagined place, with the aesthetic seascape and the idea of untouched nature taking precedence over views of the sea as a utilitarian space.

Fig. 4 links the tangible and intangible values associated with the region in the Schleswig-Holstein survey. Physical landscape elements, subjective impressions, and past and present experiences all contribute to the perception of the living environment, creating multi-faceted images and often emotional layers of meaning associated with the coast and sea. Importantly, individual categories only tell parts of the story. The enjoyment of walking on the beach, for example, could not be imagined without the physical environment, or the aesthetic experiences that are to be had from the landscape. As a result, categories (including natural resources) are shown along a continuum where boundaries are fluid and no absolute positions exist. *Heimat* is situated between symbolic meanings and specific places, but remains linked to all the other categories shown (see also Gee (2010)).

Natural resources can be understood to doubly contribute to the sense of *Heimat*: firstly by providing a range of intangible recreational, aesthetic or spiritual "benefits of place" which contribute to a felt sense of well-being (Busch et al., 2011), and secondly by providing a tangible economic resource base for local industries and enterprise, which is equally important in the context of *Heimat* as a place to live and work.
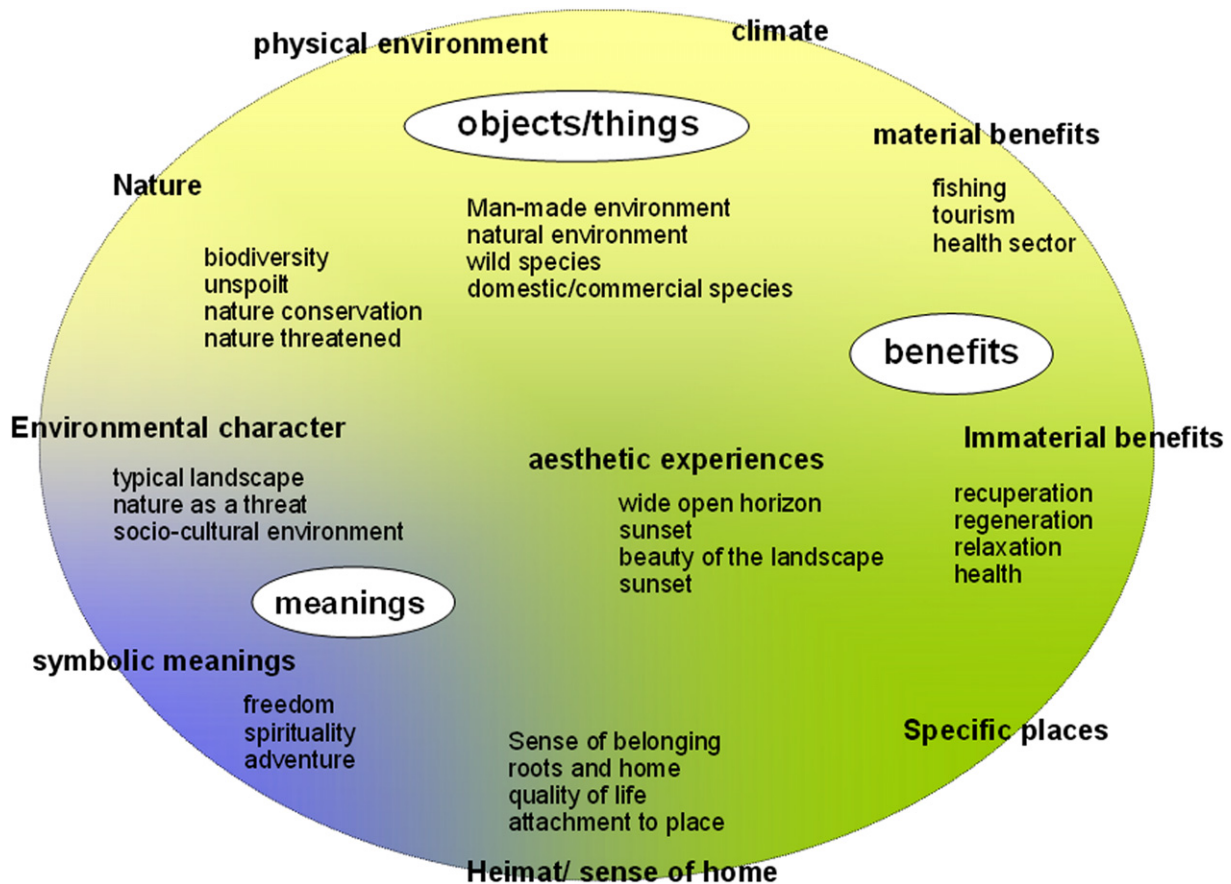

Fig. 4. A landscape of values on the West coast of Schleswig-Holstein (categories mentioned in answer to the question "What springs to mind when you hear 'West coast of Schleswig-Holstein'?").

