DISSERTATION

CULTURAL MEMORY AND PLACE IDENTITY: CREATING PLACE EXPERIENCE

Submitted by

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY JANA RAADIK-COTTRELL ENTITLED CULTURAL MEMORY AND PLACE IDENTITY: CREATING PLACE EXPERIENCE BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIRMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

CULTURAL MEMORY AND PLACE IDENTITY: CREATING PLACE EXPERIENCE

Studying landscapes anchored in human life, with natural and cultural components interwoven as one fabric, embracing the political and ideological aspects, helps to understand the role of our everyday landscapes in tourism. Tourism, the travel between places and touring of landscapes, is essential to the identity process of both travelers and places. The notions of “home” and “elsewhere,” “us” and “them” are constructed through mobility, motility (potentials of mobility) and migration. The scope and scale of mobility and motility has changed in a postmodern world through the intensity in time-space expansion/ contraction.

Contemporary European society is fractured in a struggle between conflicts of identity (former Eastern Europe). Renegotiations of past and present, integration and diversity are especially acute after the collapse of the Soviet empire and ongoing enlargement of the European Union. Identity and culture are elastic concepts, involving conscious and unconscious processes through which places are lived and made while giving meaning to the lives of the people involved. Communication of those meanings is essential to each individual in this process and to others beyond the actual lived place. The meaning attached to landscapes is negotiable due to competing social actors involved in a continuous interpretation and variability offered across cultural, historical, individual and situational aspects.

This case study examines the dynamic between real landscapes, their representations and negotiations of identity under the umbrella of a stabilizing past among foreign and domestic visitors to Saare County on Saaremaa Island in Estonia. The disruptive societal changes, which occurred in recent decades with the collapse of the Soviet regime, guide discussion of interactions of place, identity, landscape and memory, as well as the role of tourism. The central aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of past through individual and collective memory in multifaceted negotiations of place identity and place experience. Huff's (2008) model of landscape, place and identity combined with memory and tourism was used to guide this investigation.

Data were collected in three phases: content analysis of online news article debate about the potential bridge connecting Saaremaa Island to mainland Estonia (n=123), onsite tourist survey of visitors to the island (n=487), and in-depth interviews with 16 visitors drawn from the survey sample. Narrative and discourse analyses were supplemented by a multiple/logistic regression of survey data in a mixed methods approach. Results imply that pro-anti bridge sentiment exists among Estonians and foreigners based on socio-cultural and political contexts in a post Soviet society. Memory, well-being, and aesthetics of place with nationality, and education are predictors of perceived effects of environmental changes and effects of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experiences to Saaremaa Island. Past memories from ideological images of place and memories of places elsewhere were intertwined into bodily perceptions of place, yet resulted in somewhat contradictory statements. Evaluation of changes in landscapes correlated with perceived identities of place and self, and reflected upon readings of home. Historical aspects of place were deemed an

important part of place experience. Respondents without prior knowledge or experience similar to the socio-cultural, economic and political context in Estonia were inclined to identify place based on comparisons of home place from their own residency and past memories from places traveled elsewhere. Outcomes suggest a dialogue for further sense of place research in tourism for the marketing and management of sustainable tourism development in general and for island destinations in particular.

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And finally my appreciation goes to my island out there for luring me constantly back.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The Islander

Patches of fog, lifting heavily from the water into the warmer air; the planes didn't fly last night because of it. Most of the stranded Tallinners took the earliest busses – homesick I guess for solid ground. The air is full of water; white dolomite churches rising steeply, snow-still.

So many shades of grey: the sky, some trees, water in a drainage ditch, ice along the edges of a pond is silver pools of snow-melt reflected in a leaden sky, framed by dead grasses.

Stonewalls are blue, lavender, yellow & green; however, moss is emerald – always, unless it's velvet brown – the color of a collar on a child's Chesterfield coat.
Pines are a different green: murky and dusty – hidden.

Scents of burnt brush and rotting leaves, mould turned over: ochre, damp, brown, muted steel, soggy mist, whispering around the roof tops hunkering down, a shaggy rumbling bear turning round and around, flattening the lair before sleep; twigs of pine, birch, ash and oak; the oaks are making a come back I hear.

There is no point in describing the rest; the details are too well known by those who know, and those who don't know by now would never understand. It is enough to say that I did not return from the cold land. But sometimes, in that few moments between day and night, in that blue instant between death and life I can see her and I remember home.

Its cold here always, very cold; bodies in the permafrost take a long time to decay. Perhaps that's why, even after all this time I can still hear their voices: my friends, neighbors, family, desk-mates, shop clerks, teachers, the gulls, fish, pines singing in the wind, the dead, the unborn and the living.

By Martha Hubbard

This poem written by a friend of mine, an American woman who "settled" on the Island of Saaremaa, Estonia at the end of the 1990's, describes some of the feelings visitors to northern island destinations might experience when visiting off-season. These islands are not known for year-round warmth, golden beaches or consistent blue skies; natural characteristics people easily take for granted in their' dreamed island escapes. Instead, these "cold" destinations surprise the visitor with a diversity of natural wonders and hidden secrets not so easily revealed. Among the scent of decaying nature is the promise of change for a new life; an aspect of Saaremaa that perhaps has kept my friend Martha on a Nordic island despite her nostalgic feelings for "a home elsewhere."

The murky skies of a wintery landscape of Saaremaa, as the poem describes, change to a deep blue hue during the short magical summer months, while "permafrost" bodies awaken to enjoy new life. Saaremaa summer landscapes offer a different imagery captured in the "Saaremaa Waltz," a popular song which most likely symbolizes Saaremaa Island to hundreds of thousands of visitors who visit the westernmost islands of Estonia each year.

Saaremaa Waltz
Lyrics: D. Vaarandi/ Music: R. Valgre / 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 cuckoo birds 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 the 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.

This song, written in 1940 shortly after occupation of the Estonian Republic by the Soviet Union, held a strong message against a dominant Soviet ideology. It echoed hidden resistance and a hope for freedom, and transformed Saaremaa landscapes into an iconography of a sacred national identity. The song still represents one of the most powerful symbols of Saaremaa in destination marketing, despite the changed political and socio-economic situation and transformations of the "real" landscape itself through development.

Societal changes causing discontinuities are inscribed in landscapes (changes in representations and practices), reflecting broader changes in both context and function. These changes find their resonance in tourism, in the perceptions and experiences of locals and visitors with various and potentially conflicting interests. Tourists bring into play aspirations based on past and present interpretations of landscapes visited, and their own memories from past and places elsewhere deemed important for the desired experience.

Need for this Study

The importance of understanding the interplay between lived landscapes and their representations and consumption within tourism studies is manifold. Landscapes in their role as a locus of tourism carry multiple "insider" and "outsider" meanings (de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper, & Greer, 2008). Landscapes work as a text, as a build-up consequence of place-identity process, resulting in a palimpsest of

continually overlaid landscapes, which are deciphered and recoded through the practice of tourism (Knudsen et al., 2008).

Studying landscapes anchored in human life, with natural and cultural components interwoven into one fabric, embracing the political and ideological aspects, helps to understand the role of our everyday landscapes in tourism and vice versa. Tourism, the travel between places and touring of landscapes, is essential to the identity process of both travelers and places. The notions of "home" and "elsewhere," "us" and "them" are constructed through mobility, motility (potentials of mobility) and migration (Kesserling, 2006; Massey & Jess, 1995). The scope and scale of mobility and motility has changed in a postmodern world through the intensity in time-space expansion/contraction.

"Tourismscapes" (van der Duim, 2005) in their rhizomatic character have contributed to the changed understanding and analysis of spatial concepts, such as place, centre, and periphery. Landscapes, place, and identity are part of the theoretical synthesis necessary to discuss issues related to travel (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, & Urry, 2004; Barenholdt & Granas, 2008; Castells, 1997; Coleman & Crang, 2002; Crouch, 1999; de Haan & van der Duim, 2008; C. Kaplan, 1996; Knudsen et al., 2008; Meethan, Anderson, & Miles, 2006; Minca & Oakes, 2006). Tourism, the "modern exile" (C. Kaplan, 1996), derives from the ideas of home and elsewhere, in all its ideological, gendered, cultural facets incorporated in the nexus of self-others-environment in movement. Bouncing between the perceived and imagined boundaries of those different aspects, travelers are constantly changing places, landscapes, and their own identity.

Contemporary European society is fractured in a struggle with conflicts of identity (Graham, 1998b; Tunbridge, 1998; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Verstraete, 2002). Renegotiations of past and present, integration and diversity are especially acute after the collapse of the Soviet empire and ongoing enlargement of the European Union. Identity and culture are elastic concepts, involving conscious and unconscious processes through which places are lived and made while giving meaning to the lives of people involved. Communication of those meanings is essential to each individual in this process and to others beyond the actual lived place (Cosgrove, 1985; Graham, 1998b). The cultural realm interacts with political ideology as well as with the economic domain and finds its reflection in cultural landscape (Cosgrove, 1985; Graham, 1998b; D. Mitchell, 2003). Cultural/ representational landscape and its contestation are deeply associated with issues of empowerment and differing trajectories of economic change and development (Graham, 1998a). As stressed by several authors (Barnes & Duncan, 1992; Cosgrove, 1985; Graham, 1998a; D. Mitchell, 2003) cultural landscapes are multi-vocal texts and actively involved in the construction of power in society. These texts as noted above interact with social, economic, and political institutions and are continuously rewritten in the process of reading. The meaning attached to landscapes is negotiable due to competing social actors involved in this continuous interpretation and the variability they offer across the cultural, historical, individual and situational aspects (Barnes & Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Duncan, 1998).

Landscapes are an intrinsic part in the construction of individual and group identity; colorful examples are provided by the formulation of nationalist ideologies, dependent on a simplified rhetoric of particularity vested in place, and erecting criteria of

social inclusion and exclusion (Baker, 1992; Graham, 1998a). Yet, as Graham (1998a) emphasized, cultural landscapes reflect contestations along other scales and dimensions of identity as well, including, but not limited to class, gender, locality, and material well - being. Cultural/ representational landscape resembles a powerful medium to express values, ideas, feelings and works simultaneously as an arena of political discourse and action (Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Duncan, 1998; Graham, 1998a). These "authorized" landscapes can be understood as cultural capital embodying the values and ambitions of dominant ideologies allowing to place landscapes in the centre of social, political and environmental morality (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Graham, 1998a).

Purpose Statement

This dissertation explores the dynamic between real landscapes, their representations and negotiations of identity under the umbrella of a stabilizing past. With my dissertation I proceed to investigate the intriguing ground of "comfort" offered by the remembered past as it pertains to place experience. Further, this study raises questions with a glance to the future exploring how negotiations between past and present experience could influence future changes in real landscapes and experiences they could offer. My dissertation is based on a case study of place experience on Saaremaa Island in Estonia. The disruptive societal changes of the past few decades with the collapse of the Soviet regime guide my discussion of interactions of place, identity, landscape and memory, as well as the role of tourism in it. The central aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of past through individual and collective memory in multifaceted negotiations of place identity and place experience. Place identity and experience in this study are examined through the notion of "landscape as text" in its' five dimensional

nexus – natural, built, time, human cognizance, and human perceptions – based on the phenomenology of Heidegger (1962), Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Bachelard (1964/1994). The case under study is island county Saare in Estonia.

Theoretical synthesis of landscape, place and identity from Huff (2008) was used to frame the theoretical discussions related to the research questions of this study. Huff's (2008) model worked as a basis for the conceptual framework with added components of memory and tourism contributing to the model (Figure 1). Each layer of the framework adds to a theoretical discussion evolved throughout the study as a separate component as well in interaction with other components. Empirical investigations follow theoretical discussions framed by the adapted model, exploring relations between different layers in the framework in their interconnectedness. Each layer of the model is influenced separately as well as interactively with others by societal changes. Explanations of the various layers of the model are covered in Chapter 2.

Conceptual Framework

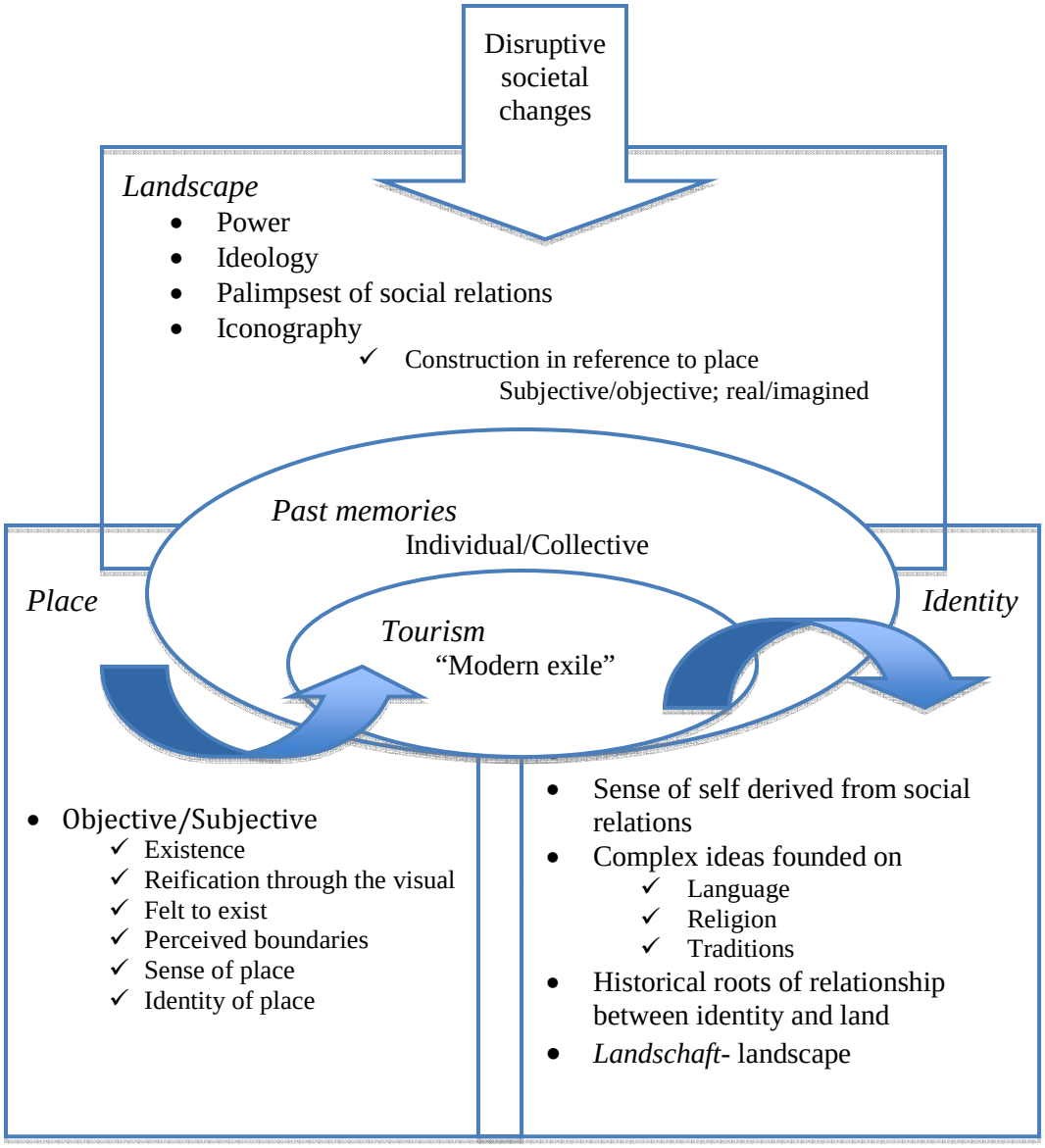

Figure 1. Theoretical synthesis of landscape, place and identity in nexus with tourism and memory (adapted from Huff, 2008).

Research Questions

The overall aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of past on place identity in transition. The primary research questions are:

1. How does collective memory influence the multiple readings of place/ landscape identity in transition?

2. How do individual and collective memories facilitate present and future perceived place/ landscape experiences?

Based on evolving theoretical discussions, this study builds on an overall assumption that landscape appreciation for a transforming mobile society is based largely on holistic appreciation drawn from multi-layered aspects of it, where "real' landscapes are intertwined with landscapes of "memory." Landscapes of memory gain importance as valued thresholds in the process of fixing the otherwise fragmented identities. Landscapes of memory are sites for discourse, where professed views drawing on the same narrative values result in different outcomes. Throughout my dissertation the following topics are discussed interchangeably:

- Tourism as a "modern exile"– dichotomies between "home" and "elsewhere" disrupted.
- Yearnings for "home"– recollections and nostalgia.
- Memories of places – desired future/past in present.
- Fragmented identities fixed in landscapes of memory.
- Postmodern landscapes – embodied "visionscapes" of memory and stabilizing past.
- Societal changes echoed on landscapes/places/identities.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is broken down into several chapters. Following the introduction with the statement of purpose and research questions, Chapter 2 provides a review of literature relevant to landscape, place and identity in nexus with tourism and memory; the conceptual framework for the case study overall. Chapter 3 Methodology gives an

overview of the mixed methods used and the rationale behind the case study approach, and background information on Saaremaa Island in Estonia. The next three chapters (Chapters 4- 6) include three articles that cover the empirical research done in Estonia.

Chapter 4 In Spaces In Between - From Recollections to Nostalgia: Discourses of Bridge and Island Place investigates the major themes of discourse on island place, landscape of identity as well as possible transformations related to concerns over possible construction of the bridge between mainland and Muhu Island. Material from an online public forum from 2002 till 2007 is used for critical discourse analysis, reviewing approximately 120 online articles with more than 1800 comments from the general public.

Chapter 5 Predicting future experience – perceived effect of environmental change on holiday experiences among visitors to Saaremaa Island Estonia examines the influence sense of place, nationality and education on perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experiences and perceived effects of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experiences via multiple/logistic regression analyses.

Chapter 6 Exploring “elsewhereland”: places desired, remembered and dwelled. Empirical investigations of place experience of vacationers on Saaremaa Island, Estonia examines summer vacationers’ experiences and connections with an island place on Saaremaa Island in Estonia. Empirical data from sixteen in-depth interviews is intertwined with a theoretical discussion exploring place, emotions, memory, and self.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with highlights pertinent to the study of landscape, place and identity within the context of tourism and memory.

CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Place in a Mobile World

Place in geography refers to a location – an abstract place in abstract space (Cresswell, 2002); yet, geographical locations are actually experienced. The rediscovery of place, as a centre of felt value, embodied with experiences and aspirations of people took place in the work of humanistic geographers in the 1970's. Humanistic geography treats place as a concept that expresses attitude to the world, the emphasized subjectivity and experience rather than hard logic of spatial science (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977). As such, place is not only a spatial co-ordinate for an everyday life, but provides the meaning to it (Eyles, 1989). Central to ideas of place in humanistic geography are philosophies of phenomenology and existentialism such as by Heiddeger (1962), Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Bachelard (1964/1994). Inspired by philosophies of phenomenology and existentialism and building on work of Martin Heiddeger (1962) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) human geographers like Tuan (1977), Relph (1976) and later Casey (1997) re-peopled the geographical life-world. Ontological priority was given to the human immersion in place. Heiddeger's (1962) notion of *Dasein* – place as dwelling, the practical knowledge through everyday and mundane, united the natural and human worlds (Berleant, 1997; Casey, 1997; Relph, 1976). Place became seen as a root of human identity and experience: "The essence of place lies in the largely

unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as profound centers of human existence" (Relph, 1976, p. 43).

Heiddeger's focus on "dwelling" (*Dasein*) as well as importance of house/home in Bachelard's (1964/1994) work has influenced humanistic approaches of place around centrality of "home". Place, home and roots indicated intensely moral concepts in humanistic geography and were described as fundamental human needs. Tuan's (1974) notion of "topophilia" referring to the affective bond between people and places stresses the idea of place as a "field of care." For Tuan place as a product of "pause" creates a chance for attachment on many scales. Eyles (1989) has, however, argued that involuntary immobility and mobility (caused by limited economic resources, political reasons, gender issues, age etc.) ties people to places not because they are necessarily attached to them, but because of the constraints created by those different situations. Localities are fragmented with the multiplicity of realities (Eyles, 1989; Massey, 1995, 2001).

The notion of place as "home," the way it was discussed in early works of humanistic geographers, has been critiqued as too essentialist and exclusionary (Massey, 1994; G. Rose, 1993). Topophilia (Tuan, 1974) often associated with home places can be based on memory and pride of ownership and produce anxiety and an aestheticized politics of exclusion (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Harvey, 1989; Jackson & Penrose, 1993; Till, 1993). Several authors (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; McCann, 1995; Mills, 1993) have built on Bourdieu's (1984) notion of cultural capital when analyzing sense of place as "a positional good," as a form of "symbolic capital." A definition of cultural and symbolic capital by Bourdieu (1984) includes acquired tastes, knowledge, appreciation, and

consumption of aesthetically pleasing forms. Bourdieu (1984) argued that cultural capital works as a delicate foundation for social distinctions and the legitimation of political and/or social power claims.

Cresswell (2002) indicates this "warm cozyness of home" (p. 13) related to place in early works of humanist geographers as antithetical to the notion of mobility. Tuan (1977) for example argued that place "is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we would not be able to develop any sense of place" (p. 179). According to Tuan (1977), modern mobility implies superficial bonds between humans and places: "A modern man might be so mobile that he can never establish roots and his experience of place may all be too superficial" (p. 183). For Tuan (1989) the place is an essentially moral concept, and mobility and movement have a power to undermine attachment and commitment, and are thus antithetical to moral worlds. Relph (1976) also draws on a notion of inauthentic, meaningless placelessness in relation to contemporary mobility. Relph (1976) claimed that the mobility of American homeowners is reducing the significance of home and thus contributing to the growing problem of placelessness in the world. Eyles (1989) regards the claims on increasing homogenizing tendencies creating "inauthentic," "pseudo- places" and their lack of existential meaning as elitist. Such views according to Eyles (1989) regard particular places and "high culture" as the embodiments of a true existential meaning and as a result, downplay the possibilities of meaningful places in banal everyday environments (suburbs, subtopias). People shape their identities in all places not necessarily in the conditions of their choosing (Eyles, 1989).

According to Relph (1976), modern travel is another factor in creation of placelessness. In his view, the modern traveler pays less attention to the actual places visited and feeds on and encourages the fascination with the paraphernalia associated with it, "In short, where someone goes is less important than the act and style of going" (1976, p. 87). Modern travel creates irrational and shallow landscapes, diluted from the authenticity:

> Roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but, by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impacts. (Relph, 1976, p. 90)

Liisa Malkki (1992) called this tendency of humanistic geography to locate people and identities in particular places within particular boundaries a "sedentarist metaphysics." Her criticism is not only focusing on the re-evaluation of mobility as "evil," but also in the limitations on the ways of thinking connected to this as rooted and bounded. Since the 1980's and 1990's, contributions from other social theories like cultural materialism, feminism, poststructuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism have added multiple viewpoints to studies of place. The oppositional relationship between place and mobility prevalent in early humanist geography studies became challenged in multiple ways.

Postmodern philosophers like Deleuze and Guattari (1987) celebrated the "rhizomatic sense of place" as a new mobile world of travelers. Said (1993) stresses on the transgressive and mobile forces of migrants (refugees, exiles, guest workers etc.) and on the necessity to re-evaluate the notions of identity and culture as rooted in place. He argues:

> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim or American are no more than starting points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. . . . No one can deny the persisting continuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies, but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness . . . (1993, p. 407-408)

Clifford (1992) notes, "if we rethink culture . . . in terms of travel, then the organic, naturalizing bias of the term culture – seen as rooted body that grows, lives, dies, etc. – is questioned. Constructed and disputed historicities, sites of displacement, interference, and interaction, come more sharply into view" (p. 101). The views of de-territorialized identity are well presented in works of Gupta and Ferguson (1992), Appandurai (1996) and others.

Auge's (2000) notion of "non-places" referring to places like motorways, supermarkets, and airports, offers a radical rethinking of Relph's "placelessness." Auge's "non-places" are essentially the space of travelers. Chambers (1990) also celebrates them in their dynamism, as symbols of flow and mobility. Thrift (1996) took the idea of fleeting places of hypermodernity (non-places) further into celebration of perpetual mobility up to its' "ontologization."

As noted by Creswell (2002) and Malkki (1992) "mobile places" demand new mobile ways of thinking. "Nomadic metaphysics" as opposed to "sedentarist metaphysics" however are not free from mistakes to repeat the universalizing assumptions while celebrating the mobility and marginalizing the position of place. As noted in many works of feminist writers, the celebration of mobility has ignored the politics of difference, as being sexed and raced (Ang, 1994; Wolff, 1992). Not everyone has access to voluntary mobility:

> The problem with terms like “nomad”, “maps” and “travel” is that they are not usually located and hence (and purposely) they suggest ungrounded and unbounded movement- since the whole point to resist selves/viewers/subjects. But the consequent suggestion of free and equal mobility is itself deception since we don’t all have the same access to the road. (Wolff, 1992, p. 253)

Places have not lost their importance in the fleeting world of “hypermobile capital” (Harvey, 1996) nor should they be celebrated bounded up in authenticity and rootedness, as a mere social construction founded on acts of exclusion. Many contemporary critical geographers and place philosophers point out that place still matters and is primary to the construction of meaning and society rather than mere social construction (Casey, 1997; Malpas, 1999).

> There is no doubt that the ordering of a particular place- and the specific way in which the society orders space and time- is not independent of social ordering (inasmuch as it encompasses the social, so place is partially elaborated by means of the social, just as place is also elaborated in relation to ordering deriving from individual subjects and from underlying physical structures). However this does not legitimate the claim that place, space or time are merely social constructions. Indeed the social does not exist prior to place nor is it given expression except in and through place- and through spatialised, temporalised ordering. . . . It is within the structure of place that the very possibility of the social arises. (Malpas, 1999, p. 35-36)

Cresswell (2002) stresses that the structuration theory by Giddens (1984) and influencial work of Bordieu (1977, 1990) has given “place” back its’ authority in a mobile world. According to the structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), actions are not determined by the structures above and beyond as well as they are not completely a product of a free will. Structures depend on our actions to exist, while they give meaning to the actions themselves. Place is thus seen as a practice and process, never “finished” and always “becoming” (de Certeau, 1984; Pred, 1984; Soja, 2000; Thrift, 1983, 2008).

Soja’s (2000) “thirdspace” bridges the distinction between binaries of objective/subjective, material/mental, and real/imagined. “Thirdspace is practiced and

lived rather than being simply material (conceived) or mental (perceived)" (Cresswell, 2002, p. 21). de Certeau (1984) sees place as a void, an empty grid over which the practice occurs. This pre-structured grid only becomes operational through practice, a tactical art which plays with those structures (de Certeau, 1984). "Even the most concrete of constructs is open to change and transformation through mobile practices that completely refuse to read the text (or read it too well)" (Cresswell, 2002, p. 24-25). Building on work of Lefebvre, de Certeau, and Soja we can argue that "place is a raw material for a creative production of identity rather than an a priori label of identity" (Cresswell, 2002, p. 25).

de Certeau's (1984) mundane knowledge of practice is embodied knowledge. Embodied practical knowledge as a central theme in phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (1962) has been influentially revived in works of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1990) and J. Butler (1990). The term "habitus" used by Bourdieu (1984), describes the "social" inscribed in the biological individual. Casey (2001) borrows the notion of habitus from Bourdieu to propose that habitus is a middle term between lived place and geographical self. He argues that self is constituted by a core of habitudes "that incorporate and continue' at both physical and psychical levels from the experiences from particular places. Casey (2001) adds to Bourdieu's analysis a second and third dimension: habitation, the actional dimension, and idiolocality, the peculiarity of a place beheld by the body. Casey (2001) argues for an "impressionism of place" (p. 415), its virtual state held within the body ready to "regain its awareness when the appropriate impression or sensation arises" (p. 415). Casey (2001) takes Lefebvre's (1991) and Soja's (2000) spaces in their "trialectic typologies" (spatial practices/representations of space/representational

space by Lefebvre and perceived/conceived/lived by Soja) and argues that place is shared out between these three modalities. Borrowing from Entrikin's (1991) notion of "betweenness of place," Casey (2001) stresses the pervasiveness of place and its permeation into the "body-subject" in its habitudinal, habitational, and idiolocal modalities.

Bourdieu's habitus "represents the internalization and embodiment of the social order which in turn reproduces the social order" (Cresswell, 2002, p. 22). In this constant reproduction, body and place obtain their normative meanings (J. Butler, 1990; Cresswell, 2002). Thus, bodies and places are produced as much as they are producing; they are performed (J. Butler, 1990; Cresswell, 2002). But this performance is not free from the historical perspective, it cannot be understood outside of time and space, outside of context of pre-existing systems.

Places as processes are about connections, the paths leading in and out (Cresswell, 2004; Massey, 2001). Places as sites of multiple identities and histories are defined from outside (Massey, 2001). Moving through, between and around the places adds to the mix of hybridity as Lippard (1997) describes local places: "Each time we enter a new place, we become one of the ingredients of an existing hybridity, which is really what all 'local places' consist of" (p. 6).

In ever increasing conditions of mobility, places open up to a progressive (or global) sense of place as argued by Doreen Massey (2001). Massey (2001, 2005) indicates that the uniqueness of place is defined by its interactions. Massey (2005) provokes us to think about place as "throwntogetherness," combining things, bodies and flows. Or as described by Escobar (2001), "places gather things, thoughts, and memories

in particular configurations" (p. 143). Places according to Massey (2001, 2005) are intersections of flows and movements, open and permeable, based on politics of inclusion (Latour, 2004) rather than exclusion. Meanwhile, Massey (1993) arguing for a politics of mobility warns against the vague generality of "time-space compression" (Harvey, 1989). Massey (1993) reminds us that time-space compression as a phenomenon is socially differentiated: "Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it" (p. 61). Massey's (2005) throwntogetherness of places emphasizes the unavoidable challenge of the negotiations of getting together.

Cresswell (2004) suggests looking beyond progressive and reactionary senses of place as two opposites and to be more careful in consideration of how place identities are constructed. May (1996) argued that a fact of diversity, the multiple ways in which people relate to the same place, does not necessarily produce a progressive sense of place and the search for roots in history does not have to be reactionary. Mobility and place go together and as stressed by Lippard (1997), the "pull of place" continues to exist as a geographical component of a psychological desire to belong somewhere. And she continues, "Even the power of place is diminished and often lost, it continues – as an absence – to define culture and identity. It also continues – as a presence – to change the way we live" (Lippard, 1997, p. 20).

Recent studies recognizing the fluid and interdisciplinary nature of scholarship on place have successfully blurred the borders between different fields of understanding. The universalizing assumptions of "place as home," "rooted identity" and placelessness

have been challenged, opening the ways to ideas that are "not clearly 'rooted' to 'foundations'" (Cresswell, 2002, p. 16). There are many places of "place" in contemporary place studies addressing prevalent themes of experience and identity (Cresswell, 1996), imagination and social construction (Anderson, 1993), paradox and modernity (Minca & Oakes, 2006). Recently many authors have linked issues of topophilia with loss and absence in (re)construction of collective identity (DeLyser, 2001b; Marling, 2001), exploring connections between image and dominance, aesthetics and "imagined communities" and idealized place (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Till, 2001). Addressing sense of place, attention is drawn on "peripatetic" (Adams, 2001), and "the void" (McGreevy, 2001). Concepts of identity and place have been related to concepts of "angst and confusion" in freedom of choice (Zelinsky, 2001), relativism in moral judgments (Sack, 2001), reciprocal influence of habitus, habitation and idiolocalization (Casey, 2001).

Intertwining place and mobility includes various power relations, and place is defined through "the outcome of multiple becomings" (Simonsen, 2008). Building on Massey (2005), Simonsen (2008) argues that places quite often find their stability through support from mobile practices (travel included). Massey's (2005) concept of "place as throwntogetherness of people" includes both the ideas of propinquity and connectivity, as she stresses for the "global sense of place" (2001). Mazullo and Ingold (2008) take this idea even further suggesting a mobile phenomenology of "being along". According to Mazullo and Ingold (2008), places can only occur along a path of movement. The "new mobility paradigm" (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) emphasizes the increasing mobility of self outside of the physical body in "cyberspace." New

mobilities create novel and "flickering" combinations of presence and absence of people in physical locations (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

Paradoxically to long held views of many human geographers who saw mobility taking away from the very idea of identity in place (Relph, 1976), mobility has found its solid ground in the place and identity process. Mobility practices reconfigure nearness and distance, propinquity and connectivity, but don't inevitably lead to placelessness. Several authors support the idea that identities and the very belonging to the place can become stronger through the potentials of mobility (Birkeland, 2008; Hovgaard & Kristiansen, 2008; Larsen & Urry, 2008; Simonsen, 2008). Simonsen (2008) notes that place as encounters is always also the place of "the Other"–other bodies, other spaces and other times. Thus, the "existing spatialities and temporalities–embodiments, emotions, narratives and memories–are translated into every encounter as formative layers of hybridity" (Simonsen, 2008, p. 23) opening opportunities for a "heterotopic" sense of place (Amin, 2004).

Placing Identity

Massey and Jess (1985) claim that movements, mobilities, migrations are products of an uneven development and further producers of it. Migrations, physical dislocations of people raise an array of questions related to their existence and self-identity, construction of "others," and the engagement with the "place" in general (Massey & Jess, 1995). Through mobility and migrations people link places together, stretch social relations and their habitus over the space (Bourdieu, 1977; King, 1995). Migrant's sense of place involves duality as stressed by King (1995): "here" and "there"; "home of departure" and "of return." This constant "reach out" and "return" is the

essential element of tourist's experience with the place (Suvantola, 2002). Tourists as modern migrants, "volunteers in exile" (Kaplan, 1996), are constantly carrying with them the desires of return (to home, to vacationspot), and their idealizations of "home places" left behind (Kaplan, 1996; Löfgren, 1999; Suvantola, 2002). This ability to leave and return (mobility) might be an equally important aspect of personal identity and place attachment as well (Massey, 1995). Massey (1995) stresses that the romanticized views of place can often be primarily held by those who leave, or most importantly, have the power to leave. Thus, seeing that identities of places are never "pure," but always porous and the product of other places, which is an important aspect in appreciation of local uniqueness (Massey, 1995).

In contemporary society, the construction and meaning of places arises primarily because of developments, disruptions of notions of place due to intensified spatial extension of social relations, time- space compression and so forth (Giddens, 1991; Harvey, 1989; Massey, 1995). The protective filters of time and space as indicated by Robins (1991) have been dissolved through globalization, and the encounters of centre and periphery are immediate and intense at both ends. "Stretched out" social relations (Allen & Hamnett, 1995) relate to claims made over places in terms of "activity spaces" (Massey, 1995) and require understandings about spatial organizations of society and also of social inequality (Beck, 1991, 1992). It is possible to argue that it applies to tourismscapes (van der Duim, 2007) as part of a spread of human relations on a larger scale and scope (Beck, 1992, 2000). Thus, discussions about identity and sense of place should reach further from settled, coherent notions of place to place as "meeting-place" (Graham, 1998a; Massey, 1995, 2001, 2005). Identity according to Graham "is not a

discrete social construction that is territorially bounded; rather, identities . . . overlap in complex ways and geographical scales" (1998a, p. 2). Those multiple identities existing at once can be considered hierarchical only in their contextuality (Huff, 2008; Graham, 1998a). Identities exist in many forms and reasons and the transformation of modern identity must be considered contextually to "allow for comparison and recognition of change" (Huff, 2008, p. 21).