5. People's perception of threats on the North Sea coast

Heimat on the German North Sea coast is not only a place of comfort and familiarity, but also a dangerous place. This ambivalence is shown clearly in the Schleswig-Holstein survey, which reveals the wilderness qualities of the North Sea as something both treasured and feared. The "West Coast" is perceived as a cultural landscape which has emerged from constant battle with the sea, which has become a considerable source of local pride. Although the West Coast is also regarded as an unpredictable environment, the sea is a latent threat, kept at bay by sea defences.

To establish awareness of threats within the local population, the North Sea coast survey asked the question "What do you consider to be potential threats to the region?" This was purposefully open to allow respondents to refer to natural, technological or social threats. Although a broad range of threats was mentioned, about one third of the responses refer to threats arising from the natural environment or the specific coastal location (Fig. 5).

Drawing 33% of the total responses, storm surges and climate change represent the most significant threats perceived by coastal residents. "Storm surge", "dykes bursting" and "flooding", followed by "sea level rise" and "global warming" were the most frequent responses in this category. Climate change was often explicitly referred to, although the specific changes that are associated with climate change such as "increased storminess", "loss of seasonality" or "increasing incidence of floods" were less frequent. "Flooding" remains unclear in that it could refer to storm surges commonly occurring during autumn and winter, or increased frequency and intensity of storm surges as an early indication of climate change. Clear-cut terms such as "climate change" or "sea level rise" make up 10% of the category "storm surges and climate change".

Threats to the region from too much tourism received 8% of all responses, putting it in a rather distant second place. Threatening types of tourism are described as "mass tourism", "club tourism" and "one-sided tourism", which are linked to negative impacts on nature and the loss of the more idyllic elements of village life. During the summer months, the high number of holiday-makers along the North Sea coast can feel overwhelming, with tourism-driven images of the coast ("pure nature", wellness, celebrating a particular lifestyle) getting in the way of residents' own sense of place (see also Hasse (2007)). Despite these concerns, local communities are well aware of the economic importance of tourism, leading to an altogether ambivalent perception of tourism as both blessing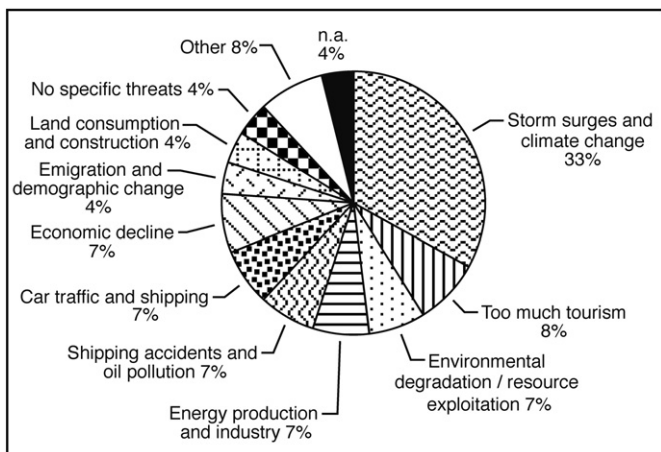 and curse. Economic concerns are expressed in the category "economic downturn" (7%), which comes in a close third behind "too much tourism".

Threats arising from human use of the coast take up a considerable share of responses too. This includes the categories "environmental degradation/resource exploitation", "car traffic and shipping", "energy production and industry" (7% each), as well as "land consumption/construction" (4%). In the category "environmental degradation/resource exploitation", respondents often refer to "excessive human intervention in nature" or state that "humans disregard environmental protection". The threat of shipping accidents and oil pollution on the coast even made up a separate category (7%).

The Schleswig-Holstein survey found that offshore wind farming is perceived as a threat to specific qualities of the seascape and the sea. The two greatest fears expressed were the loss of the open horizon and the loss of the perceived wilderness qualities of the sea, which were only partly counterbalanced by the idea that offshore wind farming could ease the pressure on the coastal landscape, which many consider despoiled by wind farms.

6. Future development and coastal management in the Wadden Sea

The North Sea coast survey concluded with a section on people's visions for the future and what in the region they consider worth preserving. Asked "What do you think the region should be like in twenty years time?" the most common opinion was "as it is now" (36%; Ratter et al., 2009: 95). Hardly any alternative visions were put forward. Maintaining the status quo, however, is considered to be a challenge due to the assumption that the natural environment in the North Sea region will continue to degrade. In the question "What would you wish to preserve for future generations?", "nature" correspondingly emerges as the item the greatest share of respondents (29%) would wish to preserve (Fig. 6). Many respondents also wanted to preserve their home town or village (9%), and culture and traditions (9%) with particular focus on the local language. Landscape, described as "clean", "quiet" and "beautiful" was also mentioned (8%), as well as agriculture as the primary force in shaping the landscape. Seven percent explicitly stated that
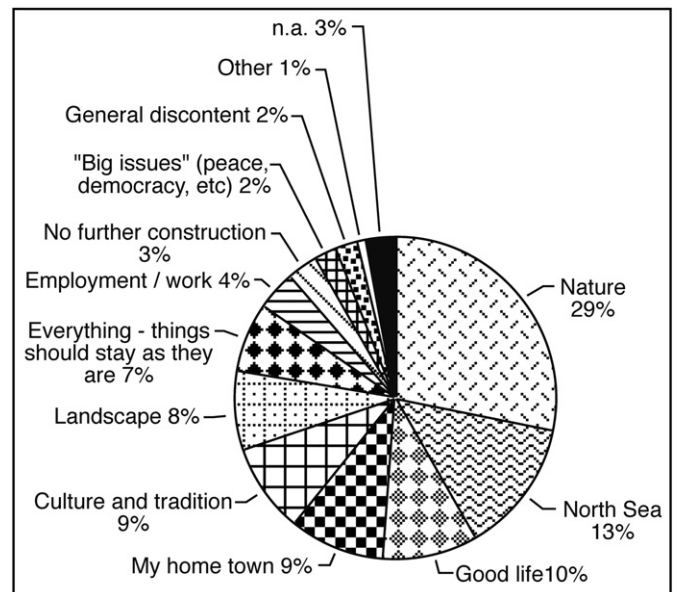

Fig. 5. What do you consider to be potential threats to the region? (*n* = 1307; multiple answers possible).

Fig. 6. What would you wish to preserve for future generations? (*n* = 1453; multiple answers possible).

everything should remain unchanged. Altogether, the qualities that respondents most wish to preserve recall the essential qualities of *Heimat* set out in the earlier part of the paper, embodied in the following response: "everything: agriculture, clean air, no towns with high-rise buildings, jobs, Plattdeutsch, togetherness in the community".

Asked what measures would need to be taken to achieve these visions for the future, 1063 responses were received (Fig. 7). 18% of respondents had no answer, and 7% considered existing measures to be sufficient. In most cases, perceived threats correspond to the perceived need for specific measures to be taken in the region.

Unsurprisingly, coastal defence and the protection of islands emerged as the strongest category overall (13%), as storm surges and climate change were also perceived to be the most significant threats to the region (33% of all responses). At the same time, out of those respondents that consider storm surges and climate change the most significant threat, only a third also consider corresponding measures a priority. Another 10% consider the existing measures sufficient, indicating widespread reliance on existing forms of coastal defence. No other category of threats showed a similar degree of satisfaction with existing measures.

The second largest category is regional economic development, which drew 12% of all mentions. This corresponds to the perceived threat of experiencing an economic downturn, which comprises 7% of all responses. The threat of emigration and demographic change is closely linked to this (4%); this directly translates into calls for measures targeting education and employment opportunities for young people (6%).

Within the category of regional economic development, about one third of respondents specified the need for tourism-related measures. Although the overall share of this category is relatively small (4%), this is still twice as much as the perceived need for regulating tourism. Too much tourism came second in the ranking of perceived threats, but more people considered that tourism needed to be supported rather than regulated. A possible conclusion is that tourism is indeed perceived as a threat, but its significance to the region is such that no restricting measures can be permitted.