"Cultural identity is often been interpreted as connected with some place, either through notions of local culture or calculated constructions of national identity" (Massey & Jess, 1995, p. 1). Place identities are frequently contested as meanings of place vary across different groups and are about the battle over the material future of the place based on rival interpretations of the past (Massey & Jess, 1995). As indicated by Massey and Jess (1995), these battles most often occur in context and between unequal forces either due to social, economic, cultural, environmental or political unevenness. Any of those contested claims are, however, made in particular time-space, which is in constant change, thus claims are subject to change as well (Massey & Jess, 1995). Creating meanings of place is a production of "imagining geography"– making claims over territories based on produced images and created identities, which form the future character of the place and human behaviors related to it, based either on acquisition or defense (Massey & Jess, 1995).

Harvey (1989) claims that place identities are a collage of superimposed images upon us, which rests at some extent a motivational power of tradition. Presentation of "partially illusory past" (Harvey, 1989) helps profitably to sell certain aspects of identity of place, most commonly done through the aesthetics of place. It is dangerous if these

limited identities of place become “purified” identities justifying the “purification” of space (Lasansky & McLaren, 2004; Robins, 1991; Sibley, 1988).

Sense of place is a very personal emotional experience of the place filled with meaning derived from our past in conjunction with the social, cultural, and economic conditions we live in and must be understood in a wider social context (G. Rose, 1995; Rutherford, 1990). Identification with place can happen in different scales, from local, to national, or even supranational (Verstraete, 2002). As stressed by Daniels (1993), national identities are largely defined by legends and landscapes. Landscapes provide the visible shape of desired national identity stretching out via mediation and providing extended reference scale. In this excessive choice, we are invited to articulate our identity against particular places. Our senses of place can become intensified if we feel a threat towards those meaningful places for us (Bonaiuto, Breakwell, & Cano, 1996; Parts, 2004; G. Rose, 1995), and we may create “memory blocks” against places we feel hostility from (G. Rose, 1995). G. Rose (1995) relaying on Lowenthal (1985), argues that landscapes of national identity try to express the quintessential national virtues, their deeply historical essence, a balance reached through the centuries. Yet, it is important to understand that this creation relates to certain time-space, and certain processes of change and conflict are always left out, masked by aesthetization of politics (G. Rose, 1995).

Claims on certain identity of place are claims for its’ future based on interpretations of the present and even more importantly about its’ past (Jess & Massey, 1995). Hall (1995) argues that place is one of the key discourses in system meaning called culture and functions to stabilize identities “beyond the play of history” (p. 181). His argument lies in the practice that we are “landscaping cultures,” giving them a

background, a frame, in order to make sense of them. J. Rose (1986) stresses that identities take shape in the field of vision, and as the latter always has its' spatial characteristics as a "screen," the identities are always "placed." The "imaginary geographies" of identities relate them to the notion of "home"; people feel "at home" sharing the same culture, belonging to the same "imagined community" (Anderson, 1993). This notion of imagined communities as Anderson (1993) argues, does not place people totally outside the material existence in tangible social relations, and artifacts to "anchor" them, but rather they are placed within mindscapes of ideas, meanings and images connected with it.

Places help stabilize cultural identities, to give them "home," the "imagined origin" and a place to "return to" (Anderson, 1993). These connections with past, the mythical landscapes, monuments, and re-invented traditions, "lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the minds' eye" (Bhaba, 1990, p. 1). D. S. A. Bell (2003) stresses on notions of mythology and memory as essential in the understanding of national identity. D. S. A. Bell (2003) unites these in a notion of "mythscape," in the temporarily and spatially extended discursive realm of constant negotiation. Mythscape is a realm "wherein the struggle for control of peoples memories and the formation of nationalist myths is debated, contested and subverted incessantly" (2003, p. 66).

D. S. A. Bell's (2003) argument parallels with Hall's (1995) notion that cultural identification with a place and in general does not express a shared unitary feeling of belongingness, but is a constant production, through the ongoing narrative of that identification to unify the real differences. As an ongoing narrative, it is hard, if not

impossible to promise a single, fixed point of origin for a cultural identification. More accurate would be talk about the identities as they lie "in- between" (Entrikin, 1991), without a single reference point in time-space to return to. Ideas such as from "roots" to "routes" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Gustafson, 2001) or "diaspora" (Hall, 1995) try to provide identity a new perspective- to locate them in different imaginary geographies at the same time, tying many places together, having multiple "homes" to return to.

In "Nostalgia unbound" Fiona Allon (2000) refers to Foucault and Miskowiec's (1986) notion that "anxiety of our era" is fundamentally about "anxiety of space." *Angst* (anxiety) emerges in organization of that space of relations, which delineate countless sites in our lives, irreducible and not superimposable to each other, and where time appears as only one of the distributive operations (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Accordingly, the extended sites as "replaced emplacements" are as Foucault and Miskowiec define "the relations of proximity" (1986, p. 23) between different points. In a postmodern world, where proximity has a very relational meaning, the difference itself becomes a matter of relative degree, speed, and intensity (Grossberg, 1996). Living in a contemporary world of spatial "anxiety" (Allon, 2000; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Zelinsky, 2001) makes the desire for a "settled" place carrying continuity of identity even more acute (Zelinsky, 2001).

Following the debate, Massey's (2001) notion of a "global sense of place" as well as Anderson's (1993) "imagined community" fall greatly in place in discussions of European tourism by Verstraete (2002). Verstraete analyses Europe's cultural tourism as a mass-produced politics of location. The right to travel has been recently in focus of political debates in Europe. Verstraete argues for the ongoing construction of European

citizenship enacted through tourism. Her argument is based on the politics of the European Council to solidify the idea of Europe and reinforce a sense of European identity around the idea of "cultural routes," a great successor of the Grand Tour. Verstraete (2002) writes:

> The underlying belief is that touring other European locations on the one hand and receiving strangers at home on the other, will orientate the individual toward other Europeans, and produce identification beyond one's own locality on a larger European scale. Thus local places and histories have to be re-imagined and restaged in the image of the ideal tourist: they have to become shared nodes in Europe's tourist destination community. (p. 37)

However, this concept of "routes" is driven by the desire to construct and consume differences while seemingly celebrating the connections across the borders (Verstraete, 2002). Verstraete refers to McCannell's notion (1976) of "Other" when describing Europe's cultural tourism politics. As she notes, the Other is the idea of Europe in its democratic sense, "the mythical Diverse European Community to which we must return. And cultural (heritage) tourism is the self-acclaimed path to that past in the sake of future" (2002, p. 47). The envisioned citizen is to consume those places "not as real thing, but as latest, high-tech, markers of Europe, that does not exist other than a structure to referral, as something you ought to see" (2002, p. 47).

Placing Landscapes of Identity

> " In a landscape we always get to one place from another place" (Straus, 1963, p. 319).

Landscape as Horizon

Landscape is featured by the horizon, a boundary, which opens up for further

exploration (Casey, 2001). According to Heiddeger (1971), “A boundary is not that at which something stops but, . . . the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing” (p. 154). Or as Casey (2001) places it: “landscape and body are the effective epicentres of the geographical self. The one widens out into vistas of the place-world–all the way to the horizon and beyond it . . . while the other literally incorporates this same world and acts upon it” (p. 419). As place is broadened in landscape, landscapes become a transitional domain, linking self and other, space and place (Casey, 2001). Lyotard (1989) offers a reading of landscape as “scapeland.” Broadening the traditional spectator-landscape relationship, which assumes that what is pictured is tamed and domesticated; Lyotard (1989) argues that to “feel landscape you have to lose the feeling of place” (p. 215). Landscape as stressed by Lyotard (1989) “resists the compositional powers of eye and mind” (p. 216) turning us to “lost travelers” (p. 219).

Tuan (1979) stresses that landscape “allows and even encourages us to dream . . . Yet it can anchor our attention because it has components that we can see and touch” (p. 101). Meining (1979) states:

> Any landscape is so dense with evidence and so complex and cryptic that we can never be assured that we have read it all or read it aright. The landscape lies all around us, ever accessible and inexhaustible. Anyone can look, but we all need help to see that is at once a panorama, a composition, a palimpsest, a microcosm; that every prospect can be more and more that meets the eye. Landscapes hold these tensions between “imagined” and “real.” (p. 6)

Palang and Fry (2003) discuss the landscapes multiple interfaces between different approaches and “readings” each valid in its specific social and historical context. According to Lewis, “Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form” (1999, p. 12). But those readings of ordinary landscapes seem “somewhat messy,”

"like edited and re- edited books with illegible handwriting" (Lewis, 1999, p. 12). "Landscapes can be read, interpreted and understood only in the historic and political context specific to the time the objects originated from" (Palang & Fry, 2003, p. 6).

Landscapes can be viewed within a broader context as a common property, a visionscape open to everyone as a public good for experiences. Landscapes are sustained through communication processes, stabilized and harmonized through shared activities and common language (de Certeau, 1984; Thwaites, 2001; Tuan, 1977, 1980, 1991). Places become multilayered worlds of social meanings, filled with needs and desires (Allon, 2000; Dickinson, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Parts, 2004; Stokols, 1981), and offer experiential opportunities to wander on the landscapes of perceived and imagined (Berleant, 1997; Brocki, 2004; Burgin, 1996; de Certeau, 1984; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006; R. Kaplan & S. Kaplan, 1989; Soja, 2000).

Landscapes of tourism are one of the most imagined ones, and those multiple layers of imagination constitute themselves in realities of those landscapes. Landscapes in tourism work under the notions of departure and return, the momentary escapism, the illusionary (re-)entering of places of elsewhere. These places catch us through the voluntary manipulations of emotions we alter ourselves to. Even the multi-sensual bodily experience of "being-there" locates the place into our "body-subject," we inhabit places more outside of their actual physical realm in our pre- and after imaginations and practices (Casey, 2001; Löfgren, 1999; Suvantola, 2002).

Strong emphasis in these imagined landscapes is on "absence": absence of other tourists and/or locals, "unfitting" built environment and/or infrastructure, imagined past and/or present (de Certeau, 1985; DeLyser, 2001b). de Certeau (1985) writes, "We are

struck by the fact that sites that have been lived in are filled with the presence of absences. What appears designates what is no more, . . . [what] can no longer be seen" (p. 143). Absence works as a synecdoche in the landscape, replaces the whole with the fragment (de Certeau, 1985; DeLyser, 2001b). And as stressed by DeLyser (2001b), "The power of synecdoche in landscape is that such a fragment takes on a greater meaning: the projected meaning of the imagined whole" (p. 27). And those imaginary experiences of "the minds' eye" (Tuan, 1979) can leave the most powerful impressions (DeLyser, 2001b). Imagined whole find's it way to "real" landscape through spatial practices (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991) and is able to create another layer of absence, of those excluded from its imagined coherence.

> A landscape does more than simply fulfill obvious, mundane functional requirements . . . By encoding within a landscape various conventional signs of such things as group membership and social status, individuals are able to tell morally charged 'stories' about themselves and the social structure of the society in which they live. (Duncan, 1992, p. 39)

Landscape, Memory and the Politics of Identity

The latest conceptualization of landscape and its coupling with identity came to focus in landscape studies in the mid 1990's. Until the mid 80's, the majority of landscape studies treated landscape as primordial, altered by human agency, but not as socially-produced space within the Lefebvrian context (O'Keeffe, 2007). A lot of Marxist-oriented work (from the perspective of political economy) from the mid-80's to mid-90's offered an alternative take, emphasizing the socio-cultural production of landscape and power as its' operating system. Though, as noted by O'Keeffe (2007), these readings reduced non-elites engagements with landscapes to mere acts of compliance and resistance. The counter-Marxist take on landscape took rooting in the

mid-1990's, and largely as constructivist in its undertake, it looks past the landscape-as-power externalizing non-elites, and situates everyone inside landscapes. Thus, the landscape-situated responses (of resistance and compliance) to authority articulated in the landscape are seen as "acts of landscape- construction and identity-formation in their own right" (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4). O'Keeffe argues for the counter-Marxian understanding of landscape, which claims landscapes to be "the product of mindscape"–inalienable with the realms of cognitive and mnemonic, and with the general issue of consciousness, "including 'non-consciousness,' in the sense of Bourdieu's 'habitus'"(O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4). The same goes with landscapes' democratic value, as "everybody knows, possesses, and partakes in 'landscape'" (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4). The thought of landscape as a product of mindscape doesn't however reduce place to a subjective facet. Place and landscape exist in a state between objective fact and subjective feeling (Casey, 2001; Cresswell, 1996; Entrikin, 1991). Tuan's (1979) statement, " We think, therefore we are able to see an entity called landscape" (p. 94) calls to define landscapes through vision and interpretation simultaneously.

Landscape as product of mindscape brings into discussion the landscape-memory nexus, problems of historicity and politics of memory. O'Keeffe (2007) states that history is always narratological, a product of being-reminded, thus raising issues related to historical memory. The historical memory or "collected memory" to use O'Keeffe's term and his statement, is a product of external programming, as "personal memories have been reshaped into collective memories by forms of political intervention . . . in landscapes, particularly through 'official' acts and objects of commemoration" (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 6).

Often visions of place identities (as well as senses of place) either deliberately or non-deliberately overlook the ideological aspects. Ashworth and Graham (2005) imply that nationalist ideologies tend to habitually assume that identities are intrinsic qualities of landscapes and cityscapes and frequently place identity research draws on limited conclusions, that places are just imagined entities of individuals. Ashworth and Graham (2005) stress on a need to re-state the notions of place identity emphasizing that place identities are created "by different people, at different times, for different reasons," creating different narratives, thus "user determined, polysemic and unstable through time" (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, p. 3). The authors stress on concepts of "collective identity" and "collective memory" to understand creations of place identity, while recognizing that these concepts don't supersede or replace individual identity, yet "allow generalizations and the location of ideas of belonging within political and social contexts" (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, p. 3). These lines of reasoning suggest that senses of place are related to senses of time whereas contents, interpretations and representations are seen as resources to the demands of present. As stressed by many authors, the imagined past is the resource for the imagined future, and heritage is more concerned in meanings than actual material artifacts, and landscapes (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Boym, 2001; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Material artifacts from past are ascribed by contemporary values, demands and moralities and thus as much about forgetting as remembering. Transformed materiality of landscapes helps with forgetting, sometimes the destruction is deliberate, and sometimes re-creation takes from imaginary past what could have been there or even actually never was (Lasansky & McLaren, 2004; Tunbridge, 1998). As stressed by Lowenthal (1985), past can be a burden when

involving negative rejection of the present, yet the same implies to the present too if disheartening the past.

Landscapes of Identity and Social Memory

Claval (2007) reminds us that identities are intimately connected with the constructed memories, where history becomes a useful tool to create and understand the progress of particular societies. Landscapes of national identity claim on history or more specifically on historicity, on a model for ordering the world of past experience (O'Keeffe, 2007). But rather than view history being held in the landscape itself, the idea and role of memory changes the attention to the actual constitution and reconstitution of places on an ongoing basis (Duncan & Duncan, 1998; T. Winter, 2007). Landscape thus works as "the medium through which multiple histories are simultaneously remembered and forgotten" (T. Winter, 2007, p. 134). O'Keeffe states, "it is now fashionable to use landscapes to do such things as 'negotiate identity at remembered boundaries of gendered selfhood'" (2007, p. 9).

Recent shift in research of relationship between identity, place (landscape) and history draws more attention to the role of memory (Boym, 2001; Connerton, 1996; Crouch, 1999; Forty & Küchler, 1999; Küchler, 1999; Tai, 2001; T. Winter, 2007). Several authors have paid attention to the relationship between memory and landscape in the context of tourism (Crouch, 1999; Lasansky & McLaren, 2004; T. Winter, 2007). Tourism is not only encounter between people and places, but also between material and imagined spaces (Crouch, 1999; T. Winter, 2007). Crouch states, "Tourism happens in spaces. That space maybe material, concrete and surround our own bodies . . . [but it] may also be metaphorical and even imaginative" (1999, p. 85), thus drawing our attention

to the concern for temporality. The imagined and metaphorical suggests the presence of imagined pasts and futures, and as T. Winter (2007) argues, "constructing an account of tourist encounter around a subject centred temporality reveals the dynamics which facilitate the formation of a series of collective identities . . . and give meaning to an abstract history" (p. 135).

Tourism as an embodied spatial practice can also work in a sense of socio-cultural recovery as a case in many post-Soviet countries (T. Winter, 2007). Heritage landscape can serve as a "living heritage," and contribute to the ongoing constitution of cultural, national or ethnic identities (T. Winter, 2007). Drawing on the notions of memory and forgetting, the painful past of post-soviet countries is simultaneously appropriated, remembered and also forgotten through the personal experiences of tourists and locals travelling those landscapes.

Social memories are experienced in tangible, spatial forms in the landscape. Since social memory is not just a process of recalling the past, but an active engagement with it integrating elements of fantasy, re-enactment and invention (Sturken, 1997), the experiences in tangible landscapes become more powerful (DeLyser, 2001b). Visibles and absences in landscapes work together as a spatial trigger for social memories, for these "flights of imagination"(DeLyser, 2001b; Velzen, 1995). Individuals engage with social memories differently, often with conflicting memories and fantasies (DeLyser, 2001b); imagined simplicity of past life carries itself into romanticized present. As noted by van Velzen (1995), these unsolved and conflicting themes are characteristic of social memory. Thus, the tensions between the notions of "fantasy" and "reality" underline the

fact that “reality” is infused by both individual and collective imaginings (DeLyser, 2001b; van Velzen, 1995).

History and heritage are always used to shape emblematic place identities to support particular political ideologies (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994; Graham, 1998a, 1998b). These highly selective filterings of the past constructed in the present validate the claims for the future (Graham, 1998a, 1998b). As social construction from the particular epoch, they also reflect the characteristics of social conflict of that particular time-space. Past is a source for multi-interpretations and in this way can be seen as an economic source to be “multi-sold” as well (Graham, 1998a).

Diversity of meanings of place however is not limitless. The source for such diversity can be found in a slow motion of a history, in *“la longue-durée”* (Braudel, 1980). Permanent values found in that layer are revealed in a relatively unchanged environment (physical and social) of the place. Any layers in a visible physical environment (landscapes) not anchored in *la longue-durée,* are marks left behind by *l’histoire événementielle,* a history of events, and subject to rapid changes and disappearance without remarkable scars to be traced (Braudel, 1980). Diverse and distinctive landscapes as a product of *Landschaft* are created in varying ways, “these different histories, trajectories of time and social change and geographical particularities have fused” (Graham, 1998a, p. 34). Palang and Mander (2000) based on Vos and Meekes (1999) provide a periodisation of cultural landscapes in Estonia as compared to Western Europe (Figure 2).

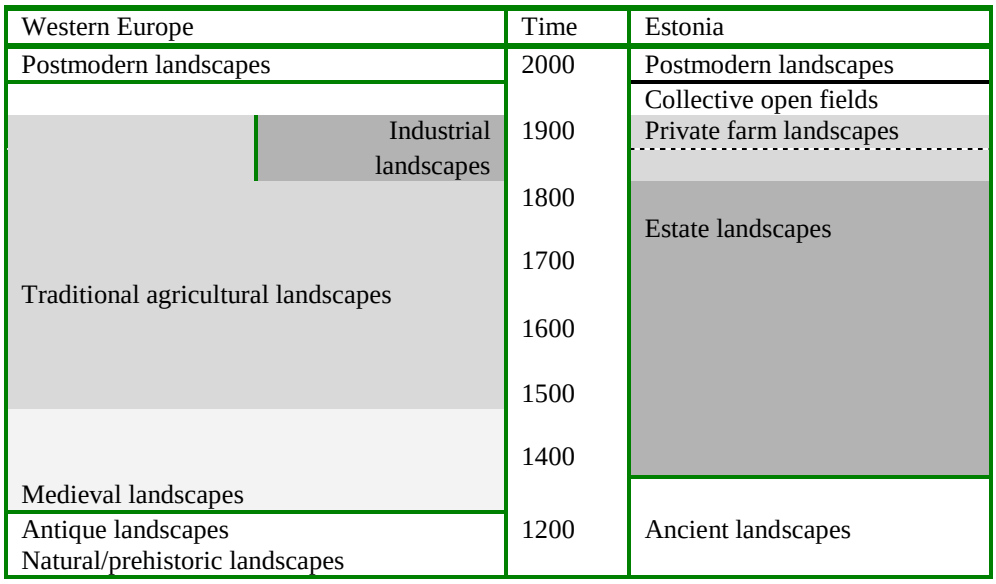

Figure 2. Stages in Estonian cultural landscape history compared with Western Europe (Palang & Mandre, 2000).

Arguably, the layers of landscapes from a short-lived extreme and forced societal changes (see Collective open fields in Figure 2), from the ill-practiced ideology of communism in Estonia in their influence, belong to the realm of *l'histoire conjoncturelle* (cyclical, medium term history) by Braudel (1980) or as Wallerstein (1988) defined it–to ideological timespace. Even if due to the official structural changes, they must be defined as belonging to *l'histoire structurelle* (structural history) to use Braudel (1980), the human collective action was not determined by the economic and political structures of communism. This particular geo-historical time-space maintained and was maintained by points of "transition" and "crisis" (Wallerstein, 1988) to depict those changes occurring in structural time when instabilities predominate. Wallerstein (1988) argues that during this transformational timespace individuals as well as social groups are able to exercise fundamental moral choice and choose a new order. In the case of Estonia, the instabilities imposed by the Soviet political power never found realization in profoundly new

structural space, but remained on a level of an ideological space with traces left by this immediate, episodic history. Due to these incomplete transformations, the restructuring process of post-Soviet societies relied on layers of *l'histoire structurelle,* which never vanished and were seemingly relatively easy to return to. Yet, this return must deal with the tangled layers created through these transformations in past and present. Landscapes of more permanent values are a source of identity narratives struggling with layers left by episodic history. Nevertheless, those landscapes of desirable identities are vulnerable to over-politization and an easy tool for claims of inclusion and exclusion.

Representations of Cultural Landscapes

Landscape as a cultural image in its' materiality is represented on many surfaces (paintings, poems, photos, etc.). To understand the material landscape we must understand the visual and verbal representations of it (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). According to Cosgrove and Daniels (1988), interpretations of landscapes can be investigated using an iconographic approach. Iconography is concerned with the conceptualization of representations as encoded texts to be deciphered in cognizance of "the culture as a whole in which they were produced" (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988 p. 2). Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) referring to Panofsky (1970) stress on the importance of understanding iconography both in "the narrower" and in "the deeper sense." The deeper sense requires interpretation of our readings according to the manner in which objects were expressed by different forms under certain historical conditions. As such, iconography in a deeper sense shares common ground with Geertz's (1973) conceptualization of culture as a "text" and his method of "thick description" and "diagnosis" (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). Thus, it is possible to argue, that the

iconographic method still remains central in analyzing postmodern landscapes in their contexts and functions, while acknowledging the freedom of inter-textuality of meanings in postmodern society.

"All landscapes are symbolic"(Cosgrove, 1989, p. 125), and all landscapes are "ideological in that they can be used to legitimize and/or challenge social and political control" (Kong, 1993, p. 24). Whelan (2005) argues that when places evolve from controversial political circumstances and go through turbulent transitions, particular aspects of landscape take on a special significance. These aspects, or "icons of identity," source out and build upon the cultural capital of the past, to support the dominant authorities, meanwhile also offering the focal points for resistance (Whelan, 2005). According to Meining (1979), every mature nation has its symbolic landscapes.

Ideas of distinctive past of places are invoked by the landscape imagery serving as a constitution of visual encapsulations of the memory of shared past (Agnew, 1998). Häyrynen (2004) notes that landscape imagery can be understood as a signifying system linking national/regional ideologies with physical sites. These representational landscapes serve as reference points of objectification of a social history of a place and a sense of belonging. As stressed by Gillis (1994), this sense of belonging depends equally on forgetting and remembering, as a reconstructed past in service of the interest of the present. National landscapes are ones where constantly transformed geographical imagery, memory, and myth encapsulate distinct home places of "imagined communities," bound by cultural and political networks within a territorial framework (Anderson, 1993; D. Bell, 2003). Rural landscapes are most commonly work as narratives of national landscapes, offering representations of nostalgic takeoff, and

hinting possibilities of intimate reunification with the bucolic and better past (Blickle, 2002; Cosgrove, 1985; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Ely, 2002; Häyrynen, 2004).

Even representational landscapes are largely used as localized mnemonic structures in enhancing national identity; they offer investigations of an intimate scale to every visitor to reveal selective modes of remembering and identification on mediated and communicated values. Thus, not only rooted and tangled memories "linger" in localities (Reid, 2005), but in their characteristic local places "hide" memories of other places.

Landscapes of tourism are commonly associated with the notion of picturesque. Consumed by vision, they offer pleasures to the "eye" and in their "escapist" mode have little to do with the endeavour, work and everything else contained in the notion of "dwelling" in the landscape (Berleant, 1997). Particularized landscapes of dwelling and labor draw on a loving intimate familiarity, which is different from the generalized effects of picturesque landscapes' politicized ambitions (Lucas, 1988).

Most often, rural landscapes used in promotional materials for tourism offer just the romanticized surface of those landscapes of memory invested in generations of labor and often a political struggle. "The promise" of promotional images can lead to disappointment for a mere "pleasure of the eye," as being just fragments disjointed from the context. Romanticized depictions of rural landscapes in contemporary Europe often avoid aspects of societal changes and ignore unwanted layers of *Landschaft;* consequently end up selling a myth. As Barthes (1972) argues, myths are not as much created as veiled. So are these selectively modified representational landscapes for appropriating the needs of the present consumer society.

Landscapes of Memory and Heritage Narratives

The power of narratives is based on their ability to evoke the habituated that works by appealing to "our desire to reduce the unfamiliar to familiar" (Barnes & Duncan, 1992, p. 11-12). The creation of landscape narratives facilitates this process, by denoting certain places as centres of a collective cultural consciousness and memory (Graham, 1998a). In this process as stressed by Samuel (1995), memory should not be seen as a timeless tradition, but more as a quality transformed from generation to generation through the planned nature of heritage. Heritage itself can be defined less as material artifacts and traditions, than the contested meanings attached to them (Graham, 1998a). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) conceptualize this as the dissonance in heritage, in its intrinsic quality of contested constructs of inclusion and exclusion. Identities stabilizing themselves through the memories of the past are in constant trouble finding the fixed points in this structural timespace, and as a case in Europe in general, in the process of re-territorialization to manage the instabilities they are exposed to.

Heritage artifacts, monuments, institutionalized memories as well as representative landscapes serve as important instruments in ordering the past, giving identity materiality (Agnew, 1998). In this selection of objects for emphasis lie certain attempts for totalization, which will always be contested either in initial selection of objects or in alternative identities (class, race, gender, ethnicity, region, etc.) related to those objects challenging the very idea of representational landscapes for secured identities (Agnew, 1998; Hastrup, 1992; Tunbridge, 1998). This progressive re-creation of cultural heritage takes many forms from preservation to selective reconstruction (Lasansky & McLaren, 2004; Tunbridge, 1998). Especially true in Eastern Europe where

the interactions between “the shifting ideological stands which have interacted with the deeper strata of culture” (Tunbridge, 1998 p. 250) (ideological timespace versus structural timespace, see Braudel, 1972 and Wallerstein, 1988) have left complex and confusing messages in landscapes as well as conflicts in internalized identities.

Development of rural areas in Europe has been seen in contrary ways. In the 90’s, traditional ideas prevailed that rural areas lagging behind the urban agglomerations in economic and cultural respect, should be involved in the development of larger agglomerations through infrastructural links. Later visions related to an “identity strategy” saw priorities in strengthening and profiling the qualities and identities of rural areas in area development instead of copying the developments in national agglomerations (Huigen & Meijering, 2005). This increasing interest in local identity works as a counteract in the process of globalization (Giddens, 1998), and caters to the desire for more “stable” places with the coherent identity in the perceptually uncertain world undergoing rapid economic, political, cultural, and environmental changes (Massey, 2000). Yet, as Huigen and Meijering (2005) argue, the potential to maintain the distinguishable contexts of rural areas has proven to be largely marginal and vulnerable, due to the fact that “evaluation of nature and the landscape is anchored in an economic and social context” (p. 28). Paradoxically largely for economic reasons, the vanishing unmistakable contexts of rural places are maintained through process of commodification of regions (C. Mitchell, 1998; Simon, 2005). In this process, identities are constructed as a marketing strategy, a practice largely used by the tourism industry. Different actors in tourismscapes bring forward representations they see themselves as symbols for the place, creating powerful narratives of values for consumption.

Changes in places effect identity formation at least to some degree (D. Mitchell, 2000; van Hoven, Meijering, & Huigen, 2005). Feeling displaced urges people to move around to find places more accommodating towards their identity. If a physical relocation is not desired or possible, they can be searched for either virtually or through "internal migration," to retreat to places of other times (van Hoven et al., 2005). Creations of identities in modern society happens through representations mediated largely by electronic communication networks, where narratives of heritage as knowledge rooted in place are communicated globally, yet more importantly consumed as inner-directed localized mnemonic structures (Castells, 1996, 1997, 1998). Intentional communities and identities created in places can survive not only due to a positive sense of a place, but "identifying against" a common enemy can be even more important (van Hoven et al., 2005).

In case of Saaremaa, Estonia, this could have been one of the important aspects of identity formation. As an implied restricted border zone controlled by the Soviet military, it also paradoxically served as a symbolic place of resistance with coherent community, cultural values, and disabled aggressive central development and cultural assimilation. The history of the place, and its rich cultural heritage were based on visions of resistance and independence the place came to symbolize nationally. On the other hand, the characteristics of place, its positive features enable the association with values deemed important in modern society–untouched nature, safety, and coherent community. The common "modern enemy," a globalized world, is not perceived completely to have conquered the place yet, enabling positive discoveries of the "lost past-present" for

domestic visitors as well as to visitors outside the same political and socio-economic context.

As Tunbridge (1998) aruges, it is important to distinguish between the political and economic use of heritage. The profit-seeking tourism industry interprets heritage in liberation and the question remains with the freedom and responsibilities of such interpretations and their compatibility with political attempts to underwrite and harmonize national heritage.

Tourists' relationships with messages contained in representational landscapes are not accidental nor marginal, as they are continuously instructed by various indicators on the meanings of the iconography of their experience (Ashworth, 1998; MacCannell, 1976). As noted by Ashworth (1998), there are two principal and contradictory opinions on the consumption of the past by tourists and locals (outsiders and insiders). The most widely held assumption is that tourists (outsiders) are restricted in their time-space budget in incorporation of the pre-marketed signs into their existing constructs of understanding and prexisting perceived needs, and differ in their motivations as compared to the residents (insiders) to the place. As argued by several authors, those signs picked up are different as well as they are differently read (Cohen, 1979; Dann, 1981; MacCannell, 1992). The axiom is that "you never sell *your* heritage to visitors, only *their* heritage back to them in *your* locality" (Ashworth, 1998, p. 282).

The contradictory approach, however, suggests that heritage tourism as well as cultural tourism in general is place specific, consuming heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity of places, thus the uniqueness of places, the local identity, is consumed and produced through consumption (see de Certeau, 1984) relatively the same way by locals

and outsiders (Ashworth, 1998; Larkham, 1996). Through this approach, the tourist can be viewed only as "a resident in a different place" (Ashworth, 1998, p. 282). The latter position is base for both "turnstile" and "windfall gain" models widely used in tourism development arguing that what matters is the actual consumption of the historic resources, not the origin of the market (Larkham, 1996). Ashworth (1998) reminds us that all it restates is the warning against the oversimplified view of the consumption of the past, and the reception of the communicated images. Past is equally serving the local as well as global needs; the messages, their encoders and readers are pluriform, and after all time itself is changing or rendering most of the original messages illegible, irrelevant or trivial (Ashworth, 1998). Changes in place and corresponding disruptions in landscapes change perceptual identities over time. Rooted memories withhold to internalized mnemonic tools, even "the mental map no longer relates to the topographic map" (Ashworth, 2005, p. 186). Casey (1987) points out that memory and place are strikingly parallel:

> They [place and memory] accomplish a similar task at a quite basic level. This task is that of *congealing the disparate into a provisional unity*. To begin with any given place serves to hold together dispersed things, animate or inanimate; it *regionalizes* them, giving to them a single shared space in which to be together. (p. 202)

Placing Memory

Places and Voices of Remembering

> "Memory is a central, if not the central, medium through which identities are constituted."(Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 133)
>
> ". . . [Memory] computes and predicts 'the multiple path of the future' by combining antecedent and possible particularities." (de Certeau, 1984, p. 82)

Recent decades have witnessed a so- called “memory boom” (J. Winter, 2006) and social memory studies have became a prominent feature in scholarly discourse (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Various explanations have been offered to this rise of interest in past, history, memory, commemoration, and nostalgia, but probably in most general it has been captured by Pierre Nora (1989). Nora (1989) claims that thinking about the past has become more important because there is so little of it left. Nora’s (1989) *les lieux de mémoire* (places of memory) created to compensate the diminishing *les milieux de mémoire* (worlds of memory) correspond to Hobsbawm’s (1992) worlds of custom and worlds of “invented tradition.”

Neisser (1967) has argued that memory is about active construction based on traces from earlier experiences. Theses traces are always used selectively, involving distortion and deletion of information. The term “memory” has come to be understood in many ways, and the elasticity or fragmentation of its’ meaning is largely due to rhetorical uses to which it has been put (Gillis, 1994; Wertsch, 2002). Memory may be “losing precise meaning in proportion to its growing rhetorical power” (Gillis, 1994, p. 3). Remembering is essentially social as noted by Halbwachs (Coser, 1992): “It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (Coser, 1992, p. 38). However, memory is also essentially individual: “While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember” (Coser, 1992, p. 48). Halbwachs continues: “That is to say, our recollections, each taken in itself, belong to everybody; but the coherence or arragement of our recollections

belongs only to ourselves–we alone are capable of knowing and calling them to mind" (Coser, 1992, p. 171).

According to Halbwachs (Coser, 1992), memory operations are structured by social arrangements; that group membership provides material for memory and prods the individual into recalling; as well groups can even produce memories in individuals they never sensed directly. Halbwachs states:

> Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch upon them, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not posess. (Coser, 1992, p. 51)

Analyzing commemorative symbols, rituals and representations, Halbwachs (Coser, 1992) contrasts "history" and "collective memory" based on the relevance of the past to the present and distinguishes between autobiographical memory, historical memory, history and collective memory.

Along the same lines of reasoning, Gardiner and Richardson-Klavehn (2000) stress on importance to make a distinction between remembering (or rather re-experiencing) and knowing. According to Gardiner and Richardson-Klavehn (2000), remembering involves "intensely personal experiences of the past- those we seem to recreate previous events and experiences," whereas experiences of knowing are "those in which we are aware of knowledge that we possess but in a more impersonal way" (p. 229). Based on Gardiner and Richardson-Klavehn arguments, Wersch (2002) stresses that collective memory is to a great extent about collective knowledge and belief, the "production" and "consumption" of the texts (Lotman, 1988, 1990; 1999; Stock, 1990). Along these lines of reasoning, collective memory is best understood as "distributed" between active agents and the narrative texts they employ (Wertsch, 2002). The latter

always belong to, and thus reflect, a social context and history, thus textual resources employed in collective remembering are never neutral or asocial, and collective remembering itself is active and dynamic, and most importantly undergoing change (Wersch, 2002). Wersch (1998, 2002) argues that collective memory undergoes change according to a need to create a usable past. A change occurs when usable past in one socio-cultural setting is different from what is needed in another (Bodnar, 1992; Wertsch, 2002).