Environmental and resource protection represent the third largest category of measures called for (10%), which corresponds to the perceived threats of environmental degradation and resource exploitation (7%). The measures listed in this category, however, are relatively general, referring to "creating awareness among the local residents", or preserving and protecting nature and the Wadden Sea. Specific measures were rarely proposed, such as "more organic farming", "incentives for solar energy", "regulating fisheries

(against overfishing)", or "minimize CO_2 emissions". On occasion, specific examples were given from a person's home town or immediate region.

The categories "political measures" and "personal involvement" reflect the felt responsibility for any measures to be taken. Six percent of the respondents see a need for political and institutional measures, such as "changes in local politics: Bring it closer to the people", "more security and police", "more child care facilities", "better price for milk", or "more social security benefit for the unemployed". Others (3%) consider the personal engagement of citizens to be important. "We've got to take a good look at ourselves first", "everyone should tackle small measures", "people have got to take responsibility", and "people need to change their behaviour" are just some examples.

7. *Heimat* as intrinsic motivation

The above has demonstrated that *Heimat* is a spatial-social construct that engenders emotion and sometimes even passion in the respondents. *Heimat* represents an emotional expression of regional identity in Germany and also exemplifies the connectedness and responsibility people feel towards their immediate environment. When asked, residents gave a wide range of constituent elements of *Heimat*, with particular focus on the social environment (family, friends, where one feels at home) and the natural environment and landscape (natural resources, seascape, qualities of the sea). It was also shown that *Heimat* can be threatened by natural events and socio-economic change, and that residents are aware of the need to take measures to preserve their *Heimat* into the future. Consequences of globalization, such as an increasingly mobile world, are certain to have some impact on the way people feel about their *Heimat*, causing them to seek stability in a rapidly changing world. This finds expression in the desire to preserve the region and to ensure it remains unchanged.

One of the key questions posed in this paper is whether *Heimat* carries any inherent qualities that would impel people to act. Action in this context can mean action towards the preservation of *Heimat* but also action towards its continued development, for example towards the realisation of certain regional values or ideas of place over others. A correlation between high identification with a region or place and strong willingness to become involved has been implied by Boesch (1983: 350) who refers to *Heimat* as a "place of easy action", a place that literally calls upon people to act. But can any specific qualities about *Heimat* be identified that are particularly compelling in this sense? Clearly, identification with local or regional life world takes place by means of active engagement with the cultural landscape and the life that takes place in it, suggesting action towards shaping *Heimat* is already implied in its continuous process of social (re)construction. Our focus here is on conscious forms of engagement and specific action taken towards a particular goal.

Results first demonstrate a broad general willingness to become involved. In the North Sea coast survey, 70% of the respondents wanted more participation in decision-making processes, in particular where land use, nature conservation and coastal defence are concerned. This corresponds to the importance assigned to nature in the context of *Heimat*. Nature and the North Sea represent shared values that unite the people living along the German North Sea coast, with nature inherent in many descriptions of the immediate environment. One resident described this as "my home: sea, air, forests, fields, moorlands, heathlands, rivers, clouds, the sky". Rather than an abstract concept, nature has distinct emotional and even spiritual overtones ("the greatest", "represents God's creation"). Nature is a contrast to the man-made world, with people taking great joy in it and appreciating the contribution it makes to
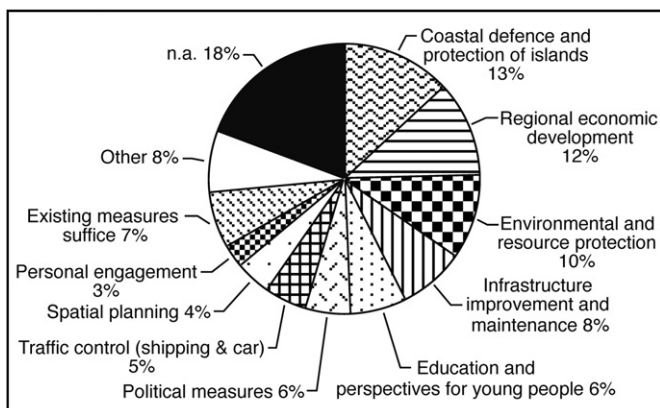

Fig. 7. What measures do you think should be taken in your region? (*n* = 1063; several answers possible).

their quality of life (Busch et al., 2011). The Schleswig-Holstein survey indicates that the same also applies to the coastal landscape and seascape, with high importance accorded to the aesthetic experiences and intangible values associated with the Wadden Sea and North Sea environment.

Preserving nature and the landscape is thus an act of preserving *Heimat* for the majority of the respondents. This is also shown in a recent visitor survey carried out in a National Park on the Baltic Sea, where the respondents considered the main role of nature conservation to be the preservation of natural resources for sustainable human use and the preservation of *Heimat*. Ecological motives or moral responsibility were found to be much less important (Franke, 2008: 42). The emotionality inherent in this response impels the authors to call for a greater role of *Heimat* in nature conservation. Parallels can be drawn here to the concept of place, where recognition is also growing that sense of place should play a much greater role in resource management. "Emphasis on place-specific thinking is perhaps most important when communicating with others about management plans" (Dean 1994 quoted in Williams and Stewart, 1998: 22). *Heimat* offers the opportunity to not only address people through nature conservation, but the more comprehensive topic of quality of life. A clean environment, the feeling of safety and the symbols and values that constitute *Heimat* are essential contributing factors to quality of life (Busch et al., 2011).

Willingness to be involved, and the importance assigned to nature and the landscape represent two key values in engendering action. When faced with the particular threat of offshore wind farming, 15% of the respondents in the Schleswig-Holstein survey state they would be prepared to take action to prevent offshore wind farms in their region (e.g. demonstrations, letters to the press etc.) based on landscape concerns and concerns about nature. Other examples of *Heimat*-based resistance to local or regional development projects abound. Writing about an early example of resistance dating back to the 1970s, Engels (2003) concludes that "despite broader social trends, motives and forms of resistance […] have a strong micro-historic component" which galvanised protests (Engels, 2003: 128). "Finding identity in one's *Heimat* may be regarded important motivation for local resistance" (Engels, 2003: 124). Paasi also confirms the importance of regional identity as a driving force for regional development (Paasi, 2003).

So what do people personally do to ensure their *Heimat* is preserved? This seems a difficult question. Asked "What action do you personally take to preserve your *Heimat*?", 337 of the respondents in the North Sea coast survey were unable to comment, with 120 stating "nothing". Still, nearly half of the respondents (312) stated they did contribute through various activities and were able to list specific examples. Out of the responses received, 23% related to environmental awareness. Environmentally friendly behaviour such as separating waste, cycling to work or being generally environmentally aware is thus clearly considered a contribution to preserving one's *Heimat* (Fig. 8). Active involvement in local associations and societies (17%) is also considered a means of preserving *Heimat*, irrespective of whether these are traditional *Heimat* groups or simply sports clubs. Evidently, *Heimat* groups represent a special case because they have the added function of preserving local or regional traditions, features or characteristics such as architecture, customs or museums. Generally, joint activities within the community create a comfortable and enjoyable social environment.

People also "keep things tidy and orderly" (15%), reflecting the desire to feel safe in a familiar environment. In the public sphere, people pick up rubbish from the streets and tell others when they are not behaving as they should, whilst they ensure their house and garden is looked after in the private sphere. A similar division between the public and private sphere was found in "strengthening
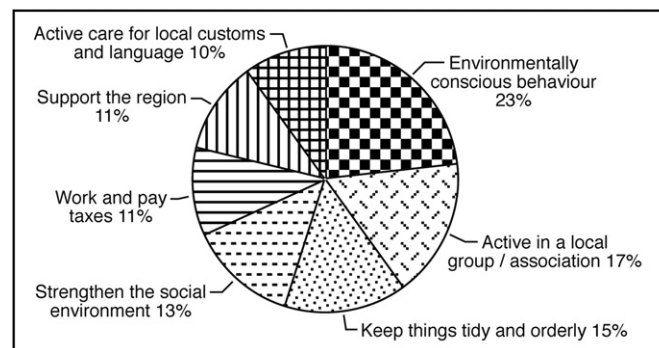

Fig. 8. What action do you personally take to preserve your *Heimat*? (*n* = 769; several answers possible).

the social environment" (13%). "Helping neighbours" and – where necessary – showing civil courage are seen as ways of strengthening the community. At a private level, it is bringing up the children and maintaining family life.