Developing "usable past" has been most common in individual and collective identity claims (Gillis, 1994), but it is not to say that usable past works in separation or isolation from the accurate representation, rather it must be seen as "functional dualism" (Lotman, 1988; Wertsch, 2002). However, as stressed by Wersch (2002), when memory is being committed to an identity process the notion of accuracy may be downplayed or sacrificed (Calhoun, 1994; Confino, 1997). In Bodnar's (1992) definition of "public memory" the focus is precisely on this kind of identity politics:

> Public memory is a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future. It is fashioned ideally in a public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views. The major focus of this communicative and cognitive process is not the past, however, but serious matters in the present such as the nature of power and the question of loyalty to both official and vernacular cultures." (p. 15)

Collective memory in contemporary writings has been actively used not only in distinction but in opposition to history (Nora, 1989; Novick, 1999), heating debates around the "memory industry" (Klein, 2000). Novick (1999) claims that collective memory is "in crucial senses ahistorical, even anti-historical" (p. 3), since "historical consciousness, by its nature, focuses on the historicity of events–that they took place then

and now, that they grew out of circumstances different from those that now obtain. Memory, by contrast, has no sense of the passage of time; it denies the "pastness" of its objects and insists on their continuing presence" (p. 4).

Lowenthal (1979) questions the objectivity of history (or rather historicity):

> The past is not a fixed or immutable series of events; our interpretations of it are in constant flux. What previous groups identify and sanctify as their pasts become historical evidence about themselves. Today's past is as accumulation of mankind's memories, seen through our own generation's particular perspectives. What we know of history differs from what actually happened not merely because evidence of past events ha been lost or tampered with, or because the task of shifting through it is unending, but also because the changing present continually requires new interpretations of what has taken place. (p. 103)

Küchler (1999) referring to A. Assman (1993) offers comparison between two modes of remembering–temporal and spatial metaphors. The first mode, the temporal, assigns to remembering a political force capable of bridging across "the lost present to a desired future that is envisioned in the image of the past"; the spatial mode refers to the remembering initiating from "the momentary collapse of past and present by forcing past and present, distance and proximity into a single point" (Küchler, 1999, p. 60). "In these modes memory is consigned to an experience of 'awakening'" (Küchler, 1999, p. 60). The modes of remembering are different, in first case as passive and in the other as active. Nostalgia is symptomatic to the first sensation, the temporal awakening, while in contrast the active, spatial awakening, can be repeated through re- experiencing, but never recollected. Küchler (1999) stresses that while both modes coexist in the potentiality of remembering, "it is always one or the other that is singled out as the forum for the fashioning of a collective memory to legitimize political and cultural identity at particular points in time" (p. 60).

One of the contrasting tendencies in memory studies is the dividing line between individual and collective memory (Bodnar, 1992; Wertsch, 2002). However, as noted by Wertsch (2002), this is largely due to different disciplinary approaches. The most successful link between collective and individual memory has evolved from the studies of autobiographical memory. Studies from Conway (1997) and Schuman and Scott (1989) suggest that memory is powerfully linked with the goal structure and concerns of identity emerging over the lifespan, especially in early adulthood. Schuman and Scott (1989) found that events occurring in individuals' early adulthood have particularly powerful impact on their collective memory and also political outlook for the rest of their lives. These lines of reasoning propose that events occurring in one's lifetime, regardless the degree of their mediation, have a special impact on both individual and collective memory of the generation (Conway, 1997; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Wertsch, 2002).

Wersch (2002) points out important appearing opposition while analyzing the "memory work"–the distinction between remembering and re-experiencing. The distinction calls for the separation that an individual or group experiences between itself and an event from the past (Wersch, 2002). When remembering presupposes such a separation (distance), the re-experiencing assumes the merge with the past event, the dissolving of the distance. And when remembering relies on a textual mediation, re-experiencing is not placed in a narrative, not integrated into understanding. Thus, in a case of re-experiencing, as noted by Wersch (2002), instead of people having memories, the memories have agency over individuals. This characterization of re-experiencing has been best presented in a monumental work of Marcel Proust, in his "A la recherché du temps pérdu" (1913-1927/1981). Proust warns that the remembering as an effort of the

"intellect" is at its' best able to provide a pale reflection of the past compared with re-experiencing.

> And so it is with our own past. It is a labor in vain to attempt to recapture it: all that effort of our intellect must prove futile. The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in which sensation with that material object will give us) of which we have no inkling. And it depends on change whether or not we come upon this object . . ." (Proust, 1981, p. 47- 48)

Proust stated that an event only subsequently and separately reached "the clear surface of his consciousness" where "the memory revealed itself" (1981, p. 50). This suggests that remembering is something a person does, whereas re-experiencing is something that happens to a person, something involuntary, outside of controlled consciousness. Proust emphasizes that more primitive, less consciously controlled senses of taste and smell provide those episodes of re-experiencing far more often than sight or hearing.

To analyze remembering, Connerton (1989) focuses upon the "habit memory," suggesting how individuals as a group may be socialized into accepting a view of the past. The term "mnemohistory" has been used to incorporate the theory of cultural transmission to understand active process of meaning making through time, "the ongoing work of reconstructive imagination" (J. Assmann, 1997, p. 9).

Wertsch (2002) distinguishes between two notions of collective memory- a "strong version" and a "distributed version." The first is based on assumptions about parallels between individual and collective processes, while the latter posits shared representations of the past among all members of the group (Wertsch, 2002). Wertsch (2002) classifies distributed version of collective memory into three forms:

homogeneous, complementary and contested. According to Wersch (2002), much of the contemporary writing on collective memory focuses on contested distribution, often termed as “public memory” (Bodnar, 1992). Wersch (2002) describes it as characterized by competition and conflict in representations of the past, without involving multiple perspectives that overlap or complement one another. In some cases, he claims, “one perspective is designed specifically to rebut another” (2002, p. 24). Remembering is not solely distributed within the individual; rather it is “distributed between agents and the cultural tools they employ to think, remember and carry out other forms of action” (Wersch, 2002, p. 25). Analyzing public memory in Western societies, Wersch (2002) emphasizes the importance of specific forms of distribution, namely the textual mediation, grounded on emergence of visual symbolism.

One of the important cultural tools in the mediation of collective memory is narrative (Lotman, 1988, 1990; Lowenthal, 1994; Smith, 1981; Wertsch, 2002). Smith (1981) points out that narratives do not exist in isolation from each other, and they respond to a variety of contextual forces. She states that “no narrative version can be independent of a particular teller and occasion of telling” as it “has been constructed in accord with some set of purposes or interest” (1981, p. 215). Narratives as claimed exist in dialogic relationship with each other, and as noted by Wersch (2002), it is important to understand how their meaning and form provide dialogic response to previous narratives or anticipate succeeding ones.

Lowenthal (1994) provides an argument that collective remembering is grounded in the generalized narrative tradition defined by thematic narrative templates. Accordingly, a particular set of narrative templates forms a “textual heritage” with its

"uniquely national modes of explanation" (p. 53), with a tendency to construct the meanings out of a few basic building blocks instead of learning from the long list of narratives about the past as separate items. The production of official cultural memory is always shaped by particular aspects of socio- cultural contexts.

Placing Narratives of Collective Memory

The former Soviet Union was one of the states which may have tried the most to attentively control collective memory (Remnick, 1993). The official history was constantly re-written to suit ideological goals. The production of textual resources for collective remembering and suppression of alternative accounts occurring during several decades created a condition of apathy and a setting in which a "univocal" state tried to exercise complete control over collective memory (Wertsch, 2002). However, in resistance to official collective memories several alternative counter versions accommodated themselves in a "hidden dialogicality" (Bakhtin, 1984; Tulviste & Wersch, 1994). "Reading between the lines" became a common practice of resistance in consumption of officially mediated textual narratives. The profound condition of doubt prevalent among nations living under the Soviet regime that best describes attitudes towards official history produced by the Soviet state (Tulviste & Wersch, 1994). Many segments of the Soviet population assumed that truth could be divined by thinking precisely the opposite way that was officially reported (Wertsch, 2002). The dramatic collapse of the Soviet regime unleashed a struggle over the past. Since the official history of past decades was "officially" defined as history presented in "monstrously distorted and unrecognizable form" (Wertsch, 2002, p. 89), the efforts to re-write history were

partially based on the newly uncovered information. But as indicated by Wersch (2002), a dialogue with previous narratives played a more essential role in this process.

Lotman and Uspenskii (1985) have argued that the dynamics in revisions of official history in Russia and the Soviet Union took a special form. These dynamics have been historically governed by binary oppositions and with the absence of an "axiologically neutral zone" (p. 31). The authors argue that even every new period "is orientated toward a decisive break with what preceded it" (p. 31), it is however coupled with the "regeneration of archaic forms" (p. 33). Thus in the context of efforts towards radical change based on opposition and negation, the tendency is "to encounter a good many repeated or very similar events, historical-psychological situations, or texts" (p. 31). To understand the mechanisms of production of new texts is to "identify what forces are involved in making a radical break with the past and what forces operate to insure an element of continuity" (Wersch, 2002, p. 91).

As noted by Wersch (2002) in the production of new accounts of the past, the focus on post-Soviet societies has been in rebutting and replacing previous narratives. "The dialogue of narratives" as discussed by Wersch (2002) provides important insights to understand what is involved in re-writing the history in post-Soviet Russia as well as in other post-Soviet countries, including Estonia (Tulviste & Wersch, 1994). Werch (2002) and Tulviste & Wersch (1994) use the process outlined by Bakhtin (1984) and defined as "hidden dialogicality" to explain post-Soviet texts. These authors are concerned how Soviet texts are still "present invisibly" and leave "deep traces" into the post-Soviet texts.

The hidden dialogicality took a particular form in Russia and the Soviet Union, which can be employed to describe many aspects of post-Soviet society, particularly how

it is manifested in political discourse. Wersch (2002) refers here to Andrei Kvakin (1998) and his notion of "Manichean consciousness," a perspective where "the world is divided strictly into the light and darkness, true and false, our own and alien" (p. 39). Even both Kvakin (1998) and Wersch (2002) acknowledge that this is not a peculiarly Soviet or post-Soviet phenomenon, it is deployed in post-Soviet society to its extreme again. According to Kvakin (1998),

> Manichean methods have once again been applied: the mildest critiques of "democratic" leaders or the absence of negative evaluations of the Communist regime automatically gives rise to attaching the "red-brown" label to others. The "uncompromising struggle", the division between what is "our own" and what is "alien" arises anew. (p. 42)

Kvakin's concern is that this political discourse has spilled over into efforts to write new accounts of the past. As a result, novel versions of official history look more like "lists of counter-claims and rebuttals than narratives grounded in new evidence" (Wersch, 2002, p. 173). Wersch (2002) describes this concern partially as one of the characteristics of collective memory, with the tendency to employ a single committed perspective and to be impatient with ambiguity about the motives of other actors in a narrative, however, in this case "it is not so much a matter of content of narrative texts that is remembered as it is a matter of the practices and habits one employs when responding to others" (p. 92).

Wersch (2002) parallels this sort of Manichean consciousness with "habit memory," where the tendency toward radical change in collective memory is accompanied with forces providing continuity. Wersch (2002) refers to use of an unchanged schematic narrative template titled by him as "triumph-over-alien-forces" that shapes collective remembering in post-Soviet society, and maintains continuity "in the

midst of what appears to be radical change" (p. 93). This is not as much of the criterion of accuracy what is at a stake here, as it is a matter of employing the events in the service of creating the usable past; of interpreting the motives of actors in this creation and the outcomes that follow (Wersch, 2002). The choices involved affect the narrative's ability to serve as "identity resource." Wersch (2002) acknowledges that there exist alternatives to the triumph-over-alien-forces schematic narrative template; among others probably the most common one termed as the "Russian empire." This latter narrative template can be encountered in national groups' collective memory (former Soviet Republics and other Soviet block countries) as well in accounts of analytical history (Lieven, 2000; Wertsch, 2002). To understand the mechanisms behind the production of official collective remembering in Soviet society requires awareness of those opposing tendencies–on one hand the tradition of Manichaean consciousness in narrative dialogicality and on the other the persistent elements of continuity derived from cultural tools–the schematic narrative templates. The influence of narrative template is still present and continues to influence the constructions of national identity and accounts of analytical history of the post-Soviet world (Morris, 2005; Tulviste & Wersch, 1994; Weiner, 1996; Wertsch, 2002).

The knowledge of production of texts does not imply the knowledge of their efficiency, and the actual consumption patterns of those texts. It is important to make a distinction between the "mastery" and "appropriation" of textual resources when analyzing textually mediated collective memory (Wersch, 1998). To be exposed, to know and master the collective narrative tools does not guarantee that they are appropriated as an identity resource (Tulviste & Wersch, 1994; Wersch, 1998). Tulviste and Wersch (1994) outlined in their study how official histories in Estonia can be resisted by

knowledge and appropriation of unofficial ones. Mastering both official and unofficial histories (the former in some cases even better than the latter ones) does not have to result in the equal appropriation of them. Official histories are usually mastered in more coherent mode as compared to unofficial ones, where the degree of fragmentation depends largely from the level of personal lifetime experience, and the actual distance from the historical events (Tulviste & Wersch, 1994). Unofficial histories, largely drawn from the personal (autobiographic) or trusted social group information source, however, have usually a higher degree of trust and belief and emotional commitment than official ones (Tulviste & Wersch, 1994). The psychological dimensions of consumption needs should also be complemented with an analysis of the contexts in which people use textual resources (Wersch, 2002).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union has had different impacts across generations, and is likely to have a lasting impact on the younger generation's collective memory and political outlook as experienced during a formative period of their lives (Conway, 1997; Wertsch, 2002). Wersch's (2002) study of post-Soviet society in connection with mastering, appropriation and performance aspects of official textual resources shows significant differences across the generations. The heavy reliance on an unchanged narrative template as a cultural tool has resulted in a kind of new rigidity in collective memory. The narrative template has remained the same, but as fewer autobiographic and historical facts are involved in this application, it is producing views less open to question and criticism than during the Soviet era (Wersch, 2002). Wersch (2002) notes that there is a reason to expect that these new texts can be characterized even more than official Soviet accounts by hallmarks of collective memory such as

committedness to a single perspective, impatience with ambiguity, and unself-consciousness. As noted by Wersch (2002), schematic narrative templates seem to be deeply rooted in narrative traditions, which continue to shape and influence present and future official attempts to channel or modify them.

Those different voices of collective remembering are reflected in material landscapes. Commemorations of identities create visual landscapes of dialogicality. The narrative dialogue of competing ideologies becomes materialized in visual forms and structures attempting to overpower the memories associated with the previous "texts": churches built in the closest vicinity or above actual sites of pre-Christian sacred grounds, multi-story residential homes neighboring manors, centers of collective farms visually obstructing churches etc. Post-Soviet landscapes offer striking contrasts between pre-Soviet, and post-Soviet materialized ideologies. The patterns of production of official texts of ideology has remained the same over time, and the sharper the societal changes, the more obtrusive the forms. Materializations of disruptive societal changes clearly follow Manichean consciousness in their narrative schematics. There is no *middle ground* in ideologies and forms they deploy; the *betweenness* is made possible in patterns of consumption of those conflicting (materialized) texts.

Different socio-economic formations create their own landscapes with their characteristic features–value systems and so forth (Cosgrove, 1985). According to Cosgrove (1985), each formation also tries to erase the elements erected by previous periods, however, all the elements are never removed. Changes in socio-economic formations create non-transparent time barriers in the landscape, which make reading and understanding landscapes from previous formations hard for the generation who did not

live it (Palang, Külvik, Printsmann, Kaur, & Alumäe, 2002). Landscapes of collective farms are still visible in Estonian landscapes, yet their meaning and function remain incomprehensible for younger generations and visitors who never lived in the same political and socio-economic conditions (Palang et al., 2002).

Places of Forgetting

> "The reserve of forgetting, I would then say, is as strong as the forgetting through effacement." (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 506)

Freud (1962) argued that past experiences are stored in unconciousness, and rather than remembering, forgetting works to create "screen memories" which block the more disturbing ones. de Certeau (1984) captured rootedness of memory in an imaginary space, stating that "memory comes always from somewhere else" (p. 87). de Certeau (1984) refers to the "authority" of memory: "what has been 'drawn' from the collective or individual memory and 'authorizes' (makes possible) a reversal, a change in order or place, a transition into something different, a 'metaphor' of practice or of discourse" (p. 87). This transition into something different, the rootedness in imaginary enables the manipulation of "authorities" (de Certeau, 1984). Küchler (1999) notes that in a face of the ending industrial economy with its object based notions of knowledge and recollection de Certeau (1984) has managed to reappraise the paradoxical–"that recollection does not cease when there are no longer any traces of what is to be remembered, but draws its force from this absence" (p. 59). Bachelard (1964/1994) has warned that memory does not lend itself to physical description, let alone to construction. Similarly, Marcel Proust (1913-1927/1981) in his interest in how things can trigger the

memory stresses that things, however, are not reliable in deliverance of memory to consciousness.

Collective memory, the concept as identified by Durkheim (1912/2007) and elaborated by Halbwachs (Coser, 1992) raised questions related to the ways societies remember (Connerton, 1989). Yet, as mentioned by Forty and Küchler (1999) little has been written about forgetting.

de Certeau (1984) suggests that memory fixed to particular objects calls to its' decay; objects become the enemy of memory, leading to forgetfulness. The material artifacts are artfully used to actively constitute part of the process of forgetting (Dickinson et al., 2006). Abuses of memory are closely related to abuses of forgetting. Lowental (1999) reminds us that collective forgetting is mainly deliberate, purposeful and regulated:

> Therein lies the art of forgetting- art as opposed to ailment, choice rather than compulsion or obligation. The art is a high and delicate enterprise, demanding astute judgment about what too keep and what to let go, to salvage or to shred or shelve, to memorialize or to anathematize (p. xi).

Lowenthal (1999) stresses that selective oblivion is necessary to all societies as "collective well-being requires sanitizing what time renders unspeakable, unpalatable, even just inconveniently outdated . . . and every culture, each epoch crafts and accredits particular conventions for selecting what and how to forget" (p. xii). In current obsessions with memory, many authors have asked questions about the stress between memory and oblivion, and if there are historical moments when forgetting is especially favored (Forty & Küchler, 1999). "Collective amnesia" has been considered making national memory possible (Renan, 1990; Tai, 2001). Tai (2001) stresses that public memory can combine "two distinct and opposite phenomena: hyper-mnemosis and

willed amnesia" (p. 8). Inability or refusal to let go the past (hyper-mnemosis) in its extreme can lead to on obsessive effort to keep selective past at the forefront and shape and use for different purposes (Tai, 2001).

Forgetting has been "the problem" in post-war Europe and even more in recent years. Issues with the past have caused problems in and for post-Soviet countries, leading to discussions of their very identity. These countries have not been able to avoid iconoclasm as a frequent component of major political changes. Those many projects of remaking (and erasing) commemorative artifacts, have been and are aiming to fill a "void" left by Soviet period, the "emptiness" which, however, exercised diverse collective memories. Forty (1999) argues that they end up by excluding all but a single dominant one. Lessons from iconoclasm have proven to be largely negative and rather than shortening memory they have prolonged it. Yampolsky (1995) wrote that destruction and construction could be understood, in certain context, as two equally valid features of immortalisation.

The representation of the past is exposed to dangers of forgetting, but also to its protection in the hermeneutics of historical condition (Ricoeur, 2004). Ricoeur reminds us that the constant danger to confuse remembering and imagining affects the faithfulness corresponding to the truth claim of memory, and yet "we have nothing better than memory to guarantee that something has taken place before we call to mind a memory of it" (p. 7). Memory that repeats (mere representation) is different from memory that imagines: "To call up the past in the form of an image, we must be able to withdraw ourselves from the action of the moment, we must have power to value the useless, we must have the will to dream" (Bergson, 1975, p. 94). However, social customs should be

added to this individual ability, all the habitus of life in common, partially involved in the social norms belonging to the phenomena of commemoration.

One feels at ease, at home (*Heimlich*), in the enjoyment of past revived (Ricoeur, 2004). Casey (2000) stresses on corporeal memory and to the transition of it to the memory of places. Things remembered are intrinsically associated with places. But this tie between memory and place results in the problem shaped by crossing of memory and history. Ricoeur refers to the "uncanniness" of history in its relation to memory. Memory can be abused; this manipulation of memory results from the demand for identity and the public expressions of memory–from the phenomenon of ideology (Ricoeur, 2004). Memory can be ideologized through resources of variation offered by the work of narrative configurations. These circumscribed narratives, this forced memorization (of history taught, learned and celebrated as Ricoeur, 2004 puts it), are put into service to define community identities and supplemented by habitual commemorations. Seemingly "a formidable pact is concluded in this way between remembrance, memorization, and commemoration" (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 85), yet to give a written representation of a "national memory" or a "cultural memory" faces resistance and is challenged by time. Thus "uncanniness" of history still prevails, "even as it attempts to understand the reasons why it is contested by commemorative memory" (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 411).

> Under history, memory and forgetting.
> Under memory and forgetting, life.
> But writing a life is another story.
> Incompletion. (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 506)

Placing Experience, Experiencing Place

Dilthey (1910/2002) stated that "reality only exists in the facts of consciousness given by inner experience" (Bruner, 1986b, p. 4). Experience includes not only cognition, but also feelings and expectations. "Lived experience, then, as thought and desire, as word and image, is the primary reality" (Bruner, 1986b, p. 5). Löfgren (1999) stresses: "We neither have nor can be given experiences. We make them in a highly personal way of taking in impressions, but in this process we use a great deal of established and shared cultural knowledge and frames" (p. 95). We can only experience our one life and can never know completely another's experiences even they might be willing to share them, as everyone censors, represses and/or might not be able to fully express all aspects what has been experienced (Bruner, 1986a). Bruner referring to Dilthey (1910/2002) states that in order to overcome such limitations we "transcend the narrow sphere of experiences by interpreting expressions" [representations, performances, objectifications, texts] (1986b, p. 5). The relationship between experience and expressions is dialogic and dialectical - the experience structures expressions, as we understand other's experiences through our own experiences and self-understandings, but expressions also structure experience, as the dominant narratives influence inner experience.

Bruner (1986b), building on the works of Dilthey emphasizes on distinction between reality, experience and expressions; or as the distinction between "mere experience," and "an experience." "The former is individual experience, the temporal flow, the latter is the intersubjective articulation of experience which has a beginning and an ending and thus becomes transformed into an expression" (Bruner, 1986b, p. 6). Abrahams (1986) reminds us to add yet another distinction–"a typical experience", the

assimilation of “an experience” into standardized categories, which as Geertz (1986) puts it “outline our lives . . . however we struggle” (p. 380). We talk about “wilderness experience,” “American experience,” “the sixties experience,” “the growing-old experience” (Abrahams, 1986; Geertz, 1986). “Typical experience” narrative calls for the redefinition of culture itself, “away from the officiated practices, the regulated and obligatory behaviors of our shared lives, and towards something more like the relative “typicality” of what happens again and again to individuals finding themselves in similar situations” (Abrahams, 1986, p. 60). Löfgren (1999) stresses on the normative history of “oughtness” which reveals itself in these “typical experiences,” the male normative framework of desirable- what and how to experience.

Löfgren (1999) argues that the way we react to certain landscapes is a result of a long process of institutionalization, which has condensed a scene into a cultural matrix, an icon. “Because of this condensation, perhaps only a detail, a merest hint, can paint a landscape of the mind” (Löfgren, 1999, p. 99). Landscapes of “typical experiences” are raising issues of “whiteness of tourism”–nostalgia for “old” tourist landscapes including melancholia for “whiteness” (Löfgren, 1999).

Expressions of experiences as stressed by Bruner (1986b) are not abstract texts but constitutive and shaping in the activity that actualizes them. Expression involves the processual activity– rituals are enacted, narratives told, myths recited. All stories become transformative only in their performance (Bruner, 1986b). Thus, expressions of experience must be considered as performed texts and socially constructed units of meaning. Every telling, reciting, enactment is an “arbitrary imposition of meaning on the flow of memory” (Bruner, 1986b, p. 7), as some causes get highlighted while others are

discounted, thus making every telling interpretative (Bruner, 1986b). The concept of experience itself has accordingly an explicit temporal dimension (Turner & Bruner, 1986). Turner writes, “The emotions of past experiences color the images and outlines revived by present shock. What happens next is an anxious need to find meaning in what has disconcerted us” (1986, p. 36).

The past itself is always problematic and often contradictory in its symbiosis of memory and forgetting (Boym, 2001; Forty & Küchler, 1999; Ricoeur, 2004). There is no fixed meaning in the past, as with each new telling the context and/or audience varies and stories are modified (Bruner, 1986a). The transformation occurring through each retelling may turn them into new stories when the radical shifts in social context deem them inadequate (Bruner, 1986a).

Experiencing Past

> The provisional and contingent nature of history is hard to accept, for it denies the perennial dream of an ordered and stable past. We seek refuge from the uneasy present, the uncertain future, in recalling the good old days, which take a luster heightened in nostalgia. Memory highlights selected scenes, making them so real and vivid we can scarcely believe they do not actually survive. (Lowenthal, 1979, p. 104)

Nostalgia is as much about the loss and displacement as it is a romance with one’s fantasy, the illusionary attempt to replace the real home with the imaginary one (Boym, 2001). And as indicated by Boym (2001), it can survive only in long-distance relationship where this cinematic image works as a superimposition of two images of “home” and “out-there,” past and present, dream and everyday life and cannot be reduced to a single one (re-experience by Proust, 1913-1927/1981). Nostalgia is a rebellion against the

modern idea of time, and in a sense a resignation of personal responsibility, a guilt-free history, an ethical and aesthetical failure (Boym, 2001; Kammen, 1991).

Boym (2001) indicates that nostalgia can be both retrospective and prospective at the same time, and calls for the responsible relationship between individual and collective memory. Prospective nostalgia in its reflective form, calls for doubt, loves details not symbols, and in this fundamentally differs from the restorative nostalgia, which protects its' absolute imaginary truth (Boym, 2001). According to Boym (2001), national (cultural) memory is threatened by retrospective nostalgia as often plotted around a single point of national (cultural) identity. National (collected) memory differs from true meaning of social memory, which consists of collective frameworks marking individual identities yet never defining them (Boym, 2001). A paradox of institutionalized restorative nostalgia as indicated by Boym (2001), reveals itself in the tendencies of idealization. Restorative nostalgia is paradoxical in its rhetoric of continuity with the past – the stronger it is, the more selectively the past is presented (Boym, 2001). What drives restorative nostalgia, as indicated by Boym (2001) is not the sentiment of longing, but the anxiety about those who point to historical incongruities between past and present, and thus question the very wholeness of that continuity. Smith (1986) indicates that the nostalgia for the "ethnic past" has become more acute among nation states today.

Koselleck (1985) suggests two categories of experiencing space and time: *space of experience* and *horizons of expectation*. According to Koselleck, "Experience is present past, whose events have been incorporated and could be remembered," while "expectation is the future made present; it directs itself to the not-yet to the non-experienced, to that which is to be revealed" (1985, p. 272). Modern nostalgia is longing

for the '"shrinking space of experience,' that no longer fits the new horizon of expectations" (Boym, 2001, p. 10). Thus, as noted by Boym (2001), the nostalgic is a displaced person mediating between local and universal, gaining the perspectives from the journey, gazing backwards and sideways. Its object of nostalgia must be beyond the present space of experience. Nostalgia always remains unsystematic, it "seduces rather than convinces" (Boym, 2001, p. 13) like myths of Barthes (1972).

Nostalgia becomes political when the 'lost Eden' is complemented as the place of sacrifice and glory, and gets institutionalized in memorials and monuments (Boym, 2001). Debates around complete restoration and preservation of historical artifacts touch political realm as well. Pierre Nora (1989) proposes that *les lieux de memoire* (the places of memory) are established institutionally when *les milieux de memoire* (the environments of memory) are fading.

Nostalgia is often claimed as one of the premium travel motives (C. Kaplan, 1996; Lowenthal, 1985). Theroux (1992) argues that nostalgia as a two- phase phenomenon is triumphant to the degree those remote areas could induce "the most reveries of home" (p. 255). Yet, as expressed by Theroux (1992) these "alien landscapes" are not to lose oneself in, but rather through remembrance of things to remind about the mistakes made in the past. The total experience of nostalgia is comprised from this juxtaposition of two phases – the past and the present. Tourist experience is most often the juxtaposition of extreme ends along the motivational continuum of travel (Cohen, 1979). Cohen (1979) has argued that the quest of strangeness is related to the degree of alienation experienced in the home environment. Thus, the experience of our own place becomes the catalyst to reach other places (Suvantola, 2002).

Suvantola (2002) analyzes tourist's experience of place within the framework of structures that create the individual travel experience. The need and dream of "elsewhere" according to Suvantola (2002) derives from the "structures and values of our own society and from the resulting discourse in which the Other is represented to us" (p. 258). Thus, the tourist's experience from places "elsewhere" arises less from the actual place of travel, than from the ideas and dreams projected on it (Suvantola, 2002). The place of travel allows one to develop the dialectic between "home" and "elsewhere," to "tune up" the sensitivity to define oneself and the "place occupied" (one's socio-cultural heritage) through this (Suvantola, 2002).

Island Experience

> There is something special and different about getting into a boat or an aeroplane as a necessity in order to reach your destination as opposed to driving or using the railway. Once there, the feeling of separateness, of being cut off from the mainland, is also an important physical and psychological attribute of the successful vacation. (Baum, 1997, p. 21)

Islands are perceived to offer something different to their visitors; "lure" of the islands emphasizes on opportunities to experience something special about a place travelled to across the water (Baldacchino, 2006). Scientific research has connected island appeal to feelings of remoteness, authenticity, miraculous "doing the place," or "taking it all in" (Baldacchino, 2006; R. W. Butler, 1993). The island mystique dates back to ancient Greece (Gillis, 2004) and continues to promise "a paradise lost" in contemporary society (Nunn, 2004; Peron, 2004). Despite the large amount of texts produced, research on understanding the "islandness" and "island lure" (Lockhart, 1997; Peron, 2004) remains largely "speculative" (Baum, 2000). Baum (1997) explains the

adventurism of a trip to an island with the physical separation from the mainland, requiring a conscious decision to cross the water, a promise for a slower pace environment and "escape from it all," and the ability to "take in" the totality of a destination due to the islands' topographical position.

The fascination of islands for tourists is dependent on several factors, such as "remoteness; physical separation and isolation; access to abundant water and the influence that water has on the physical and cultural environment; the sense of adventure of getting there; a manageable scale, . . . a particular way of life, often a slower pace than on the mainland; and a preserved culture and language" (Baum, 1997, p. 28). Baum indicates that these attributes act "in consort to create an 'island experience' which is greater than the sum of its component parts" (1997, p. 28). Among the factors listed by Baum were also notions such as across the sea but not too far, and different but familiar. Baum draws his conclusions from the North Atlantic case studies and stresses on the applicability of those fascination factors as considerable appeal within tourism markets in the context of cold-water destinations.

The tourism fascination factors indicated by Baum (1997) are largely applicable to all island destinations around the world, yet the difference appears in perceived familiarity and distance aspects of cold-water islands in respect to their warm-water counterparts. Baum argues that even the stereotypical attributes (sun, sand, sea) of the tropical "holiday islands" are not essential to cold-water island destinations, the opportunity to escape from the mainstream to an environment that is perceived different is often cited as the virtues of island living. Baum supports the arguments from R.W. Butler (1993) that insularity in its literal sense, encapsulates the desire to get away from it

all, an opportunity to escape. In many ways visitors to islands particularly value the distinctiveness provided by the insularity, the sense of adventure associated with getting to and being on an island (Baum, 1997, 2000; R. W. Butler, 1993; Terai, 1999; Weale, 1991).

One of the main attractions of islands seems to be remoteness, thus partially the island mystique lies in "the affirmation of distance (and therefore also difference) while still ensuring access" (Baldacchino, 2006, p. 4). Yet, the concepts of "remoteness" and "periphery" are relative and even if positioned in topographical space are defined within a topological space "whose features are expressed in a cultural vocabulary" (Ardener, 2007, p. 214). As noted by several authors, the "continuous thrust to the periphery" (Baum, 2000, p. 3) has been "one of the most noticeable characteristics of recent tourism growth" (Baldacchino, 2006, p. 4). Baldacchino (2006) states that this trend constitutes an uncanny alliance between space-as-marginal and cold temperatures, and thus a constant transition from mature to frontier destinations, extending island the "paradise myth" to ever-larger stretches of islands on the globe. "Thrust to periphery" can be partially explained by the "anti-tourist appeal" (Theroux, 1992). Theroux proposes "the fact that few people go there is one of the most persuasive reasons for travelling to a place" (1992, p. 387). And new remote locations offer illusions of getting there before it is too late, before they are lost to development (L. Ateljevic, 2000; R. W. Butler, 2002; Dann, 2006). Dann (2006), in his discussion of the different assets of the island "lure," places attention on issues of purity island environments depict. According to Dann (2006), there is a short step from the combination of various characteristics of purity (pristine nature, abundance of outdoor activities, clean water etc.) to the greater notion of

"well-being" and "quality of life" highly desired by travelers "returning to another era" and "different place". One aspect of well-being is the spiritual one constituting the inner renewal, the existential attribute manifested in many ways (R. W. Butler, 2002; Dann, 2006). Meanwhile, remoteness is related to connotations of divine due to topographical peculiarities (in case of the Nordic region often the mid-night sun) and the emotive richness of the nature experience they provide.

Contemporary travelers long not just for places elsewhere, but for "far off times" as well (Cohen, 1986; Dann, 1996, 2006). Dann (2006) draws attention to the distinction between the ordinary and quantitative time at home and out-ordinary qualitative time "elsewhere." Temporal advantages of remoteness, according to Dann, are most often expressed through the concepts of pace and memory. Ardener (2007) notes that "the law" of remote areas lies in the basic paradox of how we know that we are in one:

> You know you are "remote" by the intensive quality of the gaze of visitors, by the certain steely determination, by a slightly frenetic air, as if their clocks and yours move at different rates. Perhaps that is why the native of such an area sometimes feels strangely invisible – the visitors seem to blunder past, even through him. (p. 215)

Placing Change

"We live in a world in which global issues are paramount" declares P. J. Taylor (1989), "but where geography has little or nothing to say about them." P. J. Taylor (1989) suggests that after many decades when social sciences were committed to the idea of "developmentalism" there was a change towards the more world-system approach in the 1980's as proposed by Wallerstein (1983, 1988). However, using Wallerstein's historical unfolding framework to analyze societal changes in individual societies, it is important to retain sensitivity to difference and differentiation as indicated by Smith (1989), and not to

"fall back into the trap of the generalizing impulse of spatial science, and fail to take into account the distinctive histories, cultures and the politics of the regions we study" (1989 p. 322). P. J. Taylor's (1989) arguments are based on studies of place and mobility during the Soviet regime and their role in the constitution of Soviet society. P. J. Taylor (1989) states that when considering the inequalities in Soviet society, social and spatial aspects should be viewed as inseparable units of research, and can only be fully understood if political strategies of these regimes are noted. These strategies bonded people to certain localities through the passport system and created social, economic and political inequalities based through such territorial powers. On the other hand, it created the unique power of solidarity within a Soviet social structure based on a restrictive territorial system. The system of those spatial restrictions and resulted social structures fed nostalgic renderings which cannot be oversimplified in their meanings (Boym, 2001; Volcic, 2007; Wertsch, 2002). The Soviet spatial system worked both towards the resistance for any former spatial configurations and in a desire of total reconstruction.