Preserving one's *Heimat* through work and paying taxes (11%) may appear a simplistic answer. It could be interpreted as a society that lives by division of labour and where individuals withdraw into private life: Citizens pay taxes, and the state sees to everything that is necessary. Whilst this may apply to the "tax payers", work in coastal defence, or renting out holiday homes, or "operating a bike hire so that fewer people use their cars", can equally be understood as active contributions to preserving *Heimat*. Other contributions towards preserving *Heimat* (11%) include donations to local groups and associations, buying regional produce, or "active advertising of the region", helping tourists and in one case even posting an advertising flyer for the region with every product sold on eBay.

Ten percent of responses referred to the active care of local customs and language. "Maintaining local traditions" and "cooking typical food" were particularly popular. Speaking Plattdeutsch and Friesian were mentioned only by 16 and 3 respondents, respectively, which is a surprising result considering the importance that is generally assigned to the local language. It is even more surprising given the fact that Plattdeutsch and Friesian are spoken by 59% (506) and 14% (120) of all the respondents, respectively.

The above indicates that *Heimat* can be regarded as a way of imposing some form of meaningful order on a spatially and socially defined living environment. This mental image of a particular order – "the way things should be" – is a key value that justifies personal engagement both in maintaining and improving *Heimat*.

8. Conclusion

Understanding natural and social systems as dynamic, non-linear, and consisting of a multitude of agents means accepting their trajectories can no longer be determined 'top down'. System trajectories are determined by the interchange of agents at the micro level, leading to emergent behaviour and surprises at the macro level. In this reading, participation in social processes takes on a significance that goes beyond the democratic imperative. In line with Aristotle's "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (Aristotle, 1994), it is instrumental to consider people's thoughts and emotions, as well as their willingness to become engaged, as part of strategic development and planning processes. Although it is a difficult term to use as part of formal (legal) planning processes, "the concept of 'heritage' or 'home' (Heimat) […] should, however, be accepted as a part of everyday parlance when it is introduced in sustainable development processes by 'grassroots' participants"

(Kirsch-Stracke and von Haaren, 2005: 482). This implies that shaping the future of the Wadden Sea region cannot be guided by plans and idealised visions alone. We argue that planning should develop into a concept of management that relies on target corridors set together with the population in a process of joint negotiation and on permanent monitoring and adjustment of the trajectory. Planning and management need to be brought together to become "*planagement*" – a sensible combination of setting aims and objectives, developing strategies, management and implementation, monitoring and adaptation/adjustment (Ratter, 2001). Planning also needs to be participative much earlier in the process. Decisions are often guided by interests rather than values, with the planning process often reflecting the views of key stakeholders and policy-makers rather than those of ordinary people (Bruns and Gee, 2010). Another aspect is that public participation should take into account the socio-cultural context of the decision to be taken and not be reduced to a one-way flow of information on decisions already taken.

Survey results have shown that the Wadden Sea is defined by a wide range of intangible values. It is regarded as a natural resource, a valuable landscape and an arena for social interaction. *Heimat* is a useful framework for bringing together all these aspects as it draws on perceptions of place, the values assigned to place, the emotional connectedness to place that arises from social interaction and also (historical) narratives of place. More than the emotional connection to a landscape, *Heimat* is identification with place. *Heimat* can also be regarded as a practice, meaning a conscious or subconscious act of creating meaningful order out of the world around us. Active engagement with the cultural landscape and life in the region engenders identification with the local or regional environment and a sense of connectedness. This in turn triggers a sense of responsibility for the immediate environment, in the sense of "maintaining order" and seeking to preserve the particular qualities that constitute the individual take on *Heimat*. Revisiting Boesch, *Heimat* is not only a place where action is easy, but a value set that actually prompts us to act.

Tapping people's sense of *Heimat* can lead to better understanding of the intangible values held by the local population. Emotionality is an important quality here which is often avoided in the more rational statutory decision-making processes. *Heimat* clearly engages people at the emotional level, which can be more important and effective than appealing to their rational minds (Franke, 2008). Writing about sense of place, Williams and Stewart (1998: 21) state that "putting the human bond with nature in the foreground, rather than treating it as an interesting but insignificant feature of the background for resource planning, managers can begin to give the relationship between people and the land the careful, systematic attention it requires and deserves". In the German context this certainly also appeals to *Heimat*.