Changing island place

The "myth of island" remains powerful (Harrison, 2001; E. M. King, 1993; Peron, 2004), and so does the discourse of the frontier and remoteness (Ardener, 2007; Dann, 1996). The island appeal places itself into the discourse of limited accessibility, and to the discourse of travel in general. Limited accessibility seems to be intrinsic to the island appeal: "very real feeling of separateness and difference, caused in part to their being physically separate and perhaps therefore different from adjoining mainlands" (R. W. Butler, 1993, p. 71), yet paradoxically quite often faces the pressures of development, especially when dependent on the tourism industry. Even in the case of islands, this

condition of separateness may be seen as an advantage in (self-) regulating tourism flows, counter arguments can be made for the benefit of a local population. However, as stressed by R. W. Butler (1996) “while it may be desirable that access be improved for local benefit, such steps may well remove the greatest asset that an island may have in controlling the numbers, type and scale of tourism development” (p. 16-17). As noted by Ardener, it is one of the paradoxes of remote areas “that remote areas cry out for development, but they are the continuous victims of visions of development” (2007, p. 219).

The development of regions calls for a scrutiny of the ways in which some actors and patterns of movement become less visible in public arenas (Berg, Linde-Laursen, & Löfgren, 2000). Berg et al. (2000) stress the need to ask questions such as: “Who ends up in the shadow of the grand visions? What alternative actions and future dreams are excluded or forgotten, which alternative spaces and possibilities are opened behind the rhetoric of regional thinking”? (p. 13). Bearing in mind possible gaps between rhetoric and practice its important to investigate the path and alternatives, which are continuously bypassed. “Hidden in the unforeseen is the seed of unexpected developments” (Berg et al., 2000, p. 13). Berg et al. imply that region building has a short memory and that in “the rear-view mirror the development is easily transformed into a simple and goal-directed narrative” (p. 13). The images of history and future have a strong ideological coloring depending on which interest groups use them. The authors stress that when it pertains to the questions of belonging and identification- some kinds of belonging are always seen as more attractive. Another question lies in the perceptions of belonging- what do people feel and learn by crossing the waterways with fixed links, mentally and

physically, by commuting by ferry or boat or plain as opposed to via a bridge, tunnel or causeway? (Berg et al., 2000).

Berg et al. (2000) assert there is a close association between being in movement and being moved: between motion and emotion. The tensions between movement as invocatory metaphor and lived experience can be captured empirically contrasting patterns of movement and horizons of experience, perceptions of both mental and physical mobility and immobility. The concept of event in process of change indicates the dynamism and drama of the region created largely by the production of events pointing forward: a powerful experience, a magical atmosphere, rather than through systematic plans and decision-making structures (Berg et al., 2000). The question for change thus lies if and how the region becomes an event and also for whom (Berg et al., 2000).

The discourse of movement in modernity carries a heavy load of symbolic overtones, and what on the surface seems to be simple exercises of logistics, often contains moral messages of being good or bad, pleasing or unpleasing, enriching or threatening (Löfgren, 2000). Movement and the infrastructures supporting it involve issues of aesthetics and aestheticization (G. Rose, 1995).

The Western tradition of thought often equalizes movement with change, a concept usually overly gendered, a male genre associated with the fear of being stuck or left behind (Löfgren, 2000). Fast moving forward is opposed to a slower pace, which is often associated with stagnation (Löfgren, 2000). Yet, in this obsession with moving fast certain kind of movements get overlooked, ignored, or misinterpreted and described as unproductive, disturbing or unimportant.

The ideas of movement are embedded not only in changing metaphors, but changing experiences as well. The accelerated sensations of speed create new accelerated sublime landscapes (C. Bell & Lyall, 2002; Löfgren, 2000). Tempo has become a complex metaphor, the intensification it preaches often lacks the direction, becoming merely an illusion of movement- not really getting anywhere (Bienert, 1987; Kundera, 1997; Löfgren, 2000). “The cult of speed redefined traditional movements in terms of slowness, they became outdated, ineffective, or were recycled as nostalgia” (Löfgren, 2000, p. 34). As noted by Virilio (1986, 1995), acceleration recognizes the balances of power and politics, but also creates confusion. “With acceleration there is no more here and there, only the mental confusion of near and far, present and future, real and unreal- a mix of history, stories, and the hallucinatory utopia of communication technologies” (Virilio, 1995, p. 35).

Löfgren (2000) points out that movements are constantly reinterpretated as they become embedded in different temporal, spatial and social contexts. The speed becomes a chameolic idea, and the debate about infrastructural changes supporting it is framed by dominant technologies and modes of transportation (Löfgren, 2000). Since the car has been the dominant mode of transportation in the twentieth century, it has shaped visions and actual planning. The debate about the future of regions emphasizing the speed and flow thus illustrates the cultural grammar of (urban) movement (Löfgren, 2000).

Bridges as a terrestrial traffic links are in many cases outdated projects in the face of modern communication technologies. Yet, they hold promises of increased speed and accessibility, and foremost importantly they carry symbolic power as monuments (Löfgren, 2000). A bridge can be viewed as “the extension of our volitional sphere over

space" (Simmel, 1997, p. 66); a bridge symbolizes mans' act to conquer nature, the desire to unify. Simmel states: "Only for us are the banks . . . not just apart but "separated," if we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning" (1997, p. 66). And he continues: "Practically as well as logically, it would be meaningless to connect which was not separated, and indeed that which also remains separated in some sense" (1997, p. 66). The need for a bridge unifying what is merely natural remains thus questionable.

Fixed link (or "land link" as defined by Baum, 1997), even if necessary in economic terms, to a great extent devalues the "islandness", and removes "the perfection" of the island (Baum, 1997; R. W. Butler, 1997; E. M. King, 1993; Royle, 2001). R. W. Butler (1997) argues that the construction of a bridge or tunnel raises the question of whether "a location really is an island in anything more than definition" (p. 52). It can be argued that the lost image or illusion of escapism and exclusivity can be balanced against the legitimate desires of permanent residents to have a safe and reliable access to the mainland, however, these transportation improvements must be supported by increased tourist traffic to be economical (R. W. Butler, 1997).

> Whatever may have been learned from observing and measuring the effects of the introduction of innovations in transportation and hence access, it is clear that the one consistent feature is change. The nature and image of the destination changes, the type of tourist and the type of tourism changes, and the dimensions of tourism and its effects change. (R. W. Butler, 1997, p. 53)

R. W. Butler (1997) warns that the islands are particularly vulnerable to transportation innovations and thus need "to exert a strong control over the type, scale and pace of tourism related development which they are willing to accept" (p. 54).

It is obvious that every "creation" we add to the environment through our actions transforms the environment. But, also the environment transforms our understanding of such creation. Berleant (1997) prompts us that "any building is not self- sufficient or self-contained but both influences and is influenced by what surrounds it" (1997, p. 117). Lindström (2004) brings out the use of landscape as a mnemonic tool which not only is a representation of the way people perceive and assess their environment, but which can be consciously used for ideological purposes. Lindström (2004) stresses that changes in political and ideological environments inevitably cause changes in real landscapes, thereby affecting the mental landscape of a culture.

Löfgren (2000) analyzing bridge effects based on Øresund example notes that the Øresund vision has not only been the cult of speed, but the cult of flow. The actual time of crossing the strait remained the same with bridge as previously by ferry connection, yet it is experienced as faster due to the smoothness of continuity (Löfgren, 2000). Here the bridge serves as materialization of seamless "flow," a vision of "zero friction" (Löfgren, 2000). Yet, paradoxically, many new visions of development have worn down the cult of speed and "zero friction" to call for provoked tension, maximized friction, generated density and exploited proximity to invoke more "eventful" destinations (Kaufmann, 2002; Kesserling, 2006; Koolhas & Mau, 1995).

Changing speed impacts spatial experience and as noted by Virilio (1986, 1997) alters political and cultural boundaries laid out by history. New experiences of space, formed by new methods of travel, also create new patterns of action exploding limits and patterns of identity formation (Nilsson, 2000; Virilio, 1986, 1997). Accelerated speed of communication and interaction enable spatial reconfigurations creating parallel processes

of spatial distention and compression (Kaufmann, 2002; Kesserling, 2006; Nilsson, 2000). The arguments lie for both decreasing significance of place in identity processes in postmodern society due to speed and flows (Virilio, 1997), as well as call for a greater need for spatial anchoring (Kaufmann, 2002; Kesserling, 2006).

Kaufmann (2002) calls for re-thinking of mobility in a contemporary world. Introducing the concept of motility, Kaufmann (2002) stresses the need to distinguish between speed potentials and spatial mobility. “Motility can be defined as the operation of transforming speed potentials into mobility potentials” (Kaufmann, 2002, p. 99). Motility, differentiating mobility potential from mobility, helps to distinguish social fluidity from spatial mobility, as well as spatial mobility from the motivations for action. Kaufmann’s (2002) arguments, based on empirical investigations, focus on critical analysis between the “freedom” of the car and the “freedom” from spatial constraints. Unused potentials of mobility create illusionary freedom of escaping from social and territorial structures by traveling faster and/or further (Kaufmann, 2002). “Spatial mobility” according to Kaufmann (2002) “is not an interstice or a neutral liaison time between a point of origin and a destination” but rather a “structuring dimension of social life and social integration” (p. 103). Motility as a capital reveals itself in selective use of different forms of mobility, however Kaufmann (2002) argues that motility is formatted by the ideological contexts, which push people to use certain forms of access (mobility).

Kesserling (2006) takes issues of mobility and motility into further discussion, introducing distinction between “transit spaces” and “connectivity spaces.” Kesserling (2006) argues that the mobile world can often be experienced as mere “transit space, as an environment that has to be controlled to manage the problems between periphery and

centre" (p. 277-278). Living in transit spaces requires maintenance of highly individualized mobility patterns in highly infrastructural and technological environments. Coping with life in transit space only a quick reach to final destinations becomes important, however, when reached they become lost in mindscapes and the only experience which prevails is the transitory one (Kesserling, 2006). Similarly to Kaufmann (2002), Kesserling (2006) calls to analyze places and mobilities in their potentiality- to be realized in motility and "connectivity."

Infrastructural changes are part of the larger array of changes facing island landscapes. Changes in landscapes from changed land use are drastically increasing the gap between representational landscapes and "real" landscapes. Arable land on the islands of Saare County, which created the basis for "iconic" landscapes, has decreased over the last century and the trend continues (Table 1).

Table 1. *Dynamics of the Share of Agricultural Land on Saaremaa in Percent* (Sooväli, 2004)

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

Several studies from the 2000's on perceived values and threats on island landscapes of Saare County residents, showed the persistence of views cherishing semi-natural landscapes with heavy iconic values (Kaur, Palang & Sooväli, 2004: Raadik, 2005; Sooväli, 2004). Natural elements combined with historical farms and village patterns were regarded as most distinctive and unique components with vocalized needs to maintain those landscapes "as representing centuries-old land use practice" (Sooväli, 2004, p. 66). The threats expressed were quite uniformal also – temporal or permanent abandonment of agricultural land, excessive forestry, construction of pre-fabricated

summer cottages on the beaches, as well as increasing number of tourists (Kaur et al., 2004: Raadik, 2005; Sooväli, 2004). Kaur et al. (2004) in their study compared perceived threats to traditional landscapes of islands between different age groups. Both younger and older generations of islanders expressed their concerns over similar issues, however the weight of different danger factors was perceived differently (Figure 3).

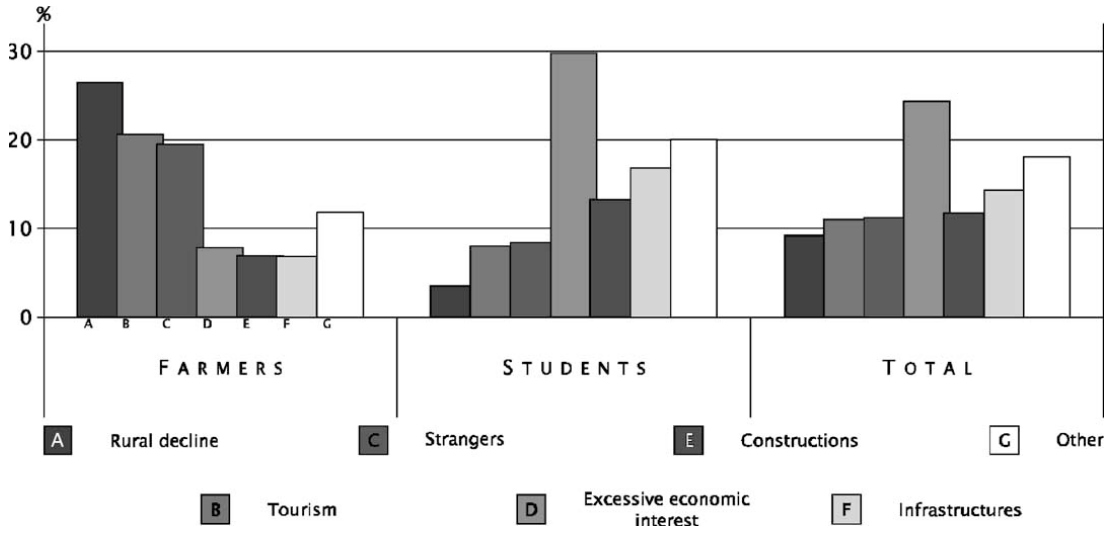

Figure 3. Threats to traditional landscapes. Division of perception constituents, expressed as a share of references within the subject class (Kaur et al., 2004).

The younger generation more often voiced threat from excessive economic interests such as careless forestry, construction of summer cottages, as well as from infrastructural developments (planned bridge to mainland, construction of deep-water harbor, construction of new roads). Other concerns voiced by both age groups including Soviet heritage, and changing consumption patterns producing more waste, had a higher weight among the younger generation. The disparity in perceptions of the two observed generations supports the role of memory and previous knowledge in evaluation of landscapes (Kaur et al., 2004). Kaur et al. emphasized the need to include all stakeholder

groups into discussions of assessing the most valuable landscapes and land use planning in general.

Placing Tourism

Urry (2006) states that almost all places are "toured" and the "pleasures of place derive from the connoisseurship of difference" (p. viii). According to Urry, the "language of landscapes" thus becomes a "language of mobility, based on judgments of abstract characteristics" (p. vii). Mobility is necessary to be reflective about places. Sheller and Urry (2006) introduce the "new mobility paradigm" to understand the contemporary travel (tourism) as highly mobilized "tourismscapes" (van der Duim, 2007).

C. Kaplan in "Questions of Travel" (1996) critically explores the construction of concepts of travel and displacement making an argument for tourism as a "modern exile." Acknowledging the ways postmodernity has produced fragments and multiplicities of identity, she suggests that in order to analyze modern forms of displacement they should be understood as historically situated. C. Kaplan refers to Chambers (1990) that "historicizing displacement leads us away from nostalgic dreams of "going home" to mythical, metaphysical location and into the realm of theorizing a way of "being home" (1996, p. 7). Being at home as put by Chambers (1990) accounts for "the myths we know to be myths yet continue to cling to, cherish and dream" alongside "other stories, other fragments of memory and traces of time" (1990, p. 104).

C. Kaplan argues that the notions of modern exile and tourism must be deconstructed in order "to recognize the Eurocentrisms that operate in all these critical representations of modernity" (1996, p. 23). C. Kaplan argues, that Euro-American formation of "exile" marks a place of mediation in modernity where issues of political

conflict, labor, structures of gender and sexuality as many other issues become recoded. C. Kaplan implies that modernist exile is melancholic and nostalgic about a separation from the familiar and beloved, simultaneously removing itself from any political and historically specific instances to generate aesthetic categories. Rosaldo (1989) focuses on the differences between nostalgia linked to childhood memories and the cultural expression of dominance as an "imperialist nostalgia." The latter revolves around the paradox of deliberately changing forms of life and then regretting that things have not remained as they were prior to intervention. But Rosaldo (1989) sees the structural similarities in Euro-American childhood and imperialist nostalgias contributing to the deployment of the latter version. This modernist nostalgia erases the personal and collective responsibility, and most often the representations of nostalgic past are narrativized as another country or culture, seeking for the authenticity elsewhere (C. Kaplan, 1996; Lowenthal, 1985; MacCannell, 1976; Rosaldo, 1989).

This tension between space and time where past is displaced, and often to another location, requires traveling to it (C. Kaplan, 1996). "History" as noted by C. Kaplan (1996), "becomes something to be established and managed through tours, exhibitions and representational practices in cinema, literature and other forms of cultural production" (p. 35). C. Kaplan argues that despite their different effects, exile and tourism are linked through their structural opposition as well as their structured similarities. The belief for a true, more meaningful experience somewhere else is shared by tourist and exile alike (C. Kaplan, 1996). Said (1993), in "Reflections on exile" writes: "The exile knows that in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional. Borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also

become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience" (p. 170). But as noted by C. Kaplan (1996) that even Said (1993) uses exile to construct cosmopolitan identity; his primary construct is linked to modernist aesthetic principles- glorified personal experiences, thus distancing modernist exile from involuntary displacement.

According to C. Kaplan (1996), one of the aspects of deconstructing displacement requires imagining distance in less binary ways. Distance does not inevitably lead to exile, but to new subjectivities producing new relationships between time and space, so that "distance is not only a safety zone or a field of tension but a terrain that houses new subjects of criticism" (C. Kaplan, 1996, p. 142). Adorno in his nostalgic renderings in exile has written that "dwelling, in the proper sense, is now impossible," "the house is past" (1974, p. 38-39); similarly Chambers referred to the impossibility of homecoming in modernist displacement, as homecoming "calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation" (1994, p. 5). Yet, if to rely on deconstructed displacement offered by C. Kaplan (1996), dwelling is now reworked as the possibility in impossible. Displaced subjects (migrants, exiles, tourists) in contemporary societies can signify mobility and habitation simultaneously. Many of us have places in the plural; identities are produced and are producing us through them. But it is important to acknowledge that similarly to displacement also the "local" is a historically constituted phenomenon. To overcome distance often requires time and money and institutional support, and while recognizing the liberating (or constraining) aspects of mobility, it also requires demystification of the social relations that determine

how access to travel and the conditions of displacement (both voluntary and involuntary) occur (Clifford, 1992; C. Kaplan, 1996; Pratt & Hanson, 1994).

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

The choice of the framework to address the research questions is based on several criteria including the type of question asked, the amount of control the researcher has over actual events and whether the research focuses on contemporary or historical events (Creswell, 2003).

Quantitative Methodology

Quantitative research involves the scientific investigation of quantitative properties and phenomena and their associated relationships. Falling within the positivist paradigm, quantitative methodology closely follows the scientific methods involving objectivity, reliability, validity representation, generalization, and it's both deductive and inductive (Vaske, 2008). The objective is to develop and utilize mathematical models, theories, and or hypotheses that pertain to the phenomena under investigation (Creswell, 2003). Quantitative purpose statements are formed as hypotheses where causal relationships between independent and dependent variables are identified. Survey research is a predominant method used in quantitative studies in the social sciences and widely used in the human dimensions of natural resources and tourism studies. There are several survey methods (onsite, household, telephone, online, etc.) which are too numerous [see Vaske, 2008 for a complete overview of survey methodology]. Quantitative techniques involve numbers and generally the information collected is

susceptible to statistical analysis and conclusions are based on such analysis. Collection of data in this method is done by use of pre-coded questionnaires.

Qualitative Methodology

The empirical research described as a qualitative approach makes the broad, complex questions researchable. “Qualitative research properly seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings, allowing researchers to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives” (B. L. Berg, 2001, p. 7). One of the characteristics of qualitative research is its holistic-inductive approach. It studies the whole phenomenon and all its complexity rather than breaking the phenomenon into component parts and studying discrete variables and causal relationships (Patton, 1990 as cited in Jennings, 2001, p. 126). An inductive approach establishes the nature of truth by being grounded in the real world and as an ontological view sees the world as consisting of multiple realities. Gubrium and Holstein (1997) imply that social world is not available to us “naturally,” but rather constituted through our descriptions: “we can frame description as an act of communication through which reality is substantively ‘talked into being’” (p. 132).

Research informed by a qualitative methodology has an unstructured research design in order to respond to the field setting; therefore, the research design is study-specific since grounded in the setting being studied. The data collected by a qualitative method is represented as textual units rather than numeric representations. Data analysis focuses on eliciting key themes and motifs associated with the participants being studied. The representation of the findings is usually in narrative form (Jennings, 2001).

Narrative-Descriptive Approach

Tuan (1991) discussed the narrative-descriptive approach as applied to understanding the role of language in the "making of place." Describing theory and narrative relationships, Tuan (1991) states that "in narrative-descriptive approach, theories hover supportively in the background while the complex phenomena themselves occupy the front stage" (p. 686). Tuan (1991) stresses that speech is an integral part of the construction of places, as words supply a temporal dimension that visuals cannot alone provide. Naming makes places familiar and real.

Beside place narratives are historical narratives as well as personal ones. Autobiographical narratives are based on time- and place-specific life stories and give order, coherence and meaning to experiences. Personal narratives involve remembering and the meanings of past are reconstructed constantly to fit the present. The researcher becomes part of the narrative as personal narratives are told by the individuals and retold by the researcher (Genette, 1980).

Contextuality, Reflexivity and Validity

Qualitative research is concerned with contextuality, reflexivity and validity. Flick (1998) argues that most social phenomena cannot be explained in isolation from other phenomena thus requires looking at issues under study in a wider context. The background of the researcher is also an important aspect to add in the context of the study. Qualitative research evaluates the researcher's communication with the field as an explicit part of knowledge production (Flick, 1998). Flick claims that subjective viewpoints are starting points for qualitative inquiry. It is important to acknowledge that

no research is conducted in a total vacuum, completely value free and objective. Yet, trustfulness is an important aspect of scientific inquiry (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004).

Validity in quantitative research can be described in terms of the overall validity of the study and the validity of the measurement (Vaske, 2008). Study validity can be broadly defined as internal and external validity (Vaske, 2008). Internal validity depends on the soundness of the research design; external validity asks the question of generalizablity (Vaske, 2008). Measurement validity is concerned with content, predictive and construct validity (Vaske, 2008).

Validity in qualitative research can be achieved through triangulation (Decrop, 1999: Denzin, 1978). "Triangulation means looking at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data" (Decrop, 1999, p. 158). Triangulation limits personal and methodological biases and increases generalizability (Decrop, 1999). Denzin (1978) proposes four types of triangulation: data, methods, investigators and theoretical triangulation. For data triangulation multiple data resources are proposed as well as keeping fieldnotes. Method triangulation suggests use of multiple methods to overcome their individual weaknesses. Multidisciplinary approach can help with theoretical triangulation.

Reflexivity is an important aspect of research. The interpretation of data is always dependent on the researcher's worldview. Reflexivity touches upon the issues of an insider-outsider.

Insider/ Outsider

The material field addressed by researchers is practical, never just a simple working of actuality, nor a potential reality. "Neither structure nor articulation are

conclusively clear in the field" (Gubrium, 1988, p. 19). What people say about reality, is how they perceive it and understand through the screen of opinions, points of view and other conditions. Gubrium (1988) argues that sociologists are 'twicely- removed" since they interpret the interpretations of the "insiders" who are "once-removed" as they encounter their concerns through their own interpretations. Thus, interpretive fieldwork requires observing what has been said, done, and what would have been told. It is participating in everyday life analytically. As said by Gubrium (1988): "It requires that we hear the philosophically astute voicing of things and events of their worlds that simultaneously is heard by them and by us as voices other than their own" (p.75).

> Sociological knowledge is inter-subjective – based on the shared meanings and understandings of the people being studied, and the shared meanings and understandings of the disciplinary community doing the study. (Warren & Karner, 2005, p. 172)

Researchers have been warned not to get involved in the field as an insider as it makes it more difficult to conduct the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Insiders have been accused about not being able to step back and be engaged in observations needed (Kitchin & Tate, 2000) A lot has been argued around "going native" and losing the sensitive insight needed (Tedlock, 2000). However, similarly to the united body in research, we are all insiders (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and through the required reflexivity our outsider position is questionable (Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson, & Collins, 2005).

It is definitely different to be a researcher in your own community, the insider in critical ways (Dowling, 2000; Narayan, 1993; Porteous, 1988). But being in your own community means also to be an outsider at the same time (Narayan, 1993). Our places can become too familiar, and not everything opens up for us anymore (Porteous, 1988).

Being an insider, researchers study through place themselves as well; places get incorporated into them and created through them (DeLyser, 2001a; Nast, 1998).

Dixon (2000) refers to different types of insideness important to personal place-identity: "physical insideness" as "body awareness," "social insideness" as knowing others and been known and "autobiographic insideness" as an idiosyncratic sense of rootedness. Studying communities and their place identities, it's important to acknowledge that all three are crucial to understanding why, and how people define themselves and are being defined as "insiders." How do we read, and interpret, or write up this insideness as an insider researcher? Gubrium (1988) states that even in those seemingly "true" readings of insideness (as bodily present, knowing/known, and rootedness by Dixon, 2000) have structures, which could make "outsiders" readings helpful for the study, hence the insider is "blinded" by the issues relevant to her/himself.

Conducting my research I felt as insider and outsider simultaneously. I felt as I was insider due to the substantial amount of time of my life I lived there, and having some ability to understand the everyday rhetorics of the community. I felt like an outsider as I was not born there and not there in a present moment. I felt as an insider as I am following the life there through virtual media on a daily basis, but also as an outsider as I am missing *parole* of everyday practices there. I felt as an outsider because of those moments when no further explanation was given by my respondents, because I should know *why*, and I lost their personal thick description to mutually shared insightfulness; when perceived and felt as an insider (I was able to understand what that *why* meant). To refer to Becker & Geer (1982), how different that answer would have been not given to me (to my reading), but to an outsider (Porteous, 1988)?

I felt as an outsider while writing it out with my knowledge acquired from somewhere else, but as an insider when I felt it became useful to explain that insightfulness. I felt blind to some structures I might have missed due to my insideness and I felt insightful when I knew where to look for further steps in my study. Should I feel like a "participant insider" or a "participant outsider" (Denzin, 1989)?

When writing out our findings, we are limited to a set of words to describe the phenomenon. This set is even more limited when we try to describe cultures or their narratives in another language. It brings me to the translation error, what seems to be inevitable, and makes me even more an outsider. The written texts can make cultures look simpler and languages poorer when the diversity of techniques to write out is set to the expectations of audiences outside. Schwalbe (1995) discusses that although we can imagine various audiences for our work, we typically write to our colleagues.

Feeling responsible as an insightful "outsider" (sociological researcher), according to Schwalbe (1995), is to reach as wide of an audience as possible and make the rules of the inquiry as well as frameworks and meanings explicit. Richardson (1994) argues that the job of social scientists is to "violate sacred inarticulateness."

Being a researcher of my island place I feel that that place is more about me than I would like to acknowledge, and less than I would dare to dream.

Methods

This chapter presents the analytical tools used to answer the research questions under investigation. The choice of methods is directed by the objectives of the research, especially the types of generalizations the researcher wishes to make. I used a single critical case study approach with mixed methods due to the exploratory nature of the

research and the need to investigate the phenomenon in a particular socio-cultural and political context.

Case Study Approach

Case studies have been used quite extensively as a research method. The case study approach aims for "analytic generalization" (Yin, 1994). Yin (1981) stresses that as a research strategy "the distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that it attempts to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 59). "A case study is an in-depth study of the cases under consideration, and this depth has become another feature of the case study approach" (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993, p. 1). '"Casing' is a process of defining units to be examined in their totality, as some broader set of units, and involving interplay of theory and evidence" (Marshall, 1999, p. 381; see also Ragin, 1992).

To refer to a case study might mean that this case is qualitative, small- N; ethnographic, participant-observation, or otherwise "in the field"; is characterized by process tracking; investigates the properties of a single case (Gerring, 2004). Case studies can be exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory (Yin, 1994). As an entity, cases might be either single (family, firm) or social (organizational) unit, even up to the one country level as a case. Gerring (2004) argues that the level of case study is dependent on what is argued, and how the research design is proposed. Case studies are an ideal research approach to generate in-depth and contextualized data. Case study does not imply the use of a particular type of evidence, thus either qualitative or quantitative data or both can be used. Evidence for case studies may come from fieldwork, archival records, verbal

reports, observations or a combination of these. Many specific data collection and analysis approaches can be incorporated through a case study, but the information gathered is interpreted in terms of a single case. Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993), however, warn that quantity and variety of empirical information may involve analytical problems.

Yin (1994) identifies five components of a case study research design: study questions, study propositions (if any), study's unit or units of analysis; the logic linking the data to the proposition, and the criteria for interpreting the findings. Another issue designing case studies is to determine whether a single or multiple- case design is more appropriate given the nature of the question (Yin, 1994). The rationale for a single case is if the case is unique, critical or revelatory. A unique case evolves from the situations when circumstances occur rarely, revelatory case when the phenomenon was previously inaccessible, and the critical case is identified when the "characteristics of an actual situation correspond to the assumptions or environment stipulated in the theoretical proposition" (Kennedy & Luzar, 1999, p. 586).

The role of theory in case studies must be understood from the perspective that theory includes more than simple causal theories (Yin, 1993). Issue questions can provide a strong conceptual framework and the underlying theory is used as the foundation of the analysis. Stake (1995) emphasizes that the researchers prior experiences influence linking theories to research strategies as well as developing research questions.

Data collection for the case study involves use of multiple sources of evidence. The rationale stems from the concept of triangulation, as "obtaining evidence and data from multiple sources results in converging lines of inquiry" (Kennedy & Luzar, 1999, p.

587). To confirm the interpretation, triangulation of data resources (data triangulation), theory triangulation and methodological triangulation are important (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Data collection in case study research also involves creation of a case study database and maintainenace of a chain of evidence. To follow all these data collection principles adds to the validity and reliability of the research (Yin, 1994).

The analytical stage strategy involves a case description based on different analytical techniques. One of them is an explanation building process evolving from an initial theoretical statement which is revised in an iterative process allowing continual refinement of theoretical proposition based on observable evidence (Hamel et al., 1993 ; Yin, 1994). The explanation building process does not have to evolve into totally new understanding, but rather to refinement of understanding (Stake, 1995).

A case study is an approach to research that seeks an in-depth and holistic understanding of a form of social behavior through examination of an instance, or a set of instances of that form of behavior (Gerring, 2004; Ragin & Becker, 1992). Case studies perform a double function- being a unit in itself (studies) and a broader class of units (case studies). Thus the problem of the case study does not have to be limited to a single subfield (Gerring, 2004). Even if we study just one case, we can make a claim that it involves a form of generalization- cases being defined is an instance of some broader set of similar or like cases. “Case studies rely on the same sort of covariational evidence used in non-case study research. Thus, the case study method is correctly understood as a particular way of defining cases, not a way of analyzing cases or a way of ‘labeled’ causal relations” (Gerring, 2004, p. 341). Case studies use replication logic, not the

sampling one, and as a result they are generalizable to theoretical propositions, not populations and universes (Yin, 1994).

Comparing case studies is analogous to critically reading the scientific literature focusing on the importance of interpretation and critical judgment. When a given case is different from another in a particular aspect, the reason can be sought in the broad contextual features of the two cases. The value of the holistic case study approach is that it facilitates the interpretive understanding of causal implications of this nature.

> Case study must focus on how conditions combine in different settings to produce the same or different outcomes. The identification of patterns of multiple conjunctural causations provides a basis for specifying, at a more abstract level, the underlying similarities responsible for similar outcomes and the underlying differences responsible for different outcomes. (Ragin, 1987, p. 49)

Steinmetz (2004) argues for use of case studies as they give plausibility to a given theoretical argument, which in essence can only be assessed by complex empirical objects. According to Steinmetz (2004), the low scientific capital assigned to case studies is rooted in a false dichotomy between generalizing explanatory theoretical science and individualizing non-explanatory one, resulting in a powerful adjective case that can be labeled- the idiographic (interpretive and non-explanatory). When this positivistic critique labels case studies for their inability to perform the role of explanation, case studies and small–n comparisons have been prosecuted also on the concepts of incommensurability, translation, and incomparability from other fields of scientific inquiry. This critique is largely led by philosophical empiricism and nominalism (Jameson, 1984; Nancy, 2000; Whorf, 1956). Some other arguments against comparison through case studies come from the criticism of asymmetry between the observer and observant and critique of extension of Western cultural categories to other Non-western

cultural realms (Chakrabarty, 2000). Responses to this critique have argued on behalf of alternative understandings of comparison, like hermeneutics. Bourdieu (1990) articulated for the integration of two "visions"–the scientist' and social group. Critical realism elaborated on hermeneutics and looked upon "proto-scientific" theories as evolving from social actors (Bhaskar, 1997). Yet, it is important to be cautious not to commit the epistemic fallacy – belief that statements about "being" can always be transported into statements about our "knowledge of being" (Bhaskar, 1986).

In decision to choose between different methods one of the questions to ask is – how much information are we trying to get from the field. Sharing Bourdieu (1990) perspective, we should realize that questions asked must be sensitive to the field and not the "shortcut" to our research question driven by our theory. As mentioned by Holy (1984), our questions can shape the social reality under study. Instead of entering the field with the questions dealing with the causal consequences we should try to ask the reverse way. Evidences drawn from a single unit may disconfirm a necessary or sufficient hypothesis. To rely on comments by Steinmetz (2004) and Gerring (2004), case studies and small- n comparisons make possible the reconstruction of theory due to their explorative nature, which otherwise would be stuck in its' reductionism.

Case studies are not free from limitations. Case studies can be accused of falling short in representation as a single research unit. Although a case study is able to serve a confirmatory role, as explained by Gerring (2004), it is unlikely that a case study is able to reject the hypothesis. Due to its exploratory nature, the case study is greatly under-theorized by methodologists. From an ontological point of view, a case study is situated somewhere in-between the "ideographic" and "nomothetic" extremes (Gerring, 2004).

Case study researchers are doubtful about the viability of comparisons drawn over many units, but also don't agree that every case is completely unique (even though they have been critiqued for both - see discussion above).

Gerring (2004) argues that case studies call for methodological tradeoffs often insufficiently appreciated. Case studies are more useful when inferences are more descriptive than causal, when propositional depth is prized over breath and boundedness, when internal case comparability is more important than external case representativeness, when insight into causal mechanisms is more important than exploring causal effects, and causal proposition is invariant rather than probabilistic; when the research strategy is exploratory rather than confirmatory and when useful variance is there for a single unit. The latter one is probably the most important. Thus, whatever can be done for a set of units, can be more easily done for a single one. Most often, it involves a more extensive set of observations, thus giving a firmer set of evidence. Since social scientific research is heavily concerned with triangulation, the fact that research occurs within the ongoing tradition, it is usually more concerned with the ease of evidence-gathering rather than "triangulation of evidence" when the latter one is one of the main strengths of the case study (Gerring, 2004).

Mixed Method

Mixed methods research draws its philosophical understanding of pragmatic space as a triad of practices, situations and consequences. As such, it focuses on problems and solutions rather than methods, and pluralistic approaches are used to derive knowledge about the problem. Focusing on a problem requires mapping the structure of the body of interest; the signs, codes, and "frontal" relations while observing spatial

practice over the networks and routes of spatial configurations while actively participating in representational spaces as lived through–in the space of users. Agreement upon understanding that research occurs within the political, social, and historical realm of a knowledge making process; it is reflective of social justice and political aims (Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Creswell, 2003). Mixed methods research uses sequential, concurrent, and transformative strategies of inquiry, focusing on the humanistic inquiry of interaction in everyday life (Creswell, 2003).