Coastal management will be more successful if understanding of the values that constitute *Heimat* is combined with appropriate participation measures. Better ways of managing, or "planaging", also need to be found, picking up on what people consider truly important. Emotionality when communicating about a place, attachment to place and people's response to perceived threats to a valued place can be important in tapping these values (Vining, 1999). The German sense of *Heimat* can be used to engender a joint process of shaping the future development of the coast and help to face up to the dual challenges of climate change and environmental degradation.

References

Agnew, J.A., Duncan, J.S., 1989. The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations. Unwin Hyman, Boston.

Place attachment. In: Alt (Ed.). In: man, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.), Human Behaviour and Environment: Advances in Theory and Research, vol. 12. Plenum Press, New York.

Aristotle, 1994. In: Wolf, Ursula (Ed.), Metaphysik. Rowohlt, Reinbek bei Hamburg (reprint).

Bausinger, H., 1980. Kulturelle Identität – Schlagwort und Wirklichkeit. In: Köstlin, K., et al. (Eds.), Heimat und Identität. Probleme regionaler Kultur. Wachholtz, Neumünster, pp. 9–24.

Blickle, P., 2002. *Heimat* – A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland. Camden House, Rochester.

Boesch, E.E., 1983. Die Kulturbedingtheit des Menschen. In: Gordan, P. (Ed.), Mensch-werden, Mensch-Sein. Graz, Wien, Köln, pp. 339–369.

Brockhaus Enzyklopädie. 2005. 21. Auflage. PC edition.

Bruns, A., Gee, K., 2010. Berichte zur deutschen Landeskunde. Der Küsten- und Meeresraum zwischen traditionellen Küstenbildern und neuen Steuerungsformen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung, vol 1.

Buchwald, K., 1984. Heimat heute: Wege aus der Entfremdung. Überlegungen zu einer zeitgemäßen Theorie von Heimat. In: Heimat heute. Kohlhammer. VER-LAG, ORT.

Busch, M., Gee, K., Burkhard, B., Lange, M., Stelljes, N., 2011. Conceptualizing the link between marine ecosystem services and human well-being: the case of offshore wind farming. International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services & Management. doi:10.1080/21513732.2011.618465.

Christou, A., King, R., 2010. Imagining 'home': diasporic landscapes of the Greek-German second generation. Geoforum 41, 638–646.

Collins, D., Kearns, R., 2010. "It's a gestalt experience": landscape values and development pressure in Hawke's Bay, New Zealand. Geoforum 41, 435–446.

Dietz, T., Fitzgerald, A., Shwom, R., 2005. Environmental values. Annual Review Environmental Resources 30, 335–372.

Eisenhauer, B.W., Krannich, R.S., Blahna, D.J., 2000. Attachments to special places on public lands: an analysis of activities, reason for attachments, and community connections. Society and Natural Resources 13 (5), 421–441.

Elias, N., 1989. Studien über die Deutschen: Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Engels, J.I., 2003. Geschichte und Heimat. Der Widerstand gegen das Kernkraftwerk Wyhl. Freiberger Forschung shefte. In: Wahrnehmung, Bewusstsein, Identifikation: Umweltprobleme und Umweltschutz als Triebfedern regionaler Entwicklung, pp. 103–130.

Franke, U., 2008. Thema: Landschaftsbild – Landschaft lesen. Impulse zur Naturästhetik, Naturwahrnehmung und Landschaftsbildbewertung für die norddeutsche Kulturlandschaft. InK_Landschaft – Institut norddeutsche Kulturlandschaft. Heft 1, Lübeck.

Franke, N., Ratter, B., Treiling, T., 2009. Heimat und Regionalentwicklung an Mosel, Rhein und Nahe - empirische Studien zur Regionalen Identität in Rheinland-Pfalz. Mainzer Geographische Studien, Sonderband 5. Geographisches Institut der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz.

Gee, K., 2010. Offshore wind power development as affected by seascape values on the German North Sea coast. Land Use Policy 27, 185–194.