The use of multiple methods is rationalized through the claim that any single method has its limitations, thus aiming to neutralize the possible biases evolving. Endorsing fallibilism, mixed methods justification comes from a form of "warranted evidence" (Dewey, 1948). Warranted evidence provides answers which are ultimately tentative, and moves it forward through an "evolutionary" epistemology. Alternatively, one method can be nested in another, to provide multilevel insight of one research method. Thus, research methods follow the research questions in a process of the study to obtain the most useful answers to the questions of interest. Multi method research aims to take a value-orientated approach derived from cultural values while following a dynamic homeostatic process of belief, doubt, inquiry, modified belief, new doubt, new inquiry and so forth (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Rigorous triangulation helps to verify the sources necessary to acquire the information, while rejecting reductionism. Recognizing the importance of both physical and natural worlds, social and psychological, it includes language, thoughts, and experiences in the exploration of knowledge both constructed and experientially lived through. Replacing the epistemic distinction between the subject and external object with

the process- oriented human- environment transaction, it explores “provisional truth” given through experience and experimenting (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). As present time is always a starting point, it is constantly ready for new inquiry, when the instrumental truth found (always partial and a matter of degree) does not fit the needs of present day explanation. Endorsing practical empiricism to determine the new “paths,” which work in a journey of using theories instrumentally–they become true and are true to different degrees based on their workability and judged on criteria of predictability and applicability (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Mixed methods research not only tests the best mix of methods to find answers to the problem, but also improves the primary method used in a study by adding other components (i.e., methods) when needed. Either qualitative or quantitative method can be used primarily while adding the other approach. Entering the field using a qualitative approach and adding a quantitative sequentially may help via a survey instrument to measure certain theoretical factors considered important in the relevant research literature (i.e., sense of place). Adding a small random sample in the process with additional components, mixed methods can improve generalizability. However, mixed methods does not aim to corroborative findings over different methods used, but rather to expand understanding (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The elements of surprise and doubt are part of a mixed methods approach, its’ source of novelty and triangulation. The dimensionality of mixed methods research is also different, with the element of time and “tales” added to the simple two-dimensional causality (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This makes the whole continuum of “search for truth” more complex and multilayered.

Combining different approaches can add to the research process; mixed methods do not simply summarize the strengths and weaknesses of each, but creates a new potential understanding, which comes with some pitfalls (challenges) as well. Firstly, mixed methods research can answer a broader range of research questions than what tends to be confined within a single method (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Armed with strengths from a qualitative approach, it can generate a grounded theory, which can also be tested within the same study realm. Through a sequential research design, irrespective of the primary research domain, both qualitative and quantitative data could be collected while enabling both qualitative and quantitative analysis on both datasets (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This approach can increase generalizability of findings to provide stronger evidence for conclusions through convergence of findings. Although findings from different methods might not be corroborative, more complete knowledge is produced to inform the theory and practice as well (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Some limitations of mixed methods are the costs and time necessary, thus challenging for a single researcher to conduct. This requires a researcher to have the ability to design and analyze data for both approaches. Some major methodological questions remain in the research design (i.e., purpose, data analysis, and legitimation). The latter issues have been tackled in a series of work by Onwuegbuzie (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2004; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003), including frameworks such as the Quantitative Legitimation Model, Qualitative Legitimation Model, and a special one for mixed methods. A mixed methods legitimation process may include the need for additional data collection and/or analysis to eliminate or reduce rival or conflicting explanations. Some problems might evolve with mixing paradigms, or

interpretation of conflicting results. Yet, the latter is solved through the pragmatism that a mixed methods approach is based on. From a more fundamental perspective of pragmatism itself, it may be argued that mixed methods research fails to answer the question of the main beneficiary of the research, as it may promote more incremental changes through its claims based on temporary instrumental and provisional "truth," rather than placing transparently on the table findings for a more fundamental structural, or revolutionary change in society (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In its instrumental use of theories, it might stay vague and unexplained why some fail in their workability. Based on pragmatism and concerned primarily with the problem, it is difficult for a mixed methods approach to deal with cases of "non- true but useful," as well as "true but non- useful" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Inclined to neo-pragmatism, this approach can also reject any corresponding truth of its findings, and be accused for its postmodernist extremism (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

In my study of island place influence on cultural memory and place experience, I used a mixed methods strategy with a sequential-concurrent design (QUAL-QUAN+QUAL) (Creswell, 2003).

Sheller and Urry (2006) voice the importance of different "mobile research methods" for mobilities research. Referring to Simmel (1997b), Sheller and Urry (2006) firstly place importance on observation of people in face-to-face relationship with people, places, and events. According to Simmel (1997b), eye-to-eye connection and interaction provides the most "direct and purest interaction that exists" (p. 111) producing "the most complete reciprocity" (p. 112). Reflecting upon emotional readings of those interactions is a necessary part of the analysis (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Sheller and Urry (2006) draw

attention to several forms of "mobile ethnography," "participation-while-interviewing" among the others. To explore imaginative travel (the issues of "atmosphere of the place" and "memory" among others) could involve "cyber-research" methods (websites, multi-user discussion groups etc.), employing photographs, and multimedia (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Mobilities research should also examine the "places of in-betweenness," the "transfer points" involved in being mobile but "immobilized" themselves (airports, hotels, waiting rooms etc.) (Sheller & Urry, 2006).

In this study, multiple research methods proposed by Sheller and Urry (2006) were used to examine "mobile" concepts of place identity and place experience and the role of individual as well collective memory in it. The first phase of the study looked at "making of the place" in interaction between official media texts and general public comments in online forums (Table 2).

Table 2. *Research Methods*

Case study	Material	Time	Method
National print media coverage on proposed Fixed Link to Saare County	Daily newspaper articles (n = 123) Online comments (n = 1821)	January 2002 – May 2007	Content analysis Discourse analysis
Tourists' evaluations of island place experience	Questionnaire (n = 487)	July – August 2007	Statistical analysis
Tourists' narratives on their island experiences	In – depth interviews (n = 16)	July – August 2007	Content analysis

The interaction between anonymous commentators connected topics and places in a highly mobile way. Second phase of the study involved on-site survey research.

Respondents were surveyed on a ferry between the island and mainland, a "mobile transfer point." In-depth interviews conducted across the island-place according to the preference of my interviewees were used in the third phase of this study.

Discourse Analysis

The term "discourse" has several meanings and can be defined in many ways. According to Lyotard (1984, 1985), discourse is a way of organizing reality according to particular sets of rules. The definition Barnes and Duncan (1992) constitutes that discourses are frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideology and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action.

The central notion in speaking about discourses is language. Through language we understand the issues in culture and society. The object of study in the discourse analysis is text. Everyday life is (re-)presented through texts that constitute the postmodern world. The social construction of a text does not mirror reality; it is reality (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). Discourse analysis is a form of critical reading of meaning construction and a way of finding knowledge about how and why language is used the way it is used. 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.

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 in socio-cultural contexts. Linguistic discourse analysis differs from sociological discourse analysis. The first one deals with text, form, analysis at micro- level,

description, non-political, or non-critical approach. Sociological discourse analysis deals with context, content, analysis at macro- level and critical (political) approach (Van Dijk, 1997).

Case Study Area

Historical Background

The case study area Saare is the westernmost county of Estonia consisting of five major islands and numerous islets (Figures 4 and 5). Saaremaa is the largest of the islands with a population of 36,000 and an area of 2673 km^2 (approximately 1032 square miles). Kuressaare, the only city in a county with a population of 15,000, is also located on Saaremaa. The place has a long history, dating back at least eight thousand years. Due to a favourable geographic location (on the maritime trading route of the Baltic Sea) and mild climate, the place was one of the most densely populated areas in Estonia until the 13^{th} century when conquered by Germans and Danes. Islanders were the last in Estonia to lose their independence, and their spirit of freedom and resistance to alien powers led to numerous rebellions over many centuries. The heroic early history provides reasons for the myths and stories of today (Sooväli, 2004). Sooväli (2004) argues that much of the "genius loci" of the islands lies indirectly upon the flourishing era of a Viking period (9^{th} – 13^{th} centuries), when according to Mägi (2002) "both the eastern and the western coasts of the Baltic sea could be described as having a certain degree of cultural uniformity" (p. 5). In old Scandinavian sagas, the place was named Eysysla (in translation most likely "district of islands"), and later in the 13^{th} Livonian chronicle as Osilia, signifying the territorial unit of island of Saaremaa with the surrounding islets (Luha, Blumfeldt, & Tammekann, 1934; Palmaru, 1980). Old German chronicles refer to the place as Oesel

(Ösel) (History of Saaremaa in brief, n.d.) and by this name Saaremaa is known to Western Europeans up until today.

Figure 4. Location of case study area in Europe ● Saare County

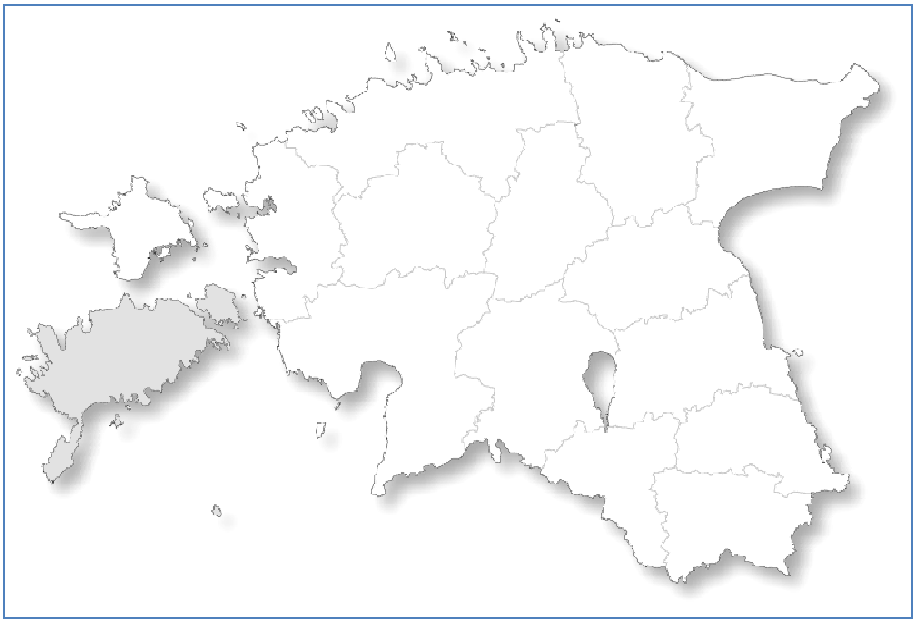

Figure 5. Location of case study area Saare County in Estonia ■ Saare County

Historically the area became the border zone between West and East, conquered and ruled by the Russian Empire from 1710 until 1917. In 1918 the Independent Estonian

Republic was established. The freedom did not last long as the young independent republic was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. Saare County became a restricted border zone until the re-independence of the Estonian Republic in 1991.

The Second World War, deportations to Germany and Russia, as well as "the boat exodus" to Sweden reduced the islands' population more than 30%, and it has stayed around that level since. The twentieth century left behind not only changed numbers in population, but deep traces in physical landscapes as well in mental ones due to drastic changes in cultural, political and social conditions. The island landscapes changed during Soviet occupation due to the changed production modes (shift to collective farms), nationalization of land and restricted private access to the sea. The islands, however, maintained a unique combination of traditional villages with small private farming and moderate size collective farmlands. Fifty years of limited access during Soviet occupation contributed to the undeveloped coastline, ethnically coherent population, and little developmental pressure on natural resources, except moderate agricultural activities. With a population of 99% ethnic Estonians, the island place became an "oasis" of a nation, as the Soviet assimilation politics were not practiced in this border zone. Travelling to the islands by non- dwelling islanders or other Estonians was prohibited without a special invitation from local inhabitants and the islands were totally closed for foreigners. Travel to the islands for those who had acquaintances or relatives there, became more like a visit to the "home(land)," since the hosts were responsible for their guests. The passage of time on the islands and the security they provided were different from the "restless" world outside. Local semi-cultural landscapes and customs became

symbols of Estonia's past and were visualized in poems, paintings and popular songs (Sooväli, 2004).

Saare County today

After the borders re-opened in 1991, the islands of Saare County were claimed a place for recreation. Saaremaa has held its' position as the second most popular destination for inbound tourism as well as international arrivals after Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, a Hanseatic city of world heritage importance. Land of "short white nights," "flowering meadows," and "mythical Thule Lake" increased visitation, especially after Lennart Meri's, a well known literate and humanist and first president of the newly independent country, published a book about the importance of island place in European cultural history. "Saaremaa Waltz," a song written by a local poet and made famous by a well–known Estonian singer during occupation times, echoed the beauty and resistance to alien powers and became a powerful representation of the place. Such representation of place has attracted many Finnish tourists since then (Sooväli, 2004).

Saaremaa today has been advertised as "exotic: specific, ecologically clean and high natural diversity, made impressive by juniper fields, coastal alvars, sandy beaches and bluffs" (Tourism in Saaremaa, n.d.). Homepage of Saaremaa Tourism Information Centre states: "Saaremaa has retained its uniqueness due to its location and insulation" (Tourism in Saaremaa, n.d.). The island landscape of wooded meadows, coastal alvars and pristine coastline carries a strong image of "island escape" (Sooväli, 2004) to domestic travelers. Estonian children visit Saaremaa as part of their school curriculum, the island place has remained the topmost preference for them (Palang, 1993; Sooväli,

2004). Saaremaa and surrounding islands are considered a prestigious summerhouse region not only for Estonians, but for many Scandinavians (especially Finns) too. Saaremaa is perceived a place which echoes desired landscapes of childhood Scandinavian summers (Assmuth, 2001; Snellmann, 2000, July 23). According to previous research, motives to buy a second home on Saaremaa are largely enhanced by promises of intimacy in idyllic landscapes, however without any deep interest in the customs or culture of the place (Sooväli, Palang, Kaur, Peil, & Vermandere, 2003). This tendency has been noticed as a need for better communication between local people and second homeowners (Raadik, 2005; Vooglaid, 2004). Saaremaa landscapes have become an arena with conflicting interests between second homeowners, the growing tourism industry and local people (Sooväli, 2004). The later often have a hard time lacing themselves in between these aesthetisized recreational and economic landscapes (Sooväli, 2004; Talvi, 2004).

Due to its geographical location, Saare County is not unique only because of pristine nature, but because of the security it provides. Over the last ten years Saare County concurringly with the neighboring island county has been the most secure in Estonia according to statistics from the Ministry of Justice (Justiitsministeerium, 2008). Previous studies about the perceived qualities of the island place list security as one of the main reasons to live or have a second home there (Koit, 2004; Raadik, 2005). The Saare County tourism development plan for 2007–2013 lists security as one of the main strengths the county has to offer in terms of tourism (Saare maavalitsus, 2007).

During the past 15 years, Saare County has been a desired summer destination under heavy developmental pressure. The tourism industry with its increase in spa hotels,

high prices, and large summer events has changed the islands. Sightseeing spots are becoming more commercialized and idealized tranquil landscapes are slowly turning into a "well-sold myth" (Kaur, Palang, & Sooväli, 2004; Sooväli, 2004). The rapid development over recent years has led landscape conservation into conflict as those new factors force intense change (Sooväli, 2004).

Saare County as well as other western Estonian islands and rural areas are considered a periphery to the economic and political centre of Estonia (Tallinn). The perceptual distance from the centre has increased during the last decade due to increasing concentration of political decision-making in the capital city. The differences in income and job opportunities have divided the Estonian population between the "losers" and "winners." This categorzation has been powerfully forced over and vocalized in political campaigns and official rhetoric's to rationalize the "shock economy" in order to catch up with "lost opportunities" created by "betweenness" of 50 years of Soviet occupancy. The population of the island is marginalized considering job opportunities even within the increasing tourism industry. According to the Estonian Employment Agency statistics from 2009, 11% of the work-force on Saaremaa are unemployed which is lower than the Estonian average (15%) (Eesti Töötukassa, 2010). Tallinn offers better opportunities for paid work and many choose to commute between the island and capital city, often ending up as second homeowners eventually. On the other hand, the islanders are highly entrepreneurial: Saare County rates among the top three in total number of new enterprises and new enterprises per capita in Estonia (Eesti Statistika, 2009).

Saaremaa is regarded as the fastest developing resort area on the Baltic Sea. Between 2000 and 2008, six large spa hotels opened their doors to visitors in Kuressaare.

In 2008 the first golf course was built, and new ones are on their way. The real estate market has boomed; the most expensive summer homes are currently on Saaremaa with high demand (Tulk, 2010, January 10; Vahi, 2008, December 20). However, real estate development is happening in a haphazard way. New and alien style log houses sold by large real estate firms as summer homes are changing traditional landscapes. The uncontrolled development from the tourism industry and real estate is a concern to locals and specialists (Kaur et al., 2004; Raadik, 2005; Sooväli, 2004).

Tightly related to issues of periphery are officially and unofficially voiced needs for future developments. The strategic development plan for Saare County emphasizes the importance of new opportunities for employment as well as improved infrastructure enabling stable and secure connections with the mainland and the rest of the world (Saare maavalitsus, 2008). Tourism developmental plans for Saare County foresee Saare County as a well-known destination in the Baltic Sea region with a welcoming and safe environment. The main strengths listed in the plan are nature and the unique historical heritage of the place. The strategic vision states that " tourism in Saare County by 2013(20) is economically sound, but does not compromise resources it is dependent in the future– physical environment as well as social environment of host community" (Saare maavalisus, 2008). The tourism development plan focuses on sustainability, yet from the core four dimensions of sustainability, economic seems to be the focal point. Under the list of primary activities for 2007–2013, the tourism development plan also declares cooperation between interested parties to insure the implementation of a bridge between Muhu and mainland a desired infrastructural improvement. The bridge is written

into the Strategic Development Plan of Saare County; however, consensus between all stakeholder groups is missing (Saare maavalitsus, 2008).

The idea of fixed link dates back to 1934 when a student of Tallinn Technical College in his thesis proposed a bridge over Big Strait connecting Muhu Island and mainland (Treimann, 1934). In conclusion of his thesis, Treimann stated that his work represents purely the technical possibility of such an idea, but should be considered as "an utopia" because of its enormous cost.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication on its homepage traces the bridge idea back to the 17th century during "good old Swedish" times when the need for better communication with the outside world was stated in Queen Catherine's decree. The construction of a causeway between Muhu and Saaremaa in the 19th century during Soviet times symbolizes materialization of the Queen's decree. Construction of a link between the two islands celebrated the victory of human will over nature and its' 100 year anniversary gave a "new dawn" to the idea of a bridge across the Big Strait connecting Saare County with the mainland.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication promotes continuation of the idea through Soviet times up through the present, when the bridge could be transformed from a "utopia" to "reality." The work during the Soviet period on one hand placed the idea in the Soviet era when "everything was possible," and foresaw the connection of all the islands on the West coast with each other by some form of terrestrial connection (Polonski, 1964); on the other hand scientists were critical about the actual costs and economic efficiency of such a project (Uustalu, 1969, 1970).

In 2003 the Estonian Government formed a commission to work on implementation and possible problems with the bridge project. The concept comes with a very political overtone and has been anchored in electorial campaigns since. In 1934, the idea of a bridge was formulated in thesis, and between 2002 and 2008 several studies have examined the economic efficiency of the bridge and the socio-cultural impacts it may have on the island (Koit, 2004; Lend, 2007; Lend & Uustalu, 2002, 2003, 2004; Raadik, 2005). While politicians continue to celebrate the project idea from 1934, findings independent studies provide counter arguments to the bridge; however, the doubts raised have been ignored, labeled "reactionary" or "too green."

The project requires funding not available without aid from the European Union (EU). An initial feasibility study cost half a million dollars and was evaluated as unsatisfactory by EU funding sources (bankwatch.org, 2008). New studies are currently in progress. In addition, European environmental organizations have listed the project among the five most environmentally harmful in Europe (bankwatch.org, 2008). Limited information released to the general public in Estonia about the costs and limitations of a bridge has raised false expectations and disappointments with promises and pace of the project.

Currently, the islands are accessed by ferry. Due to increased popularity of the islands as well as changed mobility patterns of islanders themselves, the number of passengers taking the ferry has increased. During 2009, the ferry line served more than 1.3 million passengers (neljas.ee, 2010, January 08). The lack of ferry connections has raised many concerns especially during the summer months when the majority of tourists visit the islands and wait time for the ferry increases. In parallel with continuing plans for

building a bridge, improvements for faster ferry service has been discussed. A private ferry line will bring new ferries to operate between the islands and the mainland in summer 2010 and together with the county government and financial aid from European funds, the harbor is currently under reconstruction to meet increased demand.

Representations of Saaremaa

> 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, I'd like to paint it. That those fields are inhabited, that they are 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." (Mudist in Kulles, 2004, p. 35)

With these lines, a famous contemporary Estonian painter describes the island landscapes as source to his inspiration. Quite similarly since the 1930's, Saaremaa has been depicted a historical place with a rural idyllic aura. *Picturesque Estonia*, a travel guide from 1937[1], a book from Estonian exile, calls upon Estonians to visit their "homeland" of natural beauty the nation should be proud of (Kompus, 1950). Saaremaa landscapes filled with memorable land- marks were described in contrast to mainland landscapes:

> 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 . . . form a characteristic land- mark visible from afar. (Kompus, 1950, 78-79)

Several other travel books published in exile (Kangro & Uibopuu, 1956; Kesa, 1948) carry the same nostalgic retrospect to homeland (Sooväli, 2004).

Half a century later, Lonely Planet (2000) introduces the place as follows:

[1] Published in English in 1937 and translated into Estonian in 1939. Reprint in 1950

> Mainland Estonians say Saaremaa, the country's biggest island . . . is "like 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 through its famous windmills 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 half of the land. (Williams, Galbraith, & Kokker, 2000, p. 212)

With strong emphasize on unspoiled rural landscapes, travel guides also emphasize continuity through past. The past is emphasized through memory work as well–"like old Estonia." Bradt Travel Guide describes Saaremaa as a resort linking the 1930's with the 21st century:

> Estonians are often characterized as "reserved", yet the mention of Saaremaa, the countries largest island, always evokes a passionate response, both from those who now live abroad and from those who remained in Estonia. . . . Until 1989, Saaremaa was classified as a frontier zone so travel was severely restricted, even for local people, while visitors from outside the Soviet Union were banned completely. Yet memories of its status in the 1930's as a major health resort, when its fame was such that it warranted guidebooks in English and German, meant that this popularity was instantly restored when travel restrictions were lifted. The 1930's and the 21st century now blend together remarkably well. (N. Taylor, 2007, p. 220)

Sooväli (2004) in her dissertation about landscape imagery of Saaremaa Island in the 20th century argues that popular imagery of Saaremaa prevalent today is largely based on "past idealized," on the idyllic rural landscape with its' origins from the mid-1800's. This imagery was largely "forced" by outsiders–the Baltic-German landscape paintings in an era of Romantic Movement. Landscapes of Saaremaa were also popular in the 1930's, and since the current Estonian national imagery has its roots largely from that period, it also applies to imagery of Saaremaa (Sooväli, 2004).

During the 19th century, Saaremaa became famous for its' curative mud and many spa resorts were built in Kuressaare (Koppel, 1974; Reinaru, 2006). Kuressaare's

popularity grew among the Russian and Baltic-German elite as *Gemütlich*[2] place (Soorsk, 1999; Soorsk, Muru, & Eelma, 2007). The "exotic" rural landscape was part of the scenery, while city offered "modern" conveniences and pleasureable "past-time." During the 1920's and 1930's, the Estonian elite replaced German and Russian one (Soorsk et al., 2007).

Today the first independence period is referred to as a "golden era," however, these representational landscapes of Saaremaa were formed under the harsh everyday labor conditions, and the socio-economic situation of the islands was described as "poor" (Sooväli, 2004). These "lived" rural landscapes were far away from the idyllic aesthetisized landscapes of recreation and vacationing.

This imagery differs greatly from the actual landscape today (Sooväli, 2004). Semi-natural grasslands and open coastal meadows are disappearing in fast pace due to changed land use, and the iconographic symbols of island place like windmills and juniper fields have been turned into a "cliché" by the tourism industry. The image of rural idyll perceived as aesthetically pleasing today, "this nostalgia-driven imagery perceived ideal has 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" (Sooväli, 2004, p. 112). Sooväli (2004) argues that this dominant imagery will probably be persistent over time and not go through major transformations, as " it is not the actual landscape that matters; rather it is the imaginative landscape representation" (p. 110).

[2] *Gemütlichkeit* connotes the notion of belonging, social acceptance, cheerfulness, the absence of anything hectic and the opportunity to spend quality time, a place of warm friendliness. *Gemütlich* refers to an agreement between environmentally and socially cozy.

Tourists visiting islands of Saare County most often value the peculiarity and purity of islands' nature along with the "islandness" and "isolation" (Sooväli, 2004). Isolation provides the adventurous ferry trip appreciated as part of an island experience (Sooväli, 2004). Bradt Travel Guide portrays the ferry connection almost as a control mechanism for the number of tourists; "The island's sole major transport link, an hourly ferry to the mainland, ensures that only discerning and determined tourists make the effort to come" (Taylor, 2007, p. 220). Lonely Planet guidebooks hint on the negative tendencies of increasing tourism:

> In recent years, Saaremaa has become an almost painfully popular tourist resort between May and September, especially with Finns, who flock here 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, Hermann, & Kemp, 2003)

Sooväli (2004) argues that domestic tourists' "routes" are rather structured, with concrete plans about sites to visit. The "iconic" places are toured and through photographs another layer of representational landscapes is added into circulation. Foreign visitors, according to Sooväli (2004), had more "open" plans for their visit. Foreign visitors had vague ideas of what sights to expect from the islands, yet they have a strong interest in history and heritage of the place.

While experiencing island landscapes, layers from a post-Soviet past are often discovered along the "required route of touring." These "non-representational" images, however, are part of the experience and due to the "novelty" for many Western European visitors considered worthy of interest. The Lonely Planet mentions the richness of Saaremaa landscapes in military heritage (both Soviet and pre- Soviet) adding to their peculiarity (Williams, Galbraith, & Kokker, 2000).

One of the recent trends among visitors to the islands is to build stone towers along the coastline as personal monuments of “memory”–“I have been here.” “New” representational landscapes have been created for “touring”–offering new places to experience and to remember.

CHAPTER 4 – IN SPACES IN BETWEEN–FROM RECOLLECTIONS TO NOSTALGIA: DISCOURSES OF BRIDGE AND ISLAND PLACE

Abstract

The creation of a terrestrial connection to the mainland from Saaremaa Island (Estonia) has been an ongoing discussion among politicians, scientists and the general public for the last decade. The idea of a fixed link has worked as a dream, hope, and fear in a situation where the island faces enormous societal changes in a rapidly developing young capitalist country. Islanders and visitors feel threats to their home place with or without the bridge. This paper explores public discourse of textualised landscapes as context-dependent multiple realities. Questions related to the perceptions of change of material landscapes as well as symbolic meanings of *lived environment* in the transition and rhetoric of everyday spatial practices will be investigated. The rhetoric "journey" of a planned terrestrial fixed link in the form of a bridge from an island to the mainland is followed. Materials from an online public forum from the last five years related to the topic, reviewing approximately 120 online articles with more than 1800 comments from the general public, are investigated to reveal major themes of discourse on island place, landscape of identity as well as possible transformations of related concern. Idealized landscapes of a nostalgic past are voiced equally yet differently among the ideals of all political powers, islanders themselves and tourists.

Keywords: landscape, island, bridge, place identity, home, nostalgia

Introduction

> "We have said that space is existential; we might as well have said that existence is spatial" (Merleau- Ponty, 1962, p. 293)

Landscape as Place and Space

The volatile constructions of our spatial existence are practiced upon a land and find their reflection in a landscape. Landscapes can be viewed within a broader context as common property (Kaur, Palang, & Sooväli, 2004; Linehan & Gross, 1998). Landscape itself thus becomes primarily a "visionscape," open to everyone as a public good and a basis for experiences, recollections and nostalgia. Landscapes are one source and tool of identification (Blickle, 2002; Cosgrove, 1985; Häyrynen, 2004; Kaur et al., 2004; O'Keeffe, 2007). Berleant states that landscape[3], reflecting the experience of an immediate location, is an individual environment, an embodied experience:

> Its peculiar features embodying in a distinctive way the factors that constitute any environment and emphasizing the human presence as the perceptual activator of that environment. We can express this somewhat differently by saying that landscape is a lived environment. (1997, p. 12)

According to Berleant (1997), in continuity lies identity, although continuity is not a mark of a fulfilling unity of body and environment; neither is continuity always positive, nor does it deny distinctions and differences. The argument for continuity rests within an awakened sense of experience. One's sense of continuity is both perceptual and material. He continues, "continuity epitomizes the fullness of aesthetic engagement"

[3] Landscape in this study refers to the symbiosis of its' dual features - the environment cognized by humans and as visual entity. Human component encompassing past experience, expectations, and the socio- cultural context interacts with the landscape component including both individual elements and landscape as entity. Resulting outcome affects both humans and landscape (Zube, Sell, & Taylor, 1982).

(1997, p. 110). “But also at the same time, and as part of this embodied experience, we carry our knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes with us, for these participate in the process of experience and enable us to structure and interpret it” (Berleant, 1997, p. 13). Landscapes are sustained through communication processes, stabilized and harmonized through shared activities and common language (de Certeau, 1984; Thwaites, 2001; Tuan, 1977, 1980, 1991). As noted by Tuan (1980) “. . . people are constantly making and unmaking places by talking about them . . . in a sense, a place is its reputation” (p. 6). People are in various ways affectively attached to places (Grossberg, 1996). Places become multilayered worlds of social meanings, filled with needs and desires (Allon, 2000; Dickinson, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Parts, 2004; Stokols, 1981), and offer experiential opportunities to wander on the landscapes of perceived and imagined (Berleant, 1997; Brocki, 2008; Burgin, 1996; de Certeau, 1984; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006; R. Kaplan & S. Kaplan, 1989). These postmodern landscapes draw our attention to memory places, “those sites where the cites necessary for the invention of self are located” (Dickinson, 1997, p. 21). Dickinson (1997) emphasizes the role of memory as more than just mental operation, but a spatial and bodily operation placing both individuals and landscapes within a “stabilizing past.” In this space of identity- making, recollections and dreams constantly dismantle and recreate its borders. Identities of places and people are in a constant state of becoming through semantically overloaded nostalgias and total dissolubility of boundaries between “Us” and “Others” (Duszak, 2002). Nostalgia can be defined through different emphases on its outcomes. Volĉiĉ (2007) argues that nostalgia establishes emotional relationships between an individual and the past insofar as “nostalgia complements rather than replaces memory” (p. 25). He continues, “as much as

nostalgia expresses a love for the past, it can also serve as a vehicle for xenophobia, anger, fear, hatred, and anxiety" (Volcic, 2007, p. 25). As much as that anxiety and hatred can be addressed towards the Other as an obstacle to achieve a desired idealized version of the past, it can equally work against the very same past as a tool of self- deception towards an idealized "past- future home." This "nostalgia of home" encloses itself in a fantasy in various ways. This sense of alienation, search for the past through our own images and stereotypes about past is fostered by contemporary capitalism (Jameson, 1997). Nostalgia for home can paradoxically equal fancy about an "absent present" (Ritivoi, 2002) in a "home place" as well as about "becoming present" of home. Consequently, the search for a "lost home" might be the hope to find a solution through better connections to external space or on the contrary, a desire to re- discover home inside a home place. Nostalgia for home finds its way in-between landscapes of recollections and desires.

Study Purpose and Methods

This paper explores public discourse of textualised landscapes as context-dependent multiple realities. Through an analysis of existing research and a synthesis of empirical data in the discussion, public discourses of *readings* about *lived landscapes* are examined. Questions related to the perceptions of change of material landscapes as well as symbolic meanings of *lived environment* in the transition and rhetoric of everyday spatial practices will be investigated. For this review, selected texts from the fields of sociology, philosophy, political theory and rhetorics help to lead the discussion, while analyzing empirical data from online public forums. Empirical data of interest comes from online media publications and online public forums reflecting views on the

developmental plans of the island of Saaremaa, Estonia. This paper follows the rhetoric "journey" of a planned terrestrial fixed link in the form of a bridge from an island to the mainland. Materials from an online public forum from the last five years related to the topic, reviewing approximately 120 online articles with more than 1800 comments from the general public, are investigated to reveal major themes of discourse on island place, landscape of identity as well as possible transformations of related concern. I will argue that the online public discourse surrounding the possible building of the bridge can be seen as a site where meanings of an identity of island place are struggled over in contemporary Estonian society, drawing on nostalgic renderings of home. Critical discourse analysis is used as an approach to draw together the perspectives of "language in use," and also Foucault's perspective on discourse. It draws on and also overlaps with critical linguistics and social semiotics (Yell, 2005).

A social semiotic concept of "text" does not see text only as a product, but as a process (meaning-making/semiosis) (Yell, 2005). Texts as "sites" for meaning- making are also tracks of that process of meaning production. Text is not just an arrangement of signs, but jointly produced by participants of communication (Yell, 2005). A social semiotic approach blurs the borders between receivers and producers of the text, while incorporating the larger social and cultural context. Social semiotics does not maintain a distinction between the "langue" (system of language) and "parole" (use of language) in Saussurian terms; its fundamental unit of meaning is text, as a social act and communicative practice (Yell, 2005). Discourse is a contested term as stressed by Yell, slipping between "a concept of 'text as a social practice' and 'power/knowledge' relations" (2005, p. 22). She argues that meaning-making is never purely just an

expression, yet always interlinked with power/knowledge. Foucault's (1980) concern about discourse has always been related to identity and marginal knowledge, regarded as trivial or non- serious. Foucault's standpoint, however, was that identities were defined and knowledge organized through everyday practices (Foucault, 1980). According to Yell (2005) and Rossiter and Cooper (2005), the supposedly marginal and non- serious forms of communication such as text messaging, chat rooms and blogs might be viewed as sites resembling "subjugated knowledge." Rossiter and Cooper (2005) also emphasize the non- linearity, interactivity, and "real- time" of those systems of relations, the constant process of "doing." Research on new media should not thus be considered as looking at relationships between categories and objects but rather how those categories let us know "about the 'movement' between which has emerged and the condition of possibility" (Rossiter & Cooper, 2005, p. 104). Placing emphasis on the specifics of place and culture, processual aesthetics help to articulate how those specifics are recontextualised and reproduced within a larger relational context (Rossiter & Cooper, 2005). With the help of Andrejevic (2002), Rossiter and Cooper argue however that while linking the new economy and the creation of affective identity, it is important to understand that it does not automatically mean that those new encounters between subjects, technologies, networks and institutional forces represent a greater freedom or resistance. Referring to Andrejevic (2002):

> The paradox of surveillance- based economy is that it pretends to individuals that they count . . . when all it really wants to do is count them . . . (p. 260)

Critical rhetoric focuses on public arguments and understandings about the objects under study and not concerned with knowledge of the essence of objects, and has always been concerned with the materiality of discourse (Sloop, 2004). The thesis on

materiality of discourse is linked to discussions of all categories of identity and changing meanings in practices of everyday life and ideology (Sloop, 2004). This paper aims for understanding of how "slow rhetorical transition" (Sloop, 2004, p. 19) works through public debate and how changes in meanings are contained by ideological practices as well as anticipated by the general public. Articles in online newspapers and online forums are open space for public communication. This online public debate space is created in connection with free speech and political agendas and works as a space of fleeting encounters. Online public debate in its anonymity is not a public debate space in its classic form; this is space where ideas are rendered through virtual bodies in circular real-time. This paper examines what enters the online public debate space over the possible future bridge to island. More importantly, when opening the online public debate, how are desires and fears of a bridge articulated by media–in national and local newspapers, as well as their communicative counterparts- online forums and debates from the general public.

Findings

Landscapes of Recollections

The idea of a fixed connection to the island of Saaremaa from the mainland brought up by the new political structure of a free Estonia is moving slowly but steadily through a public realm, with reflections found in media. "Crossing that bridge" is a theme of development and notion of progress in the present day political landscape of Estonia, where democracy was restored under the slogans "Clear that place!" and "A fresh start." Along with the political system, physical places were restructured. Nostalgia towards the past found its legalized existence in legislative practices of restitution, touching every

citizen of the country. Political restitution cut through the spaces leaving places to struggle with materiality created in "in-betweenness" of fifty years[4]. "'Spatial anxieties', the fears and uncertainties about place, belonging and recognition" (Allon, 2000, p. 275), emerged along with a shift in political and cultural discourse. "Illegible landscapes" (Allon, 2000) increased the desires for home, suddenly lost in this transition from "socialist past" to "past idealized." The landscape of Island as memorized by Estonians through centuries has started to evaporate along the way. Traditional landscape of coastal meadows, vital rural villages, dispersed grain fields with blooming flowers, and rich forests entered the era of desire of extensive logging, decline of rural life, and divisional landscape of summer cottages (Kaur et al., 2004). The past idealized has suddenly turned into a "present unwanted."

Political Landscapes of Nostalgia

The notion of a bridge to the mainland entered public debate in 1997, shortly after a hundred year anniversary celebration of a causeway between Muhu Island and Saaremaa, a terrestrial connection built to improve the infrastructure inside island space in the late nineteenth century. Fantasies and dreams from one hundred years ago of connecting the islands to the mainland were memorized and articulated within the context of a fixed link. The hundred's year birthday of the causeway gave birth to a wish for a new memorial of a political will and power. Memories of past dreams were turned into

[4] Estonia claimed its' second 'era' of freedom on a political restitution of first period of independent Estonian Republic, interrupted with the annexation of Baltic States by Soviet Union in 1940. With the restitution process private property nationalized in 1940 was returned to the former owners or their relatives, creating however another social inequality. Quite a number of 'new' former owners of land and private property are living permanently abroad. Collective farms as forms of socialist economy were demolished, and private farming was stimulated. In a situation of lack of financial resources and collapsed former market majority of them did not make through. Half- legal timbering and selling pieces of land (mostly seashores) to foreigners has often become the only form of income for many local landowners.

necessities of the present. Island place suddenly turned from a "nostalgic island lure" to an "island without a terrestrial connection," a place without equal possibilities for a future. Representatives of County Government framed a hundred year old dream into political reality as a sign of development and progress islanders have always been fighting for, emphasizing the great past of islanders' free will and rebellious minds. It was suggested that now, with the free Estonia, dreams could come true, that had long been repressed under Soviet occupation. Building its justification to the notion of development and equalized with the progress, a terrestrial connection to the mainland has become a symbol of hope to all present troubles of "lost home" the island community faces today. This almost Utopian state of "lost past-hoped future" that might come with a fixed connection to the mainland has been fed by politicians fighting for their positions in Parliament, and has become their "precious" election pledge, carefully maintained and passed from election to election, from one political party to another. Volĉiĉ (2007) argues with the help of Ugresic (2002) that as "socialism relied on the promise of Utopia yet to come, capitalism feeds on a sense of loss" (p. 21). Hopes, desires and fears connected with the proposed bridge feed on nostalgia of lost home. Yet that nostalgia has different contextuality and different articulation among different political parties as well as the general public. Examining the amount and content of news from a Great Dream[5] in official online news, it is important to mention that pattern and tone of news varies before, after and in between political elections. Accounts between elections about a terrestrial connection are more reflective on opinions from scientists, environmental organizations, or discussions around possible forms of the connection, with notions of the

[5] Fixed Link (Great Dream as a term firstly used by Estonian daily newspaper in June, 2003)

need for additional research and possible environmental impacts. In comparison the electoral promises are concrete and clear: “Saaremaa Fixed Link is knocking on the door of European funds” (MM, 2002, September 05), “The route of the million dollar bridge is placed on a map” (PM Online, 2002, October 12), “Bridge is coming no matter what” (Aardam, 2007, March 01), “Bridge will be in 2015” (MM, 2007, March 27). Articles prior to the elections do not link actual political figures to promises made; instead the promises are linked to the political parties. On the other hand oppositions (parties) to the bridge are personalized: “Tarvis: Centre Party has not discussed the fixed link”[6] (Kuivjõgi, 2003, February 07). After elections, promises shift to more doubtful ground: “The top official of County Government: No need to hurry with the bridge” (Sepp, 2004, October 06). Doubts are presented through individual voices, becoming more similar to personal statements: “Savisaar[7]: Next government should work on the fixed link” (MM, 2006, June 06). Political promises themselves are consequently forgivable towards their own memory. The same political figures tend to shift to the next round of dreams and promises while forming coalitions with political “enemies” of yesterday. The ideas of bridge are in political terms equally useful to everybody, and very few do not use it as at least one of their political statements. But where the differences lie is in the imagined future connected to the proposed bridge. The Reform Party promises that the bridge will lead to quick connections as presumption to development, and prosperity for entrepreneurship. The most emotional statements are working here - the “freedom of

[6] Main party to support the idea of the bridge is Estonian Reform Party, mainly representing radical economic interests of entrepreneurs. Estonian Reform Party is related to rapid development and economic success, often depicted as a symbol of Future. Estonian Centre Party is considered to focus more on social issues and thus often related to ideas of communism and Soviet Past.

[7] Minister of Communications and Transportation in 2006 and leader of Centre Party

movement,"[8] and "home." However dreams of home as successful and competitive, a place worth living, are placed *outside* of the *present*. Fast connection "in and out" is the main argument placed on the table, in a situation where thousands of islanders work off island due to lack of employment on the island; a situation created by rapid changes in society.[9] In the article, "Progress and success presume equal opportunities," (Lember, 2007, March 01) political powers for the bridge declared: "Equal opportunities start from a good connection- all people must have an opportunity to travel safely and quickly from one place to another." The bridge is a promise of easy travel between "city and home"[10] for permanent islanders as well as those who moved to the mainland with second homes on the island. Home here is opposed to the city. With a notion of a quick and safe connection, however, leaders of the idea have seemingly eliminated other options of better connection like a tunnel, which would probably provide a more stable connection than a bridge considering the climate in this region. While discussing possible connections between the island and the mainland statements like "Connection with mainland is a question of everybody's inner feeling" and "Tunnel is an alienable and uncanny idea to islanders," (MM, 2004, May 22) were expressed by politicians. When the bridge concept entered the public realm, the first drawings of the Big Dream as a cable fixed bridge were posted online, and became the banner of the primary local newspaper. Aesthetic vision of a bridge going high was imposed. Emotions such as

[8] Emphasis on fast movement

[9] Saaremaa has been for centuries reliant on agricultural production as main form of employment. With the rebirth of Estonian Republic collective farming as the main form of agricultural production from Soviet era was replaced with private farming. Politics of development are so far concentrated around capital city, where financial power and turnover are creating very unbalanced economic and social situation. Capital city Tallinn has become main drawer of work force.

[10] Capital city and island respectfully

"Bridge is a magnet, not the tunnel," (MM, 2004, May 22) "We do not want just any kind of connection" (MM, 2004, May 22). "Bridge is attractive," (Neudorf, 2005, July 05) "Opportunity to make a Wanderlust to an island," (Neudorf, 2005, July 05) were strongly present in political comments. Despite, official statements from the government continue to stress that a final decision has not been made. Emphasizing the bridge as a place of *wonder*, the most vocal proponents have not accepted a free cantilever concrete bridge as an option. Yet, this has been proposed by the Danish experts, emphasizing on the bridge's link between the East and the Trans – European Transport Network as a transit corridor (EPLO, 2005, July 01). Opponents[11] of the bridge warn against it as a hope for a quick solution for present economic and social problems: "It is possible that bridge does not change most people's lives for the better" (Ammas, 2005, September 27). Instead of looking at the easy travel "in and out" possibilities, they emphasize looking inside the home- place: "Bridge or local community centre"?(Õunapuu, 2007, January 31), and "The Island does not survive under increased traffic and a place it creates" (Lember, 2007, February 02), were some of the concerns addressed. As political parties in present day Estonia are symbolized and positioned on oppositional ends and not along a continuum of diverse values, not much else is articulated politically in between the so called retrograde nostalgia of the Soviet past and the progressive (nostalgic?) dream from past to future. The Big Dream, reborn in 1996 with the help of politicians, attempts to fit to the changing landscape of nostalgias of home of islanders, as well as tourists, in their everyday life of "heterotopias" (spaces that have more layers of meaning and relationships to other places than immediately meet the eye) (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986).

[11] Green Party, People's Party Moderates, Centre Party (in general)

Landscapes of Nostalgias and Desire

Many islanders commute between the island and the mainland, trying to combine their desire for a higher income offered by better work opportunities outside, and a nostalgic island place of childhood, into an enlarged place and space of everyday connections. Families stay on island, which offers a cleaner and safer environment as well as a closer community, while many men start their journey to the mainland in the beginning of each week. The struggle between a desire to have a life as "elsewhere" outside of the island and keep home on the island is becoming more complicated as increasing pressure of travel to the island creates traffic problems. Thousands of tourists, as well as islanders, permanently living on the mainland, desire to travel to the island on weekends to experience the lure of solitude. Travel by boat for many tourists is one of the components of their desired experience; the island being a place disrupted by the sea, and a place offering a different bodily experience of traversing through a landscape of the sea (Sooväli, 2004) For most of the islanders as emphasized on their online comments, the ferry connection is more of the necessity, the imposed "everydayness" of the island life. The nickname given for ferries connecting the island to the mainland is "slave- boat," used both among the general public, as well as by politicians. Hundreds of islanders go to work on the mainland, using primarily the ferry connection. The boats take them away from their home, the island to a place of work, the city. Another connotation might be related with the ownership of the ferry line, belonging to the wealthiest person on island. Connection with the mainland is perceived as controlled and influenced by that person, sinful of making money on islanders' nostalgias of home.

Few of the scientific studies done about the island do reach the online debate forums. “Why and if Saaremaa is attractive”? (MM, 2003, May 22) an article from a study looking at landscape preferences of islanders and tourists’, heavily doubted the rationality of a bridge as a lifebelt from a “dark future” of peripheral status. Research concluded that the peripheral situation of the present island is relational and a “myth” from reformist politicians. Fear created by politicians to be displaced on the “other side” (of development), which faces the island without a bridge, makes many islanders desire the bridge. Meanwhile, as indicated in the study, everyone desires the same landscape- idyllic, insular, a landscape, which in reality becomes more and more just a “construction of the mind.” Disappearing traditional landscapes are as an “embodied witness” of shifting values–lifestyle as elsewhere. The “ideal home of childhood” becomes nothing more than “a well- sold myth,” intensively exploited by the same developers and reformist politicians for marketing and political purposes.

One of the more recent studies of the bridge and discussed online noted the need for an “internal” view of developmental logistics. “I am not against the bridge, but against the false expectations connected with the bridge,” stated the researcher; “it is a self- deception to think that all the negative impacts come from a connection by ferries and insularity” (Lember, 2007, March 05). Scientific studies, mostly done by non-islanders, are skeptically accepted by islanders for lacking any conclusive remarks for development suggestions with comments like the “pseudo-sciences” or “political custom work.”

Landscapes of Home from In and Out

The Fixed Link has steadily entered public notions about their home and everyday life as islanders. Some cannot imagine their future without a bridge anymore, some with the bridge. A majority probably place somewhere in between, trying to fit their life into the changed/ unchanged conditions. A majority of the online information and comments related to the bridge came from local newspapers, reflecting probably mostly the views and ideas of islanders. Compared to comments in national newspapers on the same issues, those from local newspaper forums with a pro-bridge argument are more emotional. Arguments mainly use notions like "everyday" and "life as elsewhere," when it comes to a life on the island. The bridge as a symbol of progress finds its' reflection in the comments as a right to be "modern" and "white":

> Do not islanders have a right to be modern? Some people think we should live here and follow the rules of the past. Who is an islander, and how should it reflect on our everyday life? We everyday islanders want to live here and work. Bridge is just needed! [Anonymous]
> I need to feel myself as a white person, free to go where and when I want to. [Anonymous]

In the rhetorical construction of whiteness, freedom and whiteness are used as synonyms. This strategic rhetoric as noted by Nakayama and Krizek (1995) functions to "re-secure the centre, the place, for whites" (p. 295). Islanders coping with the enlargened place and space of their everyday life, when commuting between the island and the mainland are forced to redefine the centre. For some people, the bridge seems to symbolize a fundamental basis for their life on the island, almost as an integrated part of an island as a physical or mental reality, with comments like: "Go and live yourself on an island without a bridge!" [Anonymous] An island without a bridge begins to symbolize "a closure", a place simply for just "pure nostalgia."

> My opinion is that if there will be no bridge, we can lock the door of the island and throw the key into the sea. It would be so nostalgic to sail sometimes to the island!" [Anonymous]

Peculiarity and distinctiveness of an island is in some comments declared as "nonsense" and "nostalgia of outsiders." An existing connection with the mainland via ferry is considered part of that nostalgia:

> Bridge is needed! So called "lost of island peculiarity" and all the other nonsense is preached by "mainland fools" and others who are connected with the Ferry Company. [Anonymous]

Concerns expressed in the press about the possible future of the island becoming nothing more than a mere transit corridor for Russian oil after the bridge is built, seem to show a change in meanings about the island as a home. For some, the notion of home seems either fragmented out or unified to a larger context, as their place of dwelling gets extrapolated from the island place as a home:

> Most important is that bridge will come. I do not care if it is meant for a transit for Russians, Estonians or Jews...I just want to live here. [Anonymous]

In contrast, opponents to the bridge see it as a political matter, and form their arguments around the "distinctiveness" of their home- place, the island. Instead of looking externally for solutions they see internal problems which the bridge will not cure, with comments such as: "Bridge is not important, but how place is developed and managed from the inside." [Anonymous] A metaphor of "door" is used to describe the connection to the mainland, emphasizing the aesthetics of the bridge like "a beautiful door": "Beautiful door is not a key to success, important is what is inside. Bridge is a lazy solution." [Anonymous] Several comments implied that the bridge is connected to political games with negative consequences for the island place. The bridge was labeled a "monument," "extension of a penis," "political genre of false expectations" and a "source

of energy of a perpetuum mobile of political games" turning an island from a "green nature pearl" into a "car/ mass- tourism playground," and a "metropolitan amusement park." Questions like "What is this bridge reactivating? Staying or leaving?" [Anonymous] or "What kind of bridge will save the peripheral regions on the mainland?" [Anonymous] were asked to pinpoint that islanders should protect and cherish what they have as people living on an island. In contrast to this argument, others fear that young and educated people will leave the island forever if there is no bridge:

> Young people move to the place where higher salary and better opportunities of personal development are offered, they are not interested in wide open paved roads. They will return to their home if they are raised to cherish home along with cherishing themselves, home as it is, not the paved road to the home. [Anonymous]

Many shared their general disappointment with politics, labeling the issues about the bridge as "self- deception," "shameful" and "defraud":

> The question remains: Who is cheating whom? Is our country cheating islanders that bridge is not needed just for a transit corridor or European Union that bridge is meant for a transit? Both ways it is just a dirty game" [Anonymous].

Comments from online national newspapers were more dispersed between the different issues and less supportive of the bridge concept. The majority of the comments shared the view that islanders will lose more then they will gain; something valuable will be lost that cannot be measured economically. Comments like: "People tend to forget the real price" [Anonymous] with emphasis on real price, were made also about progress in general, which does not entail the meaning of "things getting better." References were made to memory, as bridge plans remind us of the many great plans of the past Soviet era "to turn the flow of the great Siberian Rivers" [Anonymous]. The terrestrial connection was noted to

be a loss of place as a valued combination of people and landscapes: “A lot of the sense of island place is already turned into memory, and now you want to take that away as well” [Anonymous].

Much irony was expressed online on the continual debate about the terrestrial connection from the mainland to the island with comments such as “Bridges to all islands, because people love islands!” [Anonymous] or “Lets’ sell the Island to Latvia[12], they do not have any!” [Anonymous]. Political manipulation was sensed not only in the games played for the electoral seats in Parliament; although it was strongly articulated through comments such as “Bridge is used as a political argument, this lifesaving straw when all the other ones are used up,” [Anonymous] “Experts know that the bridge is just utopia, but before elections this was not convenient ‘news’ to declare. Let’s beat the drum, and after four years again,” [Anonymous] or “After the elections during two or three years politicians will find ways to ignore promises. Then they will take a short brake, rephrase the arguments and start it all over again” [Anonymous]. Another layer of political game was sensed in a “future blame”, to put on the general public’s shoulders:

> If the bridge was so vital to the existence of the island, it would already be here! [Anonymous]
>
> No one would ask for the pros and cons. It is sad how they manipulate via public emotions, and finally take their own decision anyway. But yes, the ‘people’ are still an important component here, because somebody must be present to blame, if that bridge will not be ‘the dream come true’ if finally materialized. Politics try to manipulate us via sincere and trustful dialogues. Let’s forget that bridge! Get out and listen to the sounds of nature and don’t be just the tools in the hands of politicians. [Anonymous]

[12] Latvia, the neighboring country to Estonia does not have any islands although a shoreline. Latvian tourists make a significant portion of tourists coming to Island.

Discussion

In a contemporary world, the construction and the meaning of places arises primarily because of developments, disruptions of notions of place due to intensified spatial extensions of social relations, time- space compression and so forth (Giddens, 1991; Harvey, 1989; Massey, 1995). Place identities are frequently contested as meanings of place vary across different groups and are about the battle over the material future of the place based on rival interpretations of the past (Massey & Jess, 1995). Any of those contested claims are however made in particular space-time, which is in constant change, thus claims are subject of change also (Massey & Jess, 1995). Landscapes are proven a useful way to present on a larger scale the metaphor of identity, not only at an individual but also on a national level (Bell & Lyall, 2002; Blickle, 2002; Ely, 2002; Häyrynen, 2004; Kaur et al., 2004). Rapidly changing political, economic and socio- cultural conditions find their reflections in landscapes. Saaremaa Island in Estonia is no exception. Traditional landscapes with distinctive structures, with clear relations between the composing elements, and with significant natural, cultural and aesthetic values that evolved through slow historical processes face degradation. These processes receive affective responses from people, as the landscape is symbolically significant in their identity process. Landscapes of memory gain importance as valued thresholds in the process of fixing the otherwise fragmented identities. Landscape appreciation for a transforming information oriented society is based largely on holistic value, where historical, aesthetic and identity values are more and more intertwined (Dickinson, 1997; Dickinson et al., 2006; Kaur et al., 2004). As a shared space and place, landscapes of memory are sites for discourse, where professed views draw on the same narrative values

of home while resulting in different outcomes. Memories and nostalgias for home are effective tools in the politics of resistance as well as “explicit”, “regular” politics (Thrift, 2004). Our place- bound relations have not changed to mere “space of flows” in contemporary society, where the process of movement in that “future- past of present” (Rossiter & Cooper, 2005) has changed. The public sphere in a net of new technologies, subjects, networks and institutional forces has opened a new political arena for affective politics as counterpart to the regular ones.

Implications

O’Keeffe argues for the constructivist understanding of landscape, which claims landscapes to be “the product of mindscape”–inalienable with the realms of cognitive and mnemonic, and with the general issue of consciousness, “including ‘non-consciousness’, in the sense of Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’” (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4). The same goes with landscapes’ democratic value, as “everybody knows, possesses, and partakes in ‘landscape’” (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4). Thus the landscape-situated responses (of resistance and compliance) to authority articulated in and over the landscape are seen as “acts of landscape-construction and identity-formation in their own right” (O'Keeffe, 2007, p. 4).

Studies of new media can open new layers of meaning- making in the space of “hypertext.” Exploring “marginal” media and communication practices (internet chat etc.) as possible sites of subjugated knowledge (Yell, 2005) help to understand and see the “slowly turning narratives” of society. In that processual aesthetics, where aesthetic cues as cultural signifiers are mapped in spatial play, the political process that matters to people may be open (Thrift, 2004; Viola, 1995, 2003). As noted by Thrift:

> Without this kind of affective politics, what is left of politics will often be the kind of macho program- making that emaciates what is to be human- because it is so sure it already knows what that will be. (2004, p. 74)

CHAPTER 5 - PREDICTING FUTURE EXPERIENCE – PERCEIVED EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE ON HOLIDAY EXPERIENCES AMONG VISITORS TO SAAREMAA ISLAND ESTONIA

Abstract

Societal change is inscribed in landscapes and becomes visible within representation and practice reflected in broader developmental changes in both context and function. Tourism echoes such change in the perceptions and experiences of visitors who come with diverse interests. Tourists bring their aspirations based on past and present interpretation of landscapes visited, and qualities of places deemed important for a desired experience. As an exploratory study building on Bott's (2000) work to develop sense of place psychometric scales, this study examined the influence of sense place, nationality and education on perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experiences and perceived effects of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experiences. Multiple regression results show nationality and three sense of place scales explained 14% of the variance in perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experiences. Nationality was the strongest predictor followed by individual memory and two cultural setting scales: inherent and transactional socio-cultural. A logistic regression resulted in six predictors (two demographic and four sense of place scales) of future impacts of a proposed bridge on future experience, accounting for 18% of the variance. Well-being was the strongest and only positive predictor followed by educational level, memory, socio-cultural context of place, educational level, aesthetics

of place, and nationality which were all negative. Highlights allude to the predictive power of sense of place on perceived environmental risk of development to future experience among tourists.

Key words: sense of place, environmental changes, logistic regression

Introduction

Providing opportunities for high quality tourist experiences is an important management objective for island environments, as it is at destinations where tourism is managed (Cole & Hall, 2009). Sense of place research is one possible approach to better understand setting qualities important to visitors and the connection to the psycho- social context of experience (Bott, 2000; Gross & Brown, 2003; Pretty, Chipuerb, & Bramstona, 2003; Williams & Hall, 2002).

Sense of Place, Environmental Concern, and Issues of Mobility

Research supports a positive connection between sense of place and residents' environmental concern for their communities (Bonaiuto, Breakwell, & Cano, 1996; Kaltenborn, 1997, 1998; Kaltenborn, Andersen, & Nelleman, 2009; Stedman, 2002; Vorkinn, & Riese, 2001; Wester- Herber, 2004); however, mostly applicable to community based research, voicing residents or second homeowners concerns of their meaningful places. Connections of sense of place to rootedness, or residential status have predominated the literature and raised questions of "insiders" and "outsiders" to the place, belongingness, personal as well as cultural identity and stressing the notion of "home-place" (Hay, 1998; Massey & Jess, 1995; Relph, 1976). Attachment to a place is related to a concept of maintenance (Hay, 1998); daily or periodic physical contact

necessary to develop and maintain a sense of place; otherwise it becomes simply nostalgic in character. Yet, in many aspects, the dichotomy between insiders' and outsiders' sense of place should be reconsidered in a highly mobile world of travelers. What about visitors' sense of place in general when "the path is less traveled"?

In today's mobile world, new social scapes (actors and networks) are developed (Massey, 2005; van der Duim, 2007) across distinctions such as local-global and centre-periphery (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008; van der Duim, 2007). It requires acknowledging that society is "performed through everyone's effort to define it" (Latour, 1986, p. 275). The making and re-making of places involves connections and mobility, as societies are acted upon over distances and at a distance, through social interactions and networks (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Places are generated through a mix of planned activities and un-predictable meetings, spontaneous developments and political practices, resulting in un-determined outcomes in movement (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Through movements people link places together, stretch social relations as well as their "habitus" (acquired patterns of thought, taste, and behavior constituting the link between social structures and social practice) over the space (Bourdieu, 1977; Edensor, 2006; King, 1995).

The modern mobility of migration, commuting and tourism feed into and produce each other (Williams & Hall, 2002). "Settled tourists" (Tuulentie, 2007) as second homeowners become "insiders" to a place. Relocating and commuting locals broaden their mobility, yet often acquire more spatial constraints than obtaining freedom (Kaufmann, 2002). Placing travel in the context of "structured-confined"–"unstructured-infinite" (planned by time and event versus unplanned, spontaneous and continuous)

(Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), mobility and place link and form specific space-time rhythms in relation to ground covered (Kaufmann, 2002). Desire for quick access to places for work and play, have increased the need for infrastructural development. Yet "a 'freer' mobility is often the sign of people having assigned the degree of freedom that they have to their mobility rather than to something else" (Kaufmann, 2002, p.58).

Islands as desired vacation spots face increased pressure on accessibility, and potential rapid development offered by fixed links (tunnels or bridges) broaden opportunities in terms of mobility (Baldacchino, 2007). Islands with bridges have proven more attractive to tourists, thanks to guaranteed access (Baldacchino, 2007). Yet, changes in the rate and tempo of transformation are observable in cases where bridges have been built, since the fixed links act as accelerators, hastening change (Baldacchino, 2007). Bridged islands appear as new spatial configurations, facing tricky situations regarding the management of the various and contradictory pressures imposed upon them (Baldacchino, 2007). Consequently, in many cases, forced control mechanisms (differentiated tolls, zoning etc.) have created more structured places than before (Barthon, 2007). Mobility is polysemic (with multiple meanings), as well as spatial configurations created as an illusion to escape restrictions of social and terrestrial structures (Kaufmann, 2002).

The construction of bridges to islands relate to the realm of primary modernization (Beck, 1991). Promises of economic prosperity from such developments are accompanied by environmental and social threats. As Beck (1991) implies, the crisis of industrial society thriving for economic prospect lies in the illusion of risk management of its consequences: "threats are produced industrially, externalized

economically, individualized juristically, legitimized scientifically, and minimized politically" (p. 140). Risk position is dependent on knowledge and availability of information (as well as often correlating with economic status), thus relates to power and political ideology. According to Foucault (1980), power transforms to knowledge through the medium of discourse and cannot exist outside of it. Yet, it is within the structural arrangements, which surround any given discourse where power has its genesis (Foucault, 1990). Views on environmental risk in post-communist societies are still largely influenced by the dominant ideology of a communist past of "conquering nature," as well as a revival of primary modernization blindly adopted from a Western model in hopes for rapid economic growth. In a state of reflective modernization, perceptions of threat and related environmental concern have changed social relations (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990). There is an impending conflict between primary and reflective modernization (Beck, 1991); the indisputable decision- making power assigned to political institutions versus political reflexivity based on social experience.

Mobility and places are inherently political, produced through performances of people involved in diverse practices of mobility (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008; Cresswell, 2006; Massey, 2005). "Stretched out" social relations (Allen & Hamnett, 1995) relate to claims made over places in terms of activity spaces (Massey, 1995), and require an understanding of spatial organizations of society. "Tourismscapes" (van der Duim, 2007) in their rhizomatic (branching out) character have contributed to the changed understanding and analysis of spatial concepts, such as place, centre, and periphery. As noted by Edensor (2006), a sense of place is increasingly mobile and extending across space. Thus, discussions about identity and sense of place should reach further from

settled, coherent notions of place to place as "meeting-place" (Massey, 1995, 2001). Place identities are frequently contested as meanings of place vary across different groups and refer to the struggle over the material future of the place, based on rival interpretations of the past (Massey & Jess, 1995). Massey and Jess suggest these battles most often occur between unequal forces, due to social, economic, cultural, environmental or political unevenness. Any of the contested claims are, however, made in a particular time-space context, which reflects constant change, thus those claims are subject to change as well.

Measuring Sense of Place

Sense of place measures in tourism research is relatively little to nonexistent (Gross & Brown, 2003). Used to describe a site or location of special significance or meaning (Pretty et al., 2003), the phrase is commonly used across multiple disciplines including environmental design (Groat, 1984), environmental psychology (Pretty et al., 2003; Sime, 1995), geography (Carlson, 1994), and resource management (Backlund & Williams, 2003; Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2003; Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992) each with its own approach for operationalizing the construct [see Bott, 2000 for an indepth literature review]. Much of the literature on sense of place in natural resources comes from leisure studies [see Gross & Brown for an extensive literature review] centered on the combination of involvement (measure of attraction, self expression, and centrality to lifestyle) and place attachment (involving place dependence and place identity, see Backlund & Williams, 2003) concepts (Williams et al., 1992). These constructs are predominantly examined in the context of recreation in particular (Gross & Brown, 2003). To address the gap in the literature

addressing the integrated measurement of sense of place in quantitative research (Carlson, 1994; Groat, 1995; Pretty et al., 2003; Sime, 1995), Bott (2000) sought to develop a set of psychometric domains, scales and items to measure sense of place. Her research supported the existence of four perceptual domains: two setting-related (physical and socio-cultural) and two individual / personal-related (affective and functional individual) represented via 15 scales comprised of 90 sense of place items. The physical setting domain consists of three scales referring to the *natural settings, built environment,* and the specific *characteristics* of each. The cultural setting domain consists of two scales including the *inherent socio-cultural scale* referring to the historical, authentic and spirit of the place and the *transactional socio-cultural scale* with reference to a sense of belonging. The affective individual/personal domain includes five scales: *aesthetic, existential, significance, memory,* and *transcendental*. The functional individual/personal domain includes five scales as well: *informational, prospect, refuge, safety,* and *well-being* scales (see Appendix A). Her work provides alternative constructs to the "involvement" and "place attachment" measures predominantly found in leisure research and more recently applied to tourism research (Gross & Brown, 2003).

This paper examines how tourists to an island place perceive their future experiences in accordance with hypothetical environmental changes. The paper first explores the predictive role sense of place plays in those perceived future experiences. Secondly, the research focuses on how infrastructural changes (i.e., the building of a bridge from the mainland to the island) impact future experiences. To do so, Bott's sense of place scales are applied as predictors of visitor perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experience.

Study Setting: Saare County, Estonia.

Saare is the westernmost county of Estonia consisting of five major islands and numerous islets. Saaremaa is the largest of the islands with a population of 35,000 and has the only city in the county. Historically the area has been a long time border zone between West and East. The islands were governed by the Russian Empire from 1710 until 1918, when the Independent Estonian Republic was established. In 1940, Estonia was annexed by the Soviet Union and Saare County became a restricted border zone until the re-independence of the Estonian Republic in 1991. Fifty years of limited access contributed to the undeveloped coastline, ethnically coherent population, and the limited development pressure on natural resources, with the exception of moderate agricultural activities. The landscape of the islands changed during Soviet occupation due to the changed production modes (shift to collective farms), nationalization of land and restricted private access to the sea. The islands, however, maintained a unique combination of traditional villages with small private farming and moderate sized collective farmlands. With a population of 99% ethnic Estonians, the islands became an oasis of a nation, as the Soviet assimilation politics were not practiced in this border zone. Traveling to the islands by non-dwelling islanders or other Estonians was prohibited without a special invitation from local inhabitants and was limited to two weeks to one month per invitation. The modern lure of the islands gained its potency from the restrictions, and the islands became a desired "dreamland" for many Estonians. Travel to the islands for those who had acquaintances or relatives there, became more like a visit to the "homeland," since the hosts were responsible for their guests. The passage of time on the islands and the security they provided were different from the

"restless" world outside. Local semi-cultural landscapes and customs became symbols of Estonia's past' and were visualized in poems, paintings and popular songs.

After the borders re-opened in 1991, Saaremaa became the number one destination for inbound tourism as well as international arrivals after Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, a Hanseatic, a city of world heritage importance. Land of "short white nights," "flowering meadows," and "mythical Thule Lake" increased visitation, especially after Lennart Meri's, a well known literate and humanist and first president of the newly independent country, published a book about the importance of island place in European cultural history. The "Saaremaa Waltz," a song written by a local poet and made famous by a well–known Estonian singer during occupation times, echoed the beauty and resistance to alien powers and became a powerful representation of the place. Such representation of the place has attracted many Finnish tourists since then (Sooväli, 2004).

During the past 15 years, Saare County has become a desired summer destination under heavy developmental pressure. The tourism industry with its increase in spa hotels, high prices, and large summer events has changed the islands. Sightseeing spots are becoming more commercialized, and idealized tranquil landscapes are slowly turning into a "well-sold myth" (Kaur, Palang, & Sooväli, 2004).

"An island where time rests"–is a promise given to visitors by the tourism board while crossing the strait between the mainland and Saare County. However, over the past five years, there has been a dramatic increase in visitors arriving, primarily via ferry (in 2007 over 1.4 million passengers and 550,000 vehicle crossings) (info.aerogistica, 2008). In 2008, during the busiest weekend of the year (the summer solstice), 81,000 passengers took the ferry to Saare County (Kruuse, 2008, June 26). Access via ferry to the islands

has raised several environmental, economic, and political concerns facing a contemporary Estonia, including a disturbed relationship between center and periphery, the development of infrastructure as a promise of salvation from economic inequalities, and issues of mobility equalized with personal freedom.

The idea of a bridge to the mainland originated in the 1930's (from the era of the first Republic) and was anchored in political campaigns by local politicians in the early 90's. Since then it has been a political dream for many locals and domestic visitors desiring quick and (stress) free travel. However, the project requires funding not available without aid from the European Union (EU). An initial feasibility study cost half a million dollars and was evaluated as unsatisfactory by EU funding sources (bankwatch.org, 2008). In addition, European environmental organizations rated the project as one of the five most environmentally harmful in Europe (bankwatch.org, 2008). Limited information released to the general public in Estonia about the costs and limitations of a bridge raised false expectations and disappointments with the promises and pace of the project.

Pro-bridge arguments suggest that the island place would maintain a competitive tourism destination status if the bridge was built. Although visitor numbers have increased, overnight stays have been decreasing, especially among domestic visitors (Kiil, 2008). In spite of the importance of the tourism industry to the island, little research has focused on island visitors' preferences and expectations of place, or place meanings. As an exploratory study, this study examined the influence of nationality, education, and sense place on perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experiences

and perceived effects of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experiences. More specifically, the following research questions were examined:

R_1 Is there a difference between Estonians and foreigners and their scores for the sense of place scales?

R_2 Is there a difference between Estonians and foreigners and their scores for perceived affect of environmental changes on future holiday experience?

R_3 Is there a relationship between nationality, education, sense of place scales and visitors' perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experience?

R_4 Is there a relationship between nationality, education, sense of place scales and visitors' perceived effect of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experience?

Methodology

Data for this study were collected from on-site surveys on the ferry between the mainland and island, and by the Bishopric Castle, a main tourist attraction on Saaremaa. The surveys were conducted over 14 random days in July and August, 2007. A total of 645 individuals were contacted; 487 completed the survey (response rate = 76%).

Research instrument

A five page self-administered survey included questions regarding general activity and experience patterns on the islands, sense of place psychometric scales, recreational opportunities deemed important, as well as perceived future changes of place and the experience it would provide.

Dependent variables for the predictive models: Respondents evaluated how 11 hypothetical changes in the island environment (i.e., decline of rural lifestyle, bridge to mainland, loss of traditional villages) might influence their future island experiences ("add to my enjoyment," "no effect on my enjoyment," and "detract from my enjoyment"). These items were drawn from the most predominant themes derived from a qualitative study of Saaremaa Island residents on their perceived threats to local valued landscapes (Kaur, Palang, & Sooväli, 2004). In essence, these items represent "perceived effects of environmental (setting) changes on future holiday experience" to form a summated scale as the dependent variable for R_3. A single item, "bridge to mainland" from the hypothetical change variables was recoded dichotomous (0=detracts from my enjoyment; 1=add to my enjoyment) as the dependent variable for R_4. This item fell out of the pool of hypothetical items resulting from a reliability analysis. Although hypothetical, these items represent potential threats to the environment (Cole & Hall, 2009) from growth and development as a result of political agendas (Kaur et al., 2004).