Gee, K., Burkhard, B., 2010. Cultural ecosystem services in the context of offshore wind farming: a case study from the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein. Ecological Complexity 7 (3), 349–358.

Greverus, I.-M., 1979. Auf der Suche nach Heimat. München.

Hasse, J., 2007. "Nordseeküste" – Die touristische Konstruktion besserer Welten. Zur Codierung einer Landschaft. In: Fischer, N., Müller-Wusterwitz, S., Schmidt-Lauber, B. (Eds.), Inszenierungen der Küste. Reimer-Verlag, pp. 239–258.

Ignatow, G., 2006. Cultural models of nature and society: reconsidering environmental attitudes and concern. Environment and Behaviour 38, 441–461.

Kirsch-Stracke, R., von Haaren, C., 2005. The Concept of 'heritage' or 'home' in the context of sustainable development – Themes, opportunities and pitfalls (conference report). Natur und Landschaft 80 (11), 478–483.

Leser, H., 2005. Wörterbuch Allgemeine Geographie. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München.

Lothian, A., 1999. Landscape and the philosophy of aesthetics: is landscape quality inherent in the landscape or in the eye of the beholder? Landscape and Urban Planning 44, 177–198.

MA (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment), 2005. Ecosystems and Human Well-being. Synthesis. Island Press, Washington DC.

Mitzscherlich, B., 1997. Heimat ist etwas, was ich mache. Eine psychologische Untersuchung zum individuellen Prozess zum Beheimatung. Pfaffenweiler.

Paasi, A., 2003. Region and place: regional identity in question. Progress in Human Geography 27 (4), 475–485.

Peißker-Meyer, C., 2002. Heimat auf Zeit. Europäische Frauen in der arabischen Welt. transcript-Verlag, Bielefeld.

Ratter, B.M.W., 2001. Natur, Kultur und Komplexität – Adaptives Umweltmanagement am Niagara Escarpment in Ontario, Kanada (Reihe: Umweltnatur- & Umweltsozialwissenschaften). Springer Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg.

Ratter, B.M.W., 2005. *Heimat* und Naturschutz im Mittelrheintal. Mainzer Geographische Studien, Sonderband 2. Geographisches Institut der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz.

Ratter, B., Treiling, T., 2008. *Heimat* und Naturschutz im Nahetal. Mainzer Geographische Studien, Sonderband 4. Geographisches Institut der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Mainz.

Ratter, B., Lange, M., Sobiech, C., 2009. Heimat, Umwelt und Risiko an der deutschen Nordseeküste. Die Küstenregion aus Sicht der Bevölkerung. GKSS-Bericht 2009/10. Helmholtz Forschungszentrum GKSS, Geesthacht.

Relph, E., 1976. Place and Placelessness. Pion, London.

Relph, E., 1997. Sense of place. In: Hanson, S. (Ed.), Ten Geographic Ideas that Changed the World. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, pp. 205—226.

Schwineköper, K., 2005. *Heimat*, Naturbewahrung und Naturwahrnehmung im Wandel der Zeiten. In: Blessing, K. (Ed.), *Heimat* und Natur: wissen, woher wir kommen, wo wir sein wollen und wo wir hinkönnen. Beiträge der Akademie für Natur- und Umweltschutz Baden-Württemberg, vol. 37, pp. 17—27.

Soja, E.W., 1989. Postmodern Geographies — The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory. Verso, London.

Stephenson, J., 2008. The cultural values model: an integrated approach to values in landscapes. Landscape and Urban Planning 84, 127—139.

Tuan, Y.-F., 1974. Space and place: humanistic perspective. Progress in Geography. International Reviews of Current Research 6, 211—252.

Tuan, Y.-F., 1977. Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience. Edward Arnold, London.

Vining, J., 1999. Values, emotions and desired outcomes reflected in public responses to forest management plans. Human Ecology Review 6 (1), 21—34.

Waldenfels, B., 1990. Der Stachel des Fremden. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main.

Weichhart, P., Weiske, C., Werlen, B., 2006. Place Identity und Images. Das Beispiel Eisenhüttenstadt. Abhandlungen zur Geographie und Regionalforschung 9. Wien.

Williams, D.R., Stewart, S.I., May 1998. Sense of place. An elusive concept that is finding a home in ecosystem management. Journal of Forestry, 18—23.