Independent variables

Sense of Place was examined using 57 items with 55 adapted from Bott's (2000) psychometric scales. Two additional items emphasized the role of memory in the construction of meaningful places–this place "reminds me about my childhood place" and "associates with some special place from my past." Agreement scales ("1= strongly disagree" to "5= strongly agree") were used to measure each sense of place item. Twelve of Bott's summated scales were replicated in this study via a reliability analysis:

1. *Natural character scale* refers to setting attributes of clean, peaceful, distinctive, harmonious, balanced and natural–variables reflecting the natural setting domain.
2. *Inherent socio-cultural scale* refers to the place as historic, authentic, enables a feel of history and has a spirit of people–variables from a cultural setting domain.
3. *Transactional socio-cultural scale* refers to a sense of belonging and being part of the community–variables from the cultural setting domain.
4. *Significance scale* refers to meaningful and significant aspects of place–items from an affective personal domain.
5. *Existential scale* refers to feeling a connection and feeling a part of the community to represent the affective personal domain.
6. *Memory scale* refers to place as familiar, evokes strong memories, reminds me of a childhood place or associates with some special place from the past, and evokes a sense of nostalgia–variables of an affective individual domain of sense of place.
7. *Aesthetic scale* refers to place as beautiful, aesthetically pleasing and generates positive sensory experience from an affective individual domain of sense of place.
8. *Transcendental scale* refers to inspiration, spirit of place, fulfillment, strong emotions, inspiration, mystery, and feeling alive–variables of an affective domain.

9. *Informational* scale refers to the understandable and distinctive landmarks of a place–variables of the functional domain.
10. *Prospect scale* refers to feeling like there are personal opportunities in the place with options–these items represent the functional domain.
11. *Refuge scale* includes non-threatening, obvious boundaries and sense of refuge variables–functional domain.
12. *Well-being scale* refers to place as safe, comfortable, serene, reassuring, revitalizing, peaceful, evoking a sense of comfort, and feels like being at home–variables constituting an individual functional domain of sense of place.

Sense of place is assumed to influence perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experience positively or negatively depending on the specific psychometric context of the sense of place scale (Kaltenborn, 1997, 1998; Vorkinn, & Riese, 2001; Wester- Herber, 2004). The stronger the sense of place (i.e., memory of the place) the more negative visitor perceived effect of environmental changes is expected.

Nationality, (Estonians and foreigners) as a demographic variable, was included with the assumption that Estonians would have more positive perceptions related to the construction of the bridge, which has been promoted and mediated intensively as a symbol of progress; a logical step in the development and modernization of contemporary Estonia. Previous studies have indicated that national identity plays a paradoxical role in environmental evaluations; the stronger the national identity, the lower the ratings of perceived environmental threat (Bonaiuto et al., 1996).

Educational level was an expected predictor variable as it relates to a more critical evaluation of political claims made about progress in relation to the proposed bridge development (Beck, 1992), as well as a presumably greater level of environmental awareness.

Analysis Strategy

Reliability analysis of the 57 sense of place items was used to compute 12 of Bott's sense of place psychometric scales as well as an overall perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experience summated scale. Independent sample *t*-tests where used to examine the relationship between nationality on sense of place (with the assumption of differences in perception of place between domestic and international travelers) (research question 1) and on perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experience (research question 2). Sense of place indices, nationality (Estonian versus foreigner) and education were used in a multiple regression analysis as independent variables in a multiple regression to examine their predictive contribution to visitors' *perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experience* (research question 3). For the final research question (R_4), sense of place indices and two demographic variables (nationality and educational level) were used as independent variables in a logistic regression to examine their predictive contribution to visitors' *perceived effect of a bridge to mainland on future holiday experience* (dichotomous variable).

Only 294 individuals from the original sample were included in the multiple regression analysis to address R_3 and 190 respondents in the logistic regression to address R_4, since first time visitors could skip the sense of place questions if they felt the place

was not meaningful or due to missing values. Inter-correlations were checked between each predictor variable and the dependent variables to evaluate their individual contribution.

Results

The sample (n=487) was predominantly married (65%), 57% female, with a median age of 39. Sixty percent of the respondents were Estonians (n=294) versus 40% foreigners (n=194). Of the foreigners 16% were Finns, 5% Swedes, 5% Germans while the others came from 17 other countries. Fifty-four percent had a BS degree or greater. Sixty-eight percent stayed a couple of days while 20% stayed a week. Transportation to the island was predominantly by car (76%) and 14% by bus.

Visitors' Sense of Island Place

Bott's (2000) psychometric scales were adapted to measure sense of place resulting in 12 indices. A reliability analysis was conducted to examine the internal consistency of the sense of place items for each of the composite indices. Cronbach alphas ranged from .50 (information scale) to .92 (transactional scale) (Table 1). Bott's Cronbach alpha scores were included in Table 1 for comparison. The 6-item natural character scale (natural setting domain) had a .75 alpha score. For the cultural setting domain, a 2-item transactional socio-cultural scale had the highest Cronbach alpha (.92) while the inherent socio-cultural scale was .64. Among the affective personal domain scales, the existential (2 items) alpha was .86 followed by memory (5 items) .84, transcendental (7-items) at .83, and the 3-item aesthetic scale with a .66 alpha. The 2-item informational scale and a 3-item refuge scale had the lowest reliabilities (.50 and .52) respectfully among the functional personal domain. Well-being with 8-items was .81

followed by .62 for the prospect scale. Botts (2000) reliability scores were slightly higher ranging from .61 (refuge scale) to .95 (well-being scale) attributable to a more homogeneous sample (CSU students) versus visitors to an island on the Baltic Sea. Scales with reliability scores lower than .60 (informational and refuge scales) were excluded from further analysis (Cortina, 1993).

Table 3. *Reliability Analysis of Sense of Place Domains of Visitors to Saare County Estonia*

Sense of Place Domains and Composing Scale Items[1]	Item Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted	Cronbach Alpha	Bott's Scale Cronbach Alpha Scores
Natural Setting Domain:			0.75	.89
Natural Character Scale				
Clean	0.40	0.74		
Peaceful	0.50	0.71		
Distinctive	0.43	0.74		
Harmonious	0.61	0.68		
Balanced	0.54	0.70		
Natural	0.49	0.72		
Cultural Setting Domain				
Inherent Socio-cultural Scale			0.64	.82
Historic	0.58	0.50		
Authentic	0.40	0.62		
Has a spirit of people	0.40	0.60		
Feel a sense of history	0.40	0.60		
Transactional Socio-cultural Scale			0.92	.86
Feel a sense of belonging	0.86	.[a]		
Feel a part of community	0.86	.[a]		
Affective Individual/ Personal Domain				
Significance Scale			0.75	.84
Meaningful	0.60	.[a]		
Significant	0.60	.[a]		
Existential Scale			0.86	.87
Feel a sense of connection	0.76	.[a]		
Feel a sense of my identity	0.76	.[a]		
Memory Scale			0.84	.76
Familiar	0.46	0.84		
Like I know it well	0.55	0.82		
Feel a sense of nostalgia	0.58	0.84		
Evokes strong memories	0.65	0.81		
Reminds me about my childhood place[2]	0.72	0.78		
Associates with some special place from my past[2]	0.77	0.76		
Aesthetic Scale			0.66	.93
Beautiful	0.52	0.53		
Aesthetically pleasing	0.43	0.64		
Generates positive sensory experience	0.49	0.54		
Transcendental Scale			0.83	.93
Inspirational	0.54	0.82		
Has a spirit of place	0.54	0.82		
Feel Fulfilled	0.56	0.81		
Feel Strong emotions	0.67	0.80		
Feel Inspired	0.65	0.80		
A sense of mystery	0.50	0.82		
Feel alive	0.63	0.80		
Functional Individual/Personal Domain				
Informational Scale			0.50	.75
Understandable	0.33	.[a]		
Has distinct landmarks	0.33	.[a]		
Prospect Scale			0.62	.82
Like there are opportunities for me	0.45	.[a]		
Like I have options	0.45	.[a]		
Refuge Scale			0.52	.61
Non-threatening	0.34	0.43		
Has obvious boundaries	0.36	0.37		
A sense of refuge	0.33	0.45		
Well-being Scale			0.81	.95
Safe	0.41	0.80		
Comfortable	0.61	0.77		
Serene	0.52	0.79		
Reassuring	0.60	0.78		
Revitalizing	0.50	0.79		
A sense of comfort	0.60	0.78		
Peaceful	0.47	0.80		
Like being at home	0.53	0.79		

[1]Variables coded on a 5 point Likert type scale with 1 strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree
[2]Items added to adapted items from Bott (2000)

An independent *sample t*–test for the effect of nationality on the sense of place scales investigated differences among domestic and foreign visitors (Table 4) to address research question 1.

Table 4. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Sample T–test for Effects of Nationality on Sense of Place Scales*

Sense of Place Indices	Estonians (n=294)		Foreigners (n=193)		*t* - value	η
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Natural character	4.18	0.55	4.03	0.48	2.49*	.13
Inherent socio-cultural	3.92	0.68	3.87	0.58	0.76	.04
Transactional socio-cultural$_1$	3.06	1.16	2.92	1.00	1.06	.06
Significance	3.99	0.82	3.59	0.81	4.29***	.23
Existential$_1$	3.39	1.19	3.16	0.92	1.90	.10
Memory$_1$	3.53	0.97	3.00	0.81	5.44***	.27
Aesthetic	4.28	0.53	4.07	0.54	3.51***	.19
Transcendental$_1$	3.80	0.75	3.57	0.58	3.20**	.16
Prospect$_1$	3.33	0.90	3.28	0.75	0.54	.03
Well-being	4.04	0.61	3.80	0.54	3.74***	.19

Note. η = effect size. *p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

$_1$ Equal variances not assumed

Estonians had significantly higher scores than foreigners on place's natural character (*M* = 4.18 vs. *M* = 4.03), personal significance (*M* = 3.99 vs. *M* = 3.59), memory of place (*M* = 3.53 vs. *M* = 3.00), aesthetic evaluation (*M* = 4.28 vs. *M* = 4.07), transcendental (*M* = 3.80 vs. *M* = 3.57) aspects, and on the individual wellbeing the place provides (*M* = 3.99 vs. *M* = 3.78). The effect sizes however, were minimal (Vaske, Gliner, & Morgan, 2002).

Perceived Affect on Future Island Experiences from Environmental Changes

Respondents evaluated how 11 hypothetical changes in the island environment (i.e., decline of rural lifestyle, bridge to mainland, loss of traditional villages) might influence their future island experiences ("detract from my enjoyment," "no effect on my enjoyment," and "add to my enjoyment"). These items in essence represent potential threats to the environment (Cole & Hall, 2009; Kaur et al, 2004) that growth and

development might present. All the hypothetical environmental changes examined were generally rated as detracting from future island experience, with the exception of the bridge to the mainland (Table 5). The most negatively evaluated change was the "loss of unique island landscapes" (88%), which also had the least variation in opinions. "Loss of traditional villages" (83%) and "decrease in safety" (82%) were ranked second and third.

Table 5. *Affect from Possible Changes in the Island Environment on Future Experiences*

Environmental change variables[1]	Add to my enjoyment %	No effect on my enjoyment %	Detract from my enjoyment %	Total n
Loss of peculiar (unique) island landscapes	3	10	88	441
Loss of traditional villages	3	14	83	445
Decrease of safety	2	16	82	446
Increasing development of seashore	5	23	72	444
Excessive forestry	3	25	72	439
Decline of rural lifestyle	4	26	71	435
Increased number of tourists	3	30	67	446
New modern architecture	11	24	65	442
Commodification of places of interest	4	31	65	422
Increased number of summer cottages	5	43	52	442
Bridge to mainland	32	37	32	445

[1] Opinions about environmental changes measured on a 3-point scale: 1=add to my enjoyment, 2=no effect on my enjoyment, 3=detract from my enjoyment.

Construction of the bridge was the most controversial environmental change perceived. Approximately equal percentages of respondents rated the bridge as "adding to their enjoyment" (32%), having "no effect on their enjoyment" (37%) or "detracting from their enjoyment" (32%).

Independent *sample t* – tests for the effect of nationality on perceived affects of environmental changes on future experience (Table 6) investigated differences among domestic and foreign visitors (research question 2). To establish a neutral point, the items were recoded with -1 = detracts from my enjoyment; 0 = no effect; and 1 = adds to my enjoyment.

Table 6. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Sample T–test for Effects of Nationality on Perceived Affects of the Environmental Changes on Future Experience*

	Estonians (n=294)		Foreigners (n=193)		*t* - value	η
Environmental change variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Decline of rural lifestyle$_1$	-.72	.43	-.59	.63	-2.40*	.122
Increased number of tourists	-.66	.50	-.63	.57	-0.49	.023
Increasing development of seashore$_1$	-.82	.42	-.42	.68	-6.97***	.346
Increased number of summer cottages	-.60	.54	-.27	.63	-5.75***	.264
New modern architecture$_1$	-.57	.65	-.48	.74	-1.37	.067
Bridge to mainland	.08	.80	-.12	.78	2.63**	.124
Loss of traditional villages$_1$	-.83	.40	-.77	.52	-1.42	.071
Excessive forestry$_1$	-.83	.42	-.46	.61	-6.91***	.337
Commodification of places of interest$_1$	-.72	.48	-.43	.64	-4.92***	.250
Decrease of safety$_1$	-.82	.42	-.76	.51	-1.20	.059
Loss of peculiar (unique) island landscapes$_1$	-.89	.37	-.79	.49	-2.35*	.118

Note. η = effect size. *p< .05 **p< .01 ***p< .001

$_1$ Equal variances not assumed

Environmental change items recoded -1=detracts from my enjoyment, 0=no effect, 1=adds to my enjoyment

All but one item (bridge to mainland) had negative scores for both Estonians and foreigners. Seven of the *t*-test scores were significant with Estonians slightly more likely to indicate that loss of rural lifestyle, increasing development of the seashore, increasing number of summer cottages, excessive forestry, commodification of places of interest and loss of peculiar island landscapes would detract from their experiences than foreigners, except for the bridge to mainland (Estonians M = .08 versus Foreigners M = -.12; t = 2.63; $p < .01$). The effect sizes ranged from minimal (i.e., .122 for "decline of rural lifestyle") to typical (.346 for "increasing development of the seashore") (Vaske, Gliner, & Morgan, 2002). Levene's tests for the equality of variances were significant for eight of the 11 *t*-test procedures implying that equal variances could not be assumed; thereby, indicating that response patterns among Estonians and foreigners were not homogenous.

Predicting Future Island Experiences

To establish the dependent variable to address research question 3, a reliability analysis was conducted on the 11 hypothetical environmental change items resulting in a .77 Cronbach Alpha score with the "bridge to mainland," "increased number of tourists" and "decrease of safety" items deleted due to corrected items total correlation scores below .40 (Table 7) (Vaske, 2008). Similar to Cole and Hall's (2008) work, a perceived affect of environmental changes on future experience was created as the sum of 8 items with a score of -1 (detract from enjoyment) to 1 (add to enjoyment) to represent the dependent variable in the following multiple regression analyses.

Table 7. *Reliability Analysis of Perceived Affects of Environmental Changes on Future Experience*

Environmental change variables	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted	Cronbach Alpha
Decline of rural lifestyle	.406	.745	.77
Increasing development of seashore	.471	.733	
Increased number of summer cottages	.456	.737	
New modern architecture	.428	.746	
Loss of traditional villages	.496	.731	
Excessive forestry	.501	.728	
Commodification of places of interest	.477	.732	
Loss of peculiar (unique) island landscapes	.490	.733	

Items recoded to -1=detract from enjoyment; 0=no effect; 1=add to my enjoyment

Two multiple regressions (MR) analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between education, nationality and 10 sense of place indices on perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experience to Saaremaa island (R_3). The inter-correlations among predictor variables were examined to determine their unique qualities as predictors. None of them were large enough to be concerned about collinearity. For the first MR model, nationality ($\beta = .250$) was the only significant

predictors of perceived affects of environmental changes on future experience (R_2 = .157; F = 4.18, p < .000) to account for 15.7% of the variance explained (Table 8).

To reduce the number of variables in the model, the non-significant predictors were removed manually one at time based on the lowest standardized Beta value. The reduced model included four predictor variables (F = 11.91; p <. 000). Nationality, memory, inherent socio-cultural, and transactional socio-cultural representing the affective domain accounted for 14% of the variance in perceived effect of environmental changes on future holiday experiences to Saaremaa Island.

Nationality was the most important indicator (β = 2.68) followed by memory (β = -.190), inherent socio-cultural (β = -.143), and transactional socio-cultural (β = .142). Results imply that Estonians were more disturbed by potential environmental change threats than foreign visitors and as place memory and historic / authentic values combined with the spirit of the people increased, potential environmental changes detracted from their enjoyment. Surprisingly, a sense of belonging and being part of the community was positively related to environmental changes by adding to future vacation experiences.

Table 8. *Predictors of Perceived Affects of Environmental Changes on Future Experience*

	Dependent variable Environmental Change Index			
Total Model (n = 285)	*r*	*p*-value	β	*p*-value
Demographic				
Nationality	.327	.000	.250	.000
Educational level	.054	.250	.009	.875
Sense of Place Indices				
Natural Setting Domain				
Natural Character	-.115	.038	.172	.075
Cultural Setting Domain				
Inherent Socio-cultural	-.142	.012	-.118	.098
Transactional Socio-cultural	-.061	.296	.148	.079
Affective Individual Domain				
Individual Significance	-.095	.098	.056	.452
Individual Existential	-.120	.040	.043	.648
Individual Memory	-.235	.000	-.182	.058
Individual Aesthetic	-.134	.017	-.139	.115
Individual Transcendental	-.105	.060	.026	.802
Functional Individual Personal Domain				
Individual Prospect	-.076	.190	.019	.822
Individual Wellbeing	-.198	.000	-.189	.096
	R_2 = .157; F = 4.18; p < .000			
Reduced Model (n=294)				
Demographic				
Nationality	.327	.000	.268	.000
Sense of Place Indices				
Cultural Setting Domain				
Inherent Socio-cultural	-.142	.012	-.143	.021
Transactional Socio-cultural	-.061	.296	.142	.050
Affective Individual Domain				
Individual Memory	-.235	.000	-.190	.012
	R_2 = .142; F = 11.91 p < .000			

Predicting Future Bridge to Mainland Threat

For research question 4, a logistic regression was conducted to determine predictors of perceived affects of a *potential* bridge to mainland on future holiday experience. The single item, "bridge to mainland," was used as the second dependent variable in the study to determine if a relationship between sense of place and the

proposed bridge development existed. The item was recoded dichotomous (0=detracts from my enjoyment; 1=add to my enjoyment) with an even split between those who say the bridge detracts (50%; n =140) and those who selected it adds to their enjoyment (50%; n = 141). The total model included 12 predictor variables (two demographics and 10 senses of place scales). Only two variables were significant predictors in the total model (nationality and educational level) with none of the sense of place scales (Table 9). However, several of the sense of place scales were significant correlates (Spearman Rho correlation) of the bridge to mainland variable. Thus, the decision was made to run additional logistic regressions to reduce the number of variables in the model; the non-significant predictors were removed manually one at time based on the lowest standardized Exp(*B*) with the reduced model reported in the lower section of Table 9. The logistic regression for the reduced model correctly classified 64% of the responses (60% - detracts from my enjoyment, 61% - add to my enjoyment) to explain 18% of the variance (8% contributed by the demographic variables and 10% by the sense of place items). The model in general was a good fit to the data (Omnibus Test $\chi 2 = 27.95$. $p < .000$, Hosmer and Lemeshow Test $\chi 2 = 4.97$, $p = .761$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .18$); however, caution is advised due to a small sample size (n= 190) and 18% of the variance explained.

In the reduced model, both of the demographic variables and four sense of place scales were statistically significant predictors of individual evaluations of the impact the bridge would have on future island experience. Individual well-being (Exp$B = 2.57$) was the strongest predictor of a positive evaluation of the bridge among the sense of place scales. This is somewhat surprising as individual items constituting the well-being scale (see Table 3) such as *safety*, *peacefulness*, and *serene* would not typically be considered

to have a positive association with large-scale infrastructural change, although items such as *comfort* and *home* may result in such a contradictory outcome. As expected, visitors with stronger place memory (Exp*B* = .613), inherent socio–cultural (Exp*B* = .555), and aesthetic sense of place (Exp*B* = .449) scores rated the bridge as a detraction from their future place experience. As educational level (Exp*B* = .698), increased, negative evaluations of the bridge increased. For nationality (Exp*B* = .431), Estonians were in general more positive about the bridge than foreigners.

Table 9. *Predictors of Perceived Affects of Bridge to Mainland on Future Holiday Experience*

Total Logistic Model (n=190)	B	*SE*	Wald statistic	Exp(B)	*p* - value
Demographic					
Nationality	-.860	.369	5.445	.423	.020
Educational level	-.355	.140	6.440	.701	.011
Psychological/ Sense of Place Indexes					
Natural Setting Domain					
Natural character	.443	.578	.588	1.557	.443
Cultural Setting Domain					
Inherent socio-cultural	-.547	.317	2.973	.578	.085
Transactional socio – cultural	-.097	.212	.208	.908	.648
Affective Individual/Personal Domain					
Significance	.064	.272	.056	1.066	.813
Existential	.135	.263	.263	1.144	.608
Memory	-.441	.300	2.167	.643	.141
Aesthetic	-.724	.480	2.277	.485	.131
Transcendental	-.322	.459	.491	.725	.483
Functional Individual/Personal Domain					
Prospect	-.061	.282	.046	.941	.830
Well – being	.805	.600	1.802	2.236	.179

Omnibus Test $\chi 2 = 25.59$. $p = .012$; Hosmer and Lemeshow Test $\chi 2 = 2.67$, $p = .953$.

Reduced Logistic Model (n=190)	B	*SE*	Wald statistic	Exp(*B*)	*p* - value
Demographic					
Nationality	-.843	.348	5.865	.431	.015
Educational level	-.360	.135	7.115	.698	.008
Psychological/ Sense of Place Indexes					
Cultural Setting Domain					
Inherent socio-cultural	-.588	.295	3.974	.555	.046
Affective Individual/Personal Domain					
Memory	-.489	.227	4.636	.613	.031
Aesthetic	-.800	.386	4.304	.449	.038
Functional Individual/Personal Domain					
Well – being	.945	.464	4.147	2.57	.042

Omnibus Test $\chi 2 = 27.95$. $p < .000$; Hosmer and Lemeshow Test $\chi 2 = 4.97$, $p = .761$.

Total Model Nagelkerke $R^2 = .178$
Reduced Model Nagelkerke $R^2 = .182$

Discussion

This study examined the predictive role of Bott's (2000) sense of place scales on visitor evaluations of future environmental changes. More specifically, the study investigated how this particular place is perceived and evaluated (in a hypothetical future) among visitors with different socio-cultural backgrounds. For R_1, findings show that nationality is likely to influence sense of place for their island experiences. Estonians had greater scores for memory of place, significance of place, aesthetics of place, natural setting of the place, the transcendental meanings, and well-being. However, there was some variation among Estonians about their island sense of place as there was among the foreigners. These findings are expected due the diversity among Estonians themselves (second homeowners, age, place of residence – rural countryside) and foreigners coming for 21 different countries.

For R_2, findings show that nationality is likely to affect how visitors perceive their future island experience if there are major changes in infrastructure (bridge to mainland) or the environment (excessive forestry). Although almost all of the hypothetical environmental changes were viewed negatively, domestic visitors were slightly more likely to indicate that loss of rural lifestyle, increasing development of the seashore, increasing number of summer cottages, excessive forestry, commodification of places of interest and loss of peculiar island landscapes would detract from their experiences than foreigners, except for the bridge to mainland. In this context, the study highlights the role the socio-cultural and political context play in this evaluation. Differences in perceptions between domestic and foreign visitors may be partly a result of Estonian exposure to political promises of improvement of "home-space," and their negativity and resistance to

environmental changes originating from the EU, partially explained by national identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996). Such change reminds Estonians of the centralized decisions made by the former Soviet Union, raising issues of collective memory (Wertsch, 2002). The proposed bridge has been in the Estonian media for several years and symbolized as an intrinsic human right of easy access, as "an extension of the road" uniting island-space to the larger socio-economic space of Estonia (more specifically to a rapidly developing centre, the capital city of Tallinn). Post-communist society faces mutated value orientations towards nature, which affect their evaluation of environmental risks (Koit, 2004). Sensitivity to environmental issues has a longer history in societies with an uninterrupted democratic process, accorded with the perception of higher individual responsibility and criticism towards the "predetermined route of progress" (Beck, 1991, 1992).

Differences in cultural memory play a role in evaluation of landscapes as well as changes in those environments (Brocki, 2004; Ingold, 1992; Knudsen, Metro-Roland, Soper, & Greer, 2008). Estonians had higher scores in their evaluations of the place on memory, aesthetic, significance, transcendental, and wellbeing sense of place scales (see Table 4). Theoretical discussions related to landscape evaluations, stress the importance of aesthetics and mystery in the evolution of the very idea of national landscapes and identity (Cosgrove, 1985, 1989). Landscapes of national identity are understandable and significant, and related to aspects of memory and well-being. Island landscape and social environment has symbolized "home" for Estonians for many years, especially during the Soviet occupation. As a closed border zone, it was a desirable place to visit, memories of

which still remain. The questionnaire administered by the local tourism board in 2008[13] to the general public during an annual travel fair, and asking about the perceived symbols of the place, demonstrated the persistence of such symbolism. “Home” or “homeland” was the most common symbol after the symbols related to island landscape (junipers, sea, windmills). Notions like “home for everybody,” “a true Estonia,” and “Escape from Estonia” were a few of those related to the island-place. Such statements map islands as a desired escape from mainland “everyday reality,” as one of the most popular holiday places (especially to celebrate the summer solstice, the most important symbolic event of the year), representing qualities of wellbeing sought out in meaningful places. For many domestic visitors, these landscapes are related to personal memories of childhood, as the majority of the very first school excursions for students from the mainland are still made to Saaremaa. Notions related to childhood memories were also prevalent in the 2008 tourism board study.

For R_3, several predictors of perceived effects of environmental changes on future holiday experience to Saaremaa Island were found including nationality, memory, inherent socio-cultural, and transactional socio-cultural representing the affective domain. Estonians were more disturbed by potential environmental change threats than foreign visitors and as place memory and historic/authentic values combined with the spirit of the people increased, potential environmental changes detracted from their enjoyment. Interestingly, a sense of belonging and being part of the community reflected in transactional sense of place was positively related to environmental changes by adding to future vacation experiences. Foreigners are probably more inclined to perceive the place

[13] Survey done during the domestic travel fair ‘Tourest’ in Tallinn, February 2008

as the place of "Other," looking for sensual experience qualities missing in many analogous European island-vacation-spaces that have been turned into well constructed expected holiday destinations (Edensor, 2006; Rojek, 1995).

Meaningfulness of "home-place" does not have a simple connection to memory and perceived affect from infrastructural changes. Recollections of the past are not necessarily trapped in restorative nostalgia or easily explained by it (Boym, 2001; Smith, 1989). Estonians had higher scores on individual memory of the place, yet were more positive towards the construction of the bridge, which would open the place to more rapid change (see Table 6). Emotional desires for easy access to "home," to a place of individual significance and part of one's identity seem to mask the perceptions of possible negative aspects of infrastructural changes. Memory and meanings of place are bound to a specific time and space, and changes in place and corresponding disruptions in landscapes change perceptual identities over time (May & Thrift, 2001). Rooted memories uphold to internalized mnemonic tools, even "the mental map no longer relates to the topographic map" (Ashworth, 2005, p.186).

For R_4, six predictors of perceived affects of a *potential* bridge to mainland on future holiday experience to Saaremaa Island were found including nationality, education, inherent socio-cultural, memory of place, aesthetics of place, and well-being. Estonians were more positive about the bridge which links up with previous discussions of the essence of home and well-being. As Tuan notes, "only the visitor (and particularly the tourist) has a viewpoint; his perception is often a matter of using his eyes to compose pictures. The native, by contrast, has a complex attitude derived from his immersion in

the totality of his environment" (1974, p. 63). This can be used to differentiate between perceptual qualities of domestic and foreign visitors as well.

Implications

From a management perspective, the study identifies the importance of communication among the general public about the different aspects of infrastructural changes, as well as between the tourism industry and research institutions to map different views, conflicts and possible solutions based on those constructive discussions. In order to maintain and increase visitor satisfaction with the place, their opinions about developmental issues should not be ignored. Such implications should be viewed in the broader context of tourism's role in the future of the island-place. More importantly, the need exists for a more specific type of tourism development, more appropriate for environmentally sensitive areas such as islands. Building the bridge will have an undeniable impact on visitor flows, and affect the overall experience with the place as supported by previous studies (Baldacchino, 2007; Terai, 1999). Yet, the chain reactions set off by building the permanent links are different case by case, as well as the extensions of mutations of the "bridged islands" (Baldacchino, 2007). Previous studies show that islands linked to mainland by terrestrial links have faced both decline and increase of visitor numbers over a period of time, decrease of local lifestyle, and changes in landscapes due to increased developmental pressure (Baldacchino, 2007). In some cases identity of place has strengthened through desire to maintain distinctive communities and managerial actions like strictly controlled visitor numbers and flows have been applied (Baldacchino, 2007). Some linked islands have a desire to reverse the process, introducing plans to demolish terrestrial links (Baldacchino, 2007).

From a methodological context, Bott's (2000) sense of place scales were replicated and applied empirically as predictor variables. Obviously, not all of the psychometric scales would be applicable to this study or others, but in the context of an overall examination of cultural memory, and place identity, several of the scales were significant predictors including memory of place and well-being. The development and application of a set of scales that are valid indicators of sense of place may be useful in the evaluation of a place and the experience itself (Bott, 2000). With an understanding of what contributes to a positive sense of place, planning and managing for sustainable tourism may be enhanced.

Theoretically, sense of place contributed slightly to the prediction of both perceived environmental changes and a bridge to mainland. This has not been tested previously. Application of Bott's sense of place scales was an attempt to step beyond the typical application of "involvement" and "place attachment" as the typical theoretical sense of place constructs used in the natural resource literature. Bott's scales provide an alternative approach to examine visitor perceived experience. Cultural memory plays a key role as a predictor of the evaluation of potential threats to visitor experience.

Limitations and Further Research

Study results are exploratory and any generalized reference should be exercised with caution first of all due to a small number of respondents and a limited timeframe. Data was primarily collected on a ferry, which is the major, yet not only access point to the island. Recently the number of visitors arriving on the island via yachts and air transport has increased. Developing alternative access points to the islands has been

encouraged to cater to diverse markets, and meet expectations contemporary tourists seek in island-places.

This study perpetuated the need to recognize the diverse needs and opinions of visitors about the islands as a competitive tourism destination. These opinions point to possible conflict from increased visitor numbers and the desired experience. The data support assumptions that increased visitor flow does correlate directly with the benefits sought by the tourism industry (Back, 1998; Baldacchino & Spears, 2007; Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Terai, 1999).

Although the predictive power of the sense of place scales was limited to 10% of the variance explained in the logistic regression, the model was significant with four sense of place predictors. The bridge to mainland seemed to enhance the sense of well-being; however, there was a negative relationship with memory of place, feelings of belonging/part of community, and the aesthetics of place. Two of the non-significant predictors (natural character of place and significance of place) of the bridge to mainland change were negative correlates. Surprisingly, transactional socio-cultural, existential, significance, transcendental sense of place scales were neither predictors nor correlates of the bridge to mainland change. These items represent the socio-cultural and the affective individual domains. The heterogeneous nature of the sample (domestic versus international visitors) representing 22 countries total including Estonia may be one explanation for the limited predictive power of sense of place. A more homogenous sample is recommended, for instance, to examine sense of place among Estonian visitors to the island. There is a need for more comprehensive longitudinal research to identify visitors' place evaluations, perceptions of proposed changes, and expectations for future

visits. Future research should include residents to identify possible discrepancies between different stakeholders in relation to future developments. A focus on second homeowners and their sense of place would be another study to consider.

The intent and hope for the present study is that it will initiate dialogue and research interest in the tourism community around the importance of the relationship between sense of place and sustainable tourism development. The potential exists for tourism researchers to extract benefits from the proposed method to measure sense of place that will assist the marketing efforts of tourism destination managers in similar ways to those that recreation researchers have been able to achieve for the natural resource management community. The present study represents a beginning of that effort.

CHAPTER 6 – EXPLORING "ELSEWHERELAND": PLACES DESIRED, REMEMBERED AND DWELLED: EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF PLACE EXPERIENCE OF VACATIONERS ON SAAREMAA ISLAND, ESTONIA.

Abstract

This paper examines summer vacationers' experiences and connections with an island place on Saaremaa Island in Estonia. Empirical data from sixteen in-depth interviews is intertwined with a theoretical discussion exploring place, emotions, memory, and self. Through a critical analysis of personal narratives, this paper reflects on individual emotional readings of meaningful places, influences from memorized places elsewhere, and the very materiality of the cultural landscape itself. Along with mapping and discussing evolving themes of place experiences from the interviews, emotional aspects associated with verbalized expressions are examined. The emotional dynamics of rhetorical conversation between respondents, a researcher and a place, echoed through shared materiality of humans and their environment, is the subject reflected on and analyzed. Rhetorical articulations of place meanings from interviewees examine island environments through emotional individual experiences. Home, everyday, and elsewhere are intertwined impressions of island places memorized; balanced on the line of expressions of belonging, as quality experiences of everyday and nostalgic renderings of times lost.

Key words: second home, elsewhereland, everyday, memories, place experience

Introduction

> We are moving in the territories of 'imagined nostalgia', where you learn to miss things you never had. (Löfgren, 1999, p. 148)

Discussions of placement and dwelling in late modern society (postmodern society) are tightly connected with notions of mobility. Urry (2000) claims that every form of contemporary dwelling relates to some form of mobility. However, mobility does not necessarily impose upon us the lack of rootedness, or "existential outsideness" as described by Relph (1976). The very term of being a tourist, an alien to the place lacking the attachment and "insideness" (Relph, 1976), in static oppositional categorical division from the local to the place, has been challenged by many researchers (Abram & Waldren, 1997; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Kohn, 1997; Tuulentie, 2007). Playing with Foucauldian notions of "heterotopia" and power many scholars discuss the fluidity in notions related to insiders–outsiders (locals–tourists) as agents determining how places are conceived, perceived, and lived (de Certeau 1984; Lefebvre, 1991; Lengkeek, 2001). Those relations are never stable; relationships rather than entities flowing in multiple directions, and challenging in their mobility issues related to identity and home.

Power is inextricably wedded to knowledge, analytically bounded to it, and in its elusive character as circulating and never localized (Foucault, 1980). Traditionally research has treated tourists as agents of power in their dual relationships with locals–viewing the tourist as a rational, independent, and powerful actor initiating the touristic trip with related responsibilities for its consequences on locals and the environment, in their eternal quest of authenticity "out there" (MacCannell, 1973; Urry, 1990). Yet Cheong and Miller (2000) in a discussion of Foucauldian power in tourism relationships admit also to the "power-boundedness" of tourists as targets by their trip: locals, tourist

agents, brochures, travel guides, photographs taken by other tourists' work their power as agents on "typical tourists" (Elands & Lengkeek, 2000). Travelers resisting the "beaten path" are targets of this power, as well by their very resistance to it (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

de Certeau's (1984) analysis helps to understand place as seen and experienced where everyday practices of pedestrians generate a text of anonymous laws counterpoising the conceptual space. This anthropological space (de Certeau, 1984), the lived landscape, carries the footsteps of tourists as well, *resisting* travelers together with locals walking the "Concept- city" of de Certeau (1984). Pedestrian patterns fill locations on the map with meanings through experience, thus locations become meaningful places (de Certeau, 1984). Attachment to the place becomes related to the maintenance of walking this path. Places are weaved together through habitualized and ritualized passages of movement (Casey, 2001; Olwig, 2006). Taking de Certeau's notion of a place as "filled emptiness," the attachment to a place should be understood "in terms of this epistemology of nothingness" (Olwig, 2006, p.29). A place as holding place for something, "a void from which existence springs" (Olwig, 2006, p.27), allows it to become part of the fabric of landscapes, equally expressing mobility as well as dwelling in the place.

Following Foucault's (1986) idea of "heterotopia" (of emotional priority of "other place"), several researchers support the notion that second homes or regularly visited vacationspots may become a sort of place where someone may feel more *home* than in his or her everyday place of residence (Gillis, 1996; Löfgren, 1999). Related to the search for the existential centre "out-there" (Lengkeek, 2001), holiday places become places of

continuity across the lifespan of an individual or even over generations (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Cohen, 1986; Lengkeek, 2001; Relph, 1986; Tuulentie, 2007). Places we travel to are extended activity spaces of everyday (Massey, 1995). Symptomatic to the intensified outreach of activity spaces is the increased number of second homes (Tuulentie, 2007).

Contemporary views on dwelling include the notions of mobility to meanings of home, thus expanding the existential insideness as described by Relph (1986) or Cohen's (1979) and Lengkeek's (2001) multiple centers. It is possible to argue for the meaning of home in the movement itself, where meaningful centre is not bound to any specific locale (Deleuze & Guittari, 1987). The quest for belonging as a modern utopia becomes easily manageable through travel (Löfgren, 1999). Deconstruction of differences between modernist exile and postmodern tourism allows seeing tourism as desired and designed displacement (C. Kaplan, 1996). Thus, the meaning of home escapes from mere *here and now* to the collective with *there and then,* where movement between those places becomes an intrinsic part of the whole.

Even the most seemingly ordinary landscapes are densely populated by daydreams, images, and fantasies–"mindscapes of staggering proportions" (Löfgren, 1999, p. 2). The idea of places and landscapes in their "betweenness" (Casey, 2001: Entrikin, 1991), in constant stage of "doing" (Cresswell, 2002; de Certeau, 1985, Massey, 2001), applies to "vacationscapes" (Löfgren, 1999) as well: constant framing of sceneries, mixing personal memories with collective images. Reflections layered on them enable and disable *escapescapes* we restlessly seek in our everyday lives. Persistently leaving and returning in and within our bodily existence, desired places are often elusive

in this search, and “destinations reached disappoint, and send us searching again” (Game, 2001, p. 226). In our utopias we seek “for belonging in the Euclidean space and linear time” (Game, 2001, p. 226) and in this search for a fixed place and time of belonging with the end point of home we constantly seek elsewhere.

The notion of “elsewhere” has been constructed through *otherness*, the vacation, the escape, the “bracketed everyday” (Lefebvre, 1991; Lengkeek, 2001; Löfgren, 1999), and is hauntingly present in our every day lives. As Löfgren (1999) argues, in this desire to “get away from it all” our everyday tensions become more visible, and quite paradoxically, the vacations become one of the few manageable utopias. Yet Löfgren (1999) reminds us about a melancholy of losing this utopia already in the beginning of our vacation, while endulging our minds in the nostalgia of *paradise lost.* But what we cannot forget is “the magic of bodily movement on the road to elsewhere” (Löfgren, 1999, p. 281).

This paper focuses on tourists’ place experience and sense of *home* while exploring the troublesome role of memory in both constructions and in their interrelatedness. Through critical analysis of personal narratives of my interviewees, I reflect on individual emotional readings of meaningful places, the influences from memorized places elsewhere, and the very materiality of the cultural landscape itself in constructions of both place and individual identity. Discussions about the identity of place and self are interlinked with spatial practices and anticipated changes of place, along with the changed meanings of them.

Study Purpose and Methods

This paper investigates rhetorical expressions of island place through vocalized impressions of experiences among visitors. Empirical data from in-depth interviews is intertwined with a theoretical discussion exploring place experience, emotions, memory, and self. Narratives of interviewees about the meaningfulness of the island environment through their experiences are analyzed from the biographical, spatial, and temporal aspects of evolving themes.

It is important to notice that narrative perspective cannot be regarded as a series of isolated individual experiences of "fateful moments" (Giddens, 1991) or "epiphanies" (Denzin, 1992), but is embedded in coherent and meaningful context, stretching over spatial and temporal dimensions (Larsen, 2007; May & Thrift, 2001; Rosenthal, 1993; Tuulentie, 2007). Narratives are inherently cultural, influenced by officially mediated narratives, as well as narratives of other people (Ricoeur, 1991). As Iris Marion Young writes, "narrative provides an important way to demonstrate need" (1997, p. 73).

Interviewees were selected from respondents who participated in a visitor survey in July to August 2007, exploring place experience among Saare County[14] guests. Respondents were primarily approached on a ferry connecting the islands to the mainland, and serving as a main access point to the *island place* of Saare County. Several surveys were completed in Kuressaare, the only city on Saaremaa Island, during a major annual event–medieval days. I selected my interviewees conveniently and in accordance to their willingness to participate.

[14] Saare County is the westernmost county of Estonia and consists of 5 bigger islands and numerous islets. Saaremaa is the biggest island and often Saare County gets associated with it. Second biggest is Muhu Island. Saaremaa and Muhu are connected by causeway. Ferry connection is between Muhu Island and mainland.

I interviewed 16 people; ten were travelling in couples. Without any deliberate pre-selection, 12 respondents were second homeowners[15]. Seven of my respondents were women, and all the respondents were married, and between the ages 39 and 65. Five had Estonian roots; three were permanent residents of Estonia. Other places of residency were Finland, Germany, Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

"Every story is a travel story." (de Certeau, 1984, p. 115)

Who were my interviewees? A couple from Germany, Gertrud and Manfred[16] were traveling in their recreational vehicle through the Baltic States, on their first visit to Estonia and Saare County. Jon from Canada was visiting his father who settled on island twelve years ago from Canada. This was his second visit in ten years. All my other interviewees had somewhat longer experience with the island. The Finnish couple, Seija and Matti owned their second home since 2003. Another couple from Finland, Riikka and Juhani bought an old farmstead in Kaarma parish, Saaremaa, as their summer home three years prior to our interview. In 2000, a farmhouse in Pöide village Saaremaa became a summer home for Timo from Finland after his marriage to a local girl. Sybil and Mart from Belgium have been in their Kuressaare house, which is a birthplace of Mart, for more then 10 years after the place was returned to them during the restitution process in 1993[17]. Restitution also brought Katrina from Sweden back to Vilsandi Island[2], her birthplace, and now she shares her "escape-land" together with her Swedish husband Peter. A man from the Netherlands, Rene, discovered the island through his friends and has become a frequent visitor. An Estonian woman, Tiina, has her childhood home in

[15] Kati, Tiina, Neeme, Seija and Matti, Riikka and Juhani, Mart and Sybil, Katrina and Peter, Timo
[16] All names of my interviewees in this paper are changed from the original
[17] Restitution process which took place after Estonia gained its second independence after the collapse of Soviet Union, re-established the property rights prior to the nationalization in 1940.

Kuressaare as a second home. The same applies to a young Estonian man Neeme from Leisi parish. Kati was born on the island and has a second home in Kuressaare she acquired because of her business.

My interviewees chose the place of interview, and most of them preferred their second homes. One of the respondents was interviewed in a restaurant, two visitors in their roadhouse, and two guests in their hosts' home. As a researcher I wish to emphasize that the choice of the interview location is important, indicating the level of willingness of respondents to share their place, and to gain support from their familiar surroundings in the conversation. During the conversation, interviewees in many cases pointed to the actual surrounding or artifact to speak of it and only a few words were added to illustrate the visual or other sensual rhetoric of the place itself. All the second homes except one were private houses or farmsteads and a majority in the countryside.

Interviews were conducted in Estonian, English, Finnish, and German. All the interviews were transcribed and coded in their original language. I mapped the evolving themes of place experiences from the interviews, looking not only at the verbalized expressions but the emotional flavor witnessed as well. These emotional dynamics of rhetorical conversation between respondents, myself as the researcher, and place became the subject of reflection and analysis of this paper. Empirical findings are divided into five sections: places desired, places remembered, lost and found, elsewhereness and home, and returns. The sections are somewhat overlapping, yet the organization by theme aims to separate empirical categories found.

Findings

On Experiences of Elsewhere

Places Desired

In a utopian lure, islands have been (desired) *escapescapes* throughout humankind, and those encounters often relate to certain moments of fateful curiosity and identity search. Peron (2004) argues that this is not a passing fad, and today it is possible to identify a positive need for island experience, this island imperative, in whole sectors of society in developed countries. “Fateful moments” (Giddens, 1991) brought many interviewees to the island. Riikka and Juhani were visiting the island after they sold their holiday home in the Finnish archipelago. Riikka described the ferry crossing to the island on a beautiful summer day as being very emotional; creating a powerful desire to return: “We came over by ferry, and it was so exotic! Wow! And we loved this place *immediately*, this nature and an overall atmosphere this place has.” For Riikka and Juhani this place filled a void left after losing their second home in the archipelago for more than 20 years. Riikka felt a sense of fatefulness, “It is quite often so that people are guided to a certain place. It is important to collaborate with this guidance, and not to resist it.” Riikka and Juhani made an offer to buy on an old farmhouse within one night of visiting the island. As Riikka said, “I see things through the eyes of the soul.” [laughing]

The fateful encounter with the island for Seija and Matti, my other interviewees from Finland, began on a visit during the winter of 2003. Although the islands are predominantly considered a summer escapeland, the fairytale-like wintery setting this time created a bodily recognition of this place as *their place.* Similar to Riikka and Juhani, Seija and Matti had just sold their home in Finland when on their first visit to the

island, although their travel plans were made long before they chose to sell. The lure of a snowy island made them change their original plan to move to Spain, “and we never regretted it,” said Juhani.

Gertrud and Manfred were on a roadtrip through the Baltic States, and via one meaningful encounter along the way with a stranger in Latvia,[18] got advice to come here. They already had plans to come, but were left with a heightened feeling of curiosity after the stranger’s tales about one of the most desired Estonian vacationspots. Curiosity was also the word used by Rene from the Netherlands about his desire to come, yet more related to a special island feel, “this draw to the island,” that also makes him a frequent visitor to the islands in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe.

Katrina’s fateful island encounter stretches back in time. Just after she was born, her family left the island as refugees. Although the dream of a free Estonia was carried in the hearts of people, the collapse of the Soviet Union was rapid and somewhat unexpected. Katrina’s mother was able to return after 50 years just once before she died. No one else in the family except Katrina was interested in this small property “far away somewhere”; Katrina followed her mothers’ dream.

“For me this was only a dream, something intangible,” Mart said, describing the importance of this place to him. After feeing the island in 1944, when he was just two years old, he said, “I heard stories about Estonia from my Mom. She missed it very much.” His long story of escape recollected through his mothers’ memories, and a re-discovery of the place for himself in 1989, when it was still under Soviet occupation, had

[18] Neighboring Baltic State country

an emotional effect, “The very first time after the war. And when I saw the towers of Tallinn[19] from the sea, it was [pause] ‘wow’.”

“It was a fate, even this fate was related to the fact that I was born here,” describes Kati and explains that her decision to have a second home was a mix of obligation and pleasure. Even she admits the important element of freedom in desire, “I have my second home here not because I lack something in Tallinn, it is a question of balance and still far away from ideal.” She feels more free in her little house built by herself just a block from her childhood place, than if she would have inherited a place from her ancestors, that would have been “somebody’s else vision and desire."

Neeme portrays the important attributes his place offers him:

> Silence and solitude [pause]. I think this is it, the important one. Part of mine, our [Estonians] identity [pause]. But, how much there is really a silence? It really is not a silence though. Open your ears and everything is buzzing around you, like here and now [pause and we listen together to the sounds of nature]. And this everyday work here [pause], one part of that solitude is that you can chop the wood. [he is laughing]

Neeme stresses the traditional spatial layout as part of his identity with the place, as an important aspect of Estonian identity. He does not like the recent trend to build houses in close proximity to each on the open fields: “This is alien to us. We like to be separated by patches of forests and big gardens around us.” For Tiina her big garden and friendly neighbors “in the distance,” as she adds, are essential to her feelings of home, her perfect *escapeland*, a place “where to do whatever is desired.” One of the main lures of the island place for Tiina is the “feeling of being at home in Estonia,” a “place without *Others*.[20]”

[19] Capital city of Estonia

[20] Russian speaking population. Tiina lives permanently in Tallinn where native Estonians comprise less than half of the population. This situation is largely due to era of Soviet occupation, when ethnic republics were forcefully re-populated by Russians to insure a “homogeneous Soviet population”.

Silence, solitude, peacefulness were stressed by all respondents as qualities the place has to offer and that is desired because it is either absent or unnoticed in their everyday lives.

> How would I desribe this place? First of all a peacefulness. I feel so relaxed immediately when already on a ferry. And this wind here and light . . . maybe the locals do not even notice it, but this light is something special. (Timo)

> And I like it here because of the peace, and pure air, and that I can get everything out of my head here. (Sybil) And space . . . were you can do things freely. (Mart) And every time you discover something new, it may be a small thing . . . like wild mushrooms in the forest, we[21] do not have it (Mart) . . . and to look at the stars at night in the sky. (Sybil) And we saw the falling stars when we were camping. This is magic. All these things. (Mart)

Bachelard states that "we live fixations, fixations of happiness"(1964/1994, p. 6). Memories of other meaningful places are constantly present even if not conciously acknowledged. "The places in which we have experienced daydreaming reconstitute themselves in a new daydream . . . because our memories of former dwelling-places are relived as daydreams, that these dwelling-places of the past remain in us for all time" (Bachelard, 1994, p. 6).

Riikka mentioned the following, when answering my question regarding whether or not they miss something about their previous holiday place:

> When we were here during our first, or was it a second [pause] summer here, and we were renovating this place and I had a chair under those apple trees here [pause]. And then I *heard the silence*. I realized that I am *listening* to this silence. I have been 20 years in the archipelago on the coast, and the sea is never silent, it is always there, in the background. And I stood up from my chair and looked at that meadow over there [she is pointing to the meadow behind us] and [pause]

[21] We here refers to Belgiums. Mart identifies himself quite liberally between Estonian and Belgium, depending on the context

> what was happening there, it was doing like this [she is waving he hands up and down], is there something wrong with my eyes I thought. And I went closer to look at this, and it was full of butterflies . . . It was like a butterfly sea, as they moved up and down, millions of them. And I was thinking, here is your sea now. [she starts laughing]

Places Remembered

> At times we think we know ourselves in time, when all we know is a sequence of fixations in the spaces of the being's stability. (Bachelard, 1994, p. 8)
>
> Ah! How solid we would be within ourselves if we could live, live again without nostalgia and in complete ardor, in our primitive world. (Bachelard, 1969, p. 103)

Our memories combine both true and false elements into a single re-collection. Those places capturing past times are often imbued with nostalgic renderings, and may contain several rooms of melancholia. Memories of childhood are about times when we lived without nostalgia (Boym, 2001). Yet, Freud (1962) implies that almost all childhood memories are probably constructions, "screens," whose real meaning is hidden. Places are sensed and remembered in accordance to our bodily limitations and liberations over the lifespan. Childhood memories gain genesis through the bodily space of a child. In a process of remembering childhood places, memories are overwritten by new expanded experiences, while adding and creating a new and deeper layer of meanings. My respondents' memories of childhood, as reflected upon the island places, can be analyzed along those lines of reasoning.

> In your childhood you do not sense *all* of it. The true meaning comes somewhere between the age of 15 and 20. Because what do you sense as a child? If you do not reach the table, you do not know what's on it. (Neeme)
>
> First time when I was here in 1994, I was like transferred back in time. When I was a little girl I visited my grandparents and their farm was like the same. This out house, and everything . . . Yes, I was like back in my childhood. But this place has evolved for me since that first encounter. (Sybil)

Memory is cultural, and childhood memories of place can gain their own temporal extension to other childhood places when portrayed by meaningful people, thus expanding their power. A lady from Sweden, Katrina who rebuilt her family home on Vilsandi states:

> I was born here, but we left when I was 8 month old . . . My own memories of this place are nothing. My Mom has told me things. I asked her to write down things for me, and she did a little. I just recently read again her memories of her childhood. It was a nice childhood here. But [pause] myself, I grew up in Sweden.

When asked if the first encounter with this place was very different from her mothers' memories, Katrina replied that it was not the same at all. She added, "But we have changed it." "According to her memories"? I asked. "No, by our own desires," was the answer.

The interviewees often made reference to their childhood memories; and they were not always happy ones when reflecting on their meaningful places. Those childhood memories must coexist peacefully with later memories to enable us to remember the place.

> I had many places in Sweden during my childhood. Skăne?, but I do not remember much from there, and Norrköping. . . My parents did not have time for me there. They had to work hard, and I was alone. I am used to the place now, and we will stay there (Katrina). [Peter has been listening, and makes now his remark] But it is good in Norrköping, everything is close by. (Peter) Yes, it is good in Norrköping, I like it there. But not when I was small. Other places to be? I do not think about them now anymore [long pause]. I think Norrköping is a good place. (Katrina)
>
> What I remember from my childhood? I lived nearby, just a street over from my house here. I pass by my childhood home, and [pause] I do not seem to have any memories. That place does not move me emotionally. (Kati)

Katrina's and Kati's memories of childhood places cannot be described as nostalgic. But nostalgia is not just trapped in the past with mourning of past time. According to Boym (2001), nostalgia can also be reflective. Reflective nostalgia does not love "symbols, just details," and "explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones" (Boym, 2001, p. xviii). Reflective nostalgia also does not take itself too seriously, and calls for doubt, enabling new beginnings (Boym, 2001). Or as Bachelard states, "Childhood remains within us a principle of deep life, of life always in harmony with the possibilities of new beginnings" (1969, p. 124). Lisa Knopp (2002) refers to "everyplacetime" which is not just remembering, nor nostalgia, but just beginning. We carry it within us to other places, contributing to the heterotopias (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). These are contested territories–walking the same territories but move in very different mental landscapes (Lengkeek, 2001; Löfgren, 1999).

> Life is here like [long pause] yes, we live in year 2007 now, but sometimes there is a feeling that we live in 1977. This return in time [pause], yes, nostalgia is a very good word for that. (Timo)

Timo refers to buildings and old domestic tools, he finds so fascinating, and primarily to social customs, which are replaced in most other places he has lived by more modern ones, "People stop by much more often here, without pre-calls and pre-planning. Just to chat. Like it used to be in Finland years ago."

In those multilayered worlds, nostalgic feelings are constantly brought up sensually and rationally put aside as described by the interviewees:

> From the very beginning we purchased this place, we felt certain return to a childhood, I would say *a fifties* feeling. I remember once coming here and I saw a man pushing a carriage with a milk container. I said to my husband, look *how nostalgic*! But I realized at the very same moment how hard must it be for that old man. I had very controversial feelings. (Riikka) This is really not very nostalgic for those people here. (Juhani) Yes, I thought, how can I be so selfish, time has to go forward and life for people get easier. (Riikka)

The interviewees who were on the island the very first time often referred to sensual feelings evoked by the environment like resembling smells of a childhood, yet they stressed looking for something else to remember:

> We recognize things from our childhood, but this is not what we are looking for. We are looking for something different. This is the reason why you leave home. To bring back new ideas, and… Sometimes we bring back small items to our garden. To add something to it. (Gertrud) And to remember. (Manfred)

Kati denies her emotional connection with her childhood home and places she used to be part of. "This is not my home anymore," she declares, and adds that maybe she never lived in any place long enough. Yet her descriptions of island-places she likes to show her guests visiting her summer home illustrate the painful loss of meanings she encounters in changed places:

> If I visit a sightseeing place after a long time, and something touristy has been added there, I do not go back there anymore . . . For me those places are related with different memories. And now they are ordinary tourism objects, like everywhere. (Kati)

Places we know from our childhood change gradually in our bodily perceptions, as well as from everyday activities, yet in calling from time to time for reflections the question remains as to what reference points we want change? Soile Veijola (2006) poses the question as follows:

> How do you know and experience a place you knew as a child; and how does that place know you? At which point do strangers turn into friends, tourists into neighbors, locals into visitors and places into tourist destinations? Can “Heimat” be revisited? (p. 80)

Neeme acknowledges the changes of his childhood place:

> Yes this place is changing, slowly. If you change it yourself, you somehow do not recognize that some things are disappearing, and something new will replace it. It changes it more and more to the direction you want to. But I do not want things to change *too* much. It is important that this place remains as it *is*. The more you change it, the more alien it will be. (Neeme)

Neeme thought that the openness of the place to the outside world works both ways; some locals change the place more than newcomers. He refers to modern changes many local villagers have made to their homes that they use, as he defines as merely “sleeping places.” My conversations with respondents brought up a delicate balance between new and old, the over-crowdedness, commercialization, and issues of the planned bridge to the mainland. Seija, Matti and Tiina were looking for the bridge to happen. “I want it to be here quickly, I cannot lose my time in ferry lines” was Tiina’s main argument. “It’s about *modern* times,” voiced Seija and Matti, even though the ferry connection is fine with them. Kati did not think the bridge was going to change anything, since too many people are coming anyways, and an improved ferry connection will just bring more. The rest of the interviewees however saw the bridge as an accelerator of *change*, something that is happening *everywhere*:

> I would like it to stay as it is, but I do not know if it is possible. I do not know if you are going to get a bridge or not, but maybe you should not. The longer it stays as it is, the better. (Rene)

His positive experience with the island made him compare it to other experiences with islands elsewhere in Europe, where bridges changed the essence of the island to him,

those places which are “lost” to him now. For many, travel itself to an island was an important part of their experience, something to make a place memorable, as stated by Jon, “This is like [pause] a ritual. That you go *somewhere*, and then you are *here*, and then you go *there*.”

> You are going by ferry, so you are constantly reminded that you are on island . . . With a bridge it loses something of romantic or nostalgic feelings towards an island. For those who are on holiday, it is important to close off from the things they have been doing for their work. Now I am on the island, now I am in peace . . . They throw their sorrows over board. This is one of those reasons why we do not build bridges to those five islands [in Netherlands]. And it attracts thousands of tourists every year. I think this is one of those attractive things of an island. (Rene)

> Why people come here? I think because it is an island . . . Maybe because time “floats” by here differently, that it is more peaceful here. It is a long way to come here and once here, people “switch themselves out” . . . they come here to rest. (Kati)

Many respondents agreed that this place will probably continue to attract people with or without the bridge, although with bridge there might be more of those who come because it’s more convenient. Yet, as Timo implies, he would prefer visitors who come because the bridge is not there. For those people, an island without a bridge has a different meaning. Manfred, an engineer by profession, was very skeptical about the bridge:

> Bridge? I think it might bring more people for a shorter time. They come and look around and go back. I think it will make it easier to come here and [pause] to go. But it is the nature of the island to be alone. But there are so many bridges there all over the world . . . Again, I have mixed feelings about it. I think it will make it easier [pause] for transportation. But it is not an authentic island then.

Neeme, a young Estonian man did not think that you lose the place totally because of changes, as something replaces the loss, “I think every place changes its’ meaning. Like

with my fathers death [pause]. But it overcomes with the time, some other things replace the void." (Neeme)

Lost and Found

> It is during summer that we are struck by the insight that we don't own anything. No, I don't have a house by the sea, we realize surprised. No veranda either to the east or to the west. . . It is during summer we discover that we don't have a territory. Or rather that the customs and habits, which rule the country in which we live, aren't ours to dispose of. That we speak and enjoy ourselves as aliens. (Anne- Marie Berglund in Löfgren 1999, p. 151)

Summer escapes, as escapes to elsewhere, reconfigure our relationships with the environment we inhabit. Even a smallest spatial relocation of our everyday practices gives another dimension to temporal and spatial distances. Moving to the summer cottage, or even to a summer building on your own property across the yard fulfills the role of the ritual passage required for transformation of winter person to summer one (Löfgren, 1999). Löfgren emphasizes the role of that movement- not as much as geographical location as to "a different social space of 'elsewhereness'" (1999, p. 153). In this very movement our experiences become intensified and our sensuality tuned up (Löfgren, 1999). In this different social space of elsewhereness we are willing to expose ourselves, we overcome prejudices; we risk opening the door and perceive the *other side* of the *habitual*.

The landscapes of Soviet past became the object of curiosity after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Yet, this exploration of elsewhereness was not perceived by all of my respondents as a *true* holiday. Gertrud and Manfred called the landscapes they traversed "imbued with sorrow." Gertrud said:

> All these decaying houses and very, very poor people. I am going through those places being on holiday with my big RV, and I find it [pause] sometimes very difficult . . . I think you should be well informed and not to expect to find just holiday atmosphere everywhere.

Did Manfred and Gertrud also find a German influence in this place, so heavily promoted for a German tourist market?

> We were surprised to find such a strong influence here, to look at it and to read. But is hard to find out what it means to the *present*. Myself, I do not have roots from here, at least I *think* so, but you never know [pause]. It is interesting that when I read about it, I know that many Germans are finding out about their roots now. I read in the guestbook in Palmse[22] about one man who visited that place, and that next time when he comes he wants to have the apple cake his grandmother used to make. So, I think people are finding their roots here. And they are going to the court to get back their properties. I told my husband, that I can understand them *now*; I can understand their *feelings.* But I am still all against that. You cannot change the history. (Gertrud)

All my non-Estonian interviewees mentioned the Soviet past of the place. This place was lost for them with the Soviet occupation, and the remembrance of it still lingers. Yet for most, the place opened itself again. For Mart it was a rediscovery of his roots, "And finally I got my roots back . . . I could not believe that in 1991 Estonia was free again. It was really unreal. And then [pause] I was coming to Saaremaa for the first time."

The island as a border zone of a totalitarian regime kept it out of reach for Jon as well, whose grandfather lived on the island. He was never able to visit him at his home, and just six years ago he made his first trip to see his father and his grandfather's grave. The place was revealed to him through his father's eyes and he was happy to see the place this way, and to avoid "all those boring places," as he said, referring to touristic places.

The bodily comfort found in the materiality of lived places overwrites the uneasiness of perceived ideological places. Locations on a map become meaningful

[22] Manor in Northern Estonia

places through experiences (de Certeau, 1984; Olwig, 2006). Jon portrays his first encounters with people and places on island as an unexpected and pleasant balance between openness and discrete. He describes a swing found behind of one of the main sightseeing spots and built by local villagers that offered him and his daughters a nice break from the "overwhelming facts of historical sites," and an old man from the neighborhood who welcomed them with "a warm open heart" despite language barriers. "This man is not with us anymore [pause] and I missed these little moments," he says about his present trip. Jon is worried that overdevelopment may cut off opportunities for these meaningful encounters between locals and visitors.

For Mart the re-discovery of his roots gave back his friends and neighbors. Mart emotionally explains how sharing with the neighbor [Miko] the same fence they designed together, and a tree of childhood games with his brothers, and a well [Mart, Sybil and I went and tasted the water from it] gave him a feeling of true friendship, making the place even more meaningful. "It is so sad Miko is not with us today here [pause], but I know he is watching," and Mart's voice is breaking. [Miko died two months ago from our conversation, and he was an acquaintance of mine too]

An old Swedish man, Peter, depicts his connection to his summer place through intense feelings of change in nature around him, those sounds and feelings of a place not found in Sweden, "When you come here in spring and stay here till autumn you see and feel things here that you cannot in Sweden. Maybe in some places there, [pause] but this here is perfect." He wondered why his kids do not want to visit his place and wander around the world instead; yet he admits his own prejudgments:

> I do not understand why they do not come here. . . but I was the same. . . before I came here, when I heard about Estonia, I said no, no, I do not want to come here.

> But now [pause] I think whatever they [his kids] are looking for at other places they can find it here too. . . .Why people do not like it here [silence], you had war here, and Russians. . . . I think that was in my mind too, but not now, not *anymore*.

Katrina adds:

> Just like my sister. She was very reluctant to come. But once she came, she likes this place, and her family . . . Her son asked me that, even he has his own summer house in Sweden, if he can come here more often. [Katrina starts laughing]

Katrina compared the post-Soviet landscapes to her landscapes back in Sweden:

> When we came years ago everything was un-orderly here. Forests were full of trash, and empty bottles. But we are used to an order. [pause] In Russian time there was a completely different culture and life. Things are different now [pause], but you can still see it in some places [long silence] with old people [long silence], but [long silence] nothing to do.

Gertrud and Manfred were shocked with the "greyness" of the rural landscape they drove through when on their trip, and with contrasts. They had a difficult time defining the identity of this place:

> Where this place belongs culturally? I think it is hard to say now, as it is so mixed. I think it tries to find its' identity. We felt in the past very strong Russian influence. We tried to find out about the *people* you see and meet. We do not know any language here, so we really do not understand. We see many people from Finland, so they must find something here, and we see some Germans, but we cannot trace it down really, because I do not know enough, so that we could compare. We see *contrasts;* decaying and decaying areas and very modern ones . . . So different from Finland where there are similar buildings everywhere. What I can define, these communities here are very closed communities; it is hard to define their feelings. Very serious faces, it is very hard to tell if you are welcomed or not. [pause] But when you get to know them they are very, very friendly. But is just very hard when you are traveling through, it is like being amongst your *own people.* [travelers] So we just have to go back to our books. (Gertrud)

They described how things gradually got better [for their experience] as the weather improved and they reached the island. "In mainland things and people are more in *transit.* I think here, it is more about its' residents and those people who come to visit and

experience," said Gertrud. Manfred adds his feelings mixed with remembrance of past times:

> If I compare people, it is hard to say if they are happier or less happy [compared to people in Germany] . . . When I look at people here who work in their little gardens, and grow flowers and potatoes and vegetables, they seem to do it with some sort of internal satisfaction. I was born in 1940, and my mom had three kids, and we also were growing vegetables in our garden.

All my foreign interviewees voiced similar opinions about "closeness" of local people in initial contacts. Finnish respondents found it to be easily explained because of the Soviet past, yet they learned to appreciate warm welcomes when finally accepted by locals. It added another layer to their experience, to the identity of the place they found amusing. Rene, a Dutchman said:

> I do not have anything to say about people friendliness. People in Eastern European countries and here are always a little [pause, he does not finish his sentence]. You have to *know* them. People have had very hard experiences over the past hundreds of years. You have to *understand* them. (Rene)

Manfred and Gertrud expressed their feelings of security when traveling through places with easily *readable* identity. They voiced their willingness to go back to Finland and Sweden, and England to traverse those "authentic" rural landscapes as Gertrud defines them: "I think we look for some kind of authenticity. It must be an authentic place." And she adds: "those are things what make you feel safe, relaxed." Paralleling authenticity with clearly defined identity gave Manfred and Gertrud a sense of happiness at their home:

> I think we are lucky, because the place we live still has the things what remind us of our childhood. It has changed through development, but like houses, people are changing them back to the origins. They now try to conserve things. To us those changes are not so noticeable. There is not such a need to find something . . . [identity]

My Estonian respondents evaluated the Soviet past from different angles. Tiina found remnants of collective farm buildings and former military establishments as "painful to look at," and something that should be "eliminated" from the landscape. Kati referred to the curiosity and desire this place evoked in the past as a closed border zone. She acknowledges that still might have some influence for domestic tourists. The comfort and safety of this place as described by Tiina, - the "homeland Estonia without 'Others'," has been largely influenced by this past closeness too, although she never made that reference.

Elsewhereness and Home

Places are empowered by the bodily experiencing subject, yet the inherent features of place itself, the aspects of a place's 'atmosphere contribute to its' memorial evocativeness, expressiveness and character (Casey, 2000; Proust, 1954; Urry, 2006). "These ghostly presences of place are in between subject and object, presence and absence" (Urry, 2006, p. viii).

Bittersweet memories of desires evolve through sensual rhetorics of bodily sensations. The most hidden memories are often revealed by smells in their ability to evoke the past from that special locus between experience and representation (Beer, 2007; Le Guerer, 2002; Proust, 1954). Sheltered from intellectual analysis they work as tools of emotional knowledge and become reflected in everyday language. They give us feelings of "security, pleasure and well-being, they make us feel at home" (Köster, 2002, p. 27). The Proustian remembrance of places is hauntingly present even when we seek new experiences in new places.

> I sense places through my nose. When I am by the sea, then I feel places from my childhood. I don't remember anything from the place I was born. I only lived

> there 4 years. But 11 years of my life I lived by Elbe. When I plan my travels, I try to find places where to experience something new, but in all places I will feel the association with my childhood. Like here, the smell of sea . . . [we have our conversation by the sea, in the RV campground], I have memory pictures when I was a little boy by Elbe. And also this smell of linden trees and birch trees here. (Manfred)

Smells in their resistance to abstraction capture that indefinable "something that emanates from a person, a place, a situation" (Le Guerer, 2002, p. 11). Bachelard states that our "memories are motionless, and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are" (1994, p. 9). Connectedness to the place comes through the time and tuned sensitivity. Sometimes it requires us to distance ourselves from the place to understand its meaning:

> This is this perception, and it often reveals itself when you lose it for some reason. With moving to Tallinn, after some years, when sitting here in a summer evening, I realized what I *actually* lost. That grass can smell and grasshopper sing. Before I did not realize it, it was somehow as a background. (Neeme)

Due to this tuned sensuality, those places are more present in everyday than acknowledged. They are present in the daydreams between vacations if not bodily inhabited (Bachelard, 1994; Löfgren, 1999). These places are seemingly motionless, capturing time; the past is constantly part of the present here. Löfgren (1999) states that summer places work for many as a territory of rooting and emotionally holiday places are often placed first among other places.

Timeframes for the reflection are caught by places, as material witnesses of a "longue durėe" layer of history (Braudel, 1980). History of place was strongly emphasized by the interviewees, and for many of them it was the lure of the place, if not the most important part of their conscious and sub-conscious search of identity and belonging. Both material and social traces of place were important to my respondents. A

couple from Finland described their place through their feelings towards the thick cultural layers it embeds:

> One thing what is important here, that this is an old place. People from those past times knew how to establish a place, those buildings here have the right energy. People lived here, and made their living here for themselves and their families. The fact that all was here before us, this base to go from. I do not believe I would have the same feeling, if I would have purchased just a lot from a seaside amongst those sturdy junipers and built a luxury vacationhome there. This is not the same feeling at all. Yes, this is what we feel here, and this makes it home also for us. (Riikka)

The emotional stories of evolution of their present second home added to an understanding of what makes them feel at home in addition to their personal contribution to their farmstead. This energy of home, the substance over image, escapes the uncanny postmodern nostalgia (Vidler, 1992). Similar feelings were described by other Finnish interviewees as well. They referred to the ease of getting settled here as a combination of similarities and differences, which allows them to better understand how culturally connected we are.

Two of the Estonian respondents inherited their summer homes which were also their childhood homes, and for them memories of place were connected to the "trust" in the place, in order to make the place feel like home.

> This is my birthplace. It means that is my home. Some other places like this? Some places may become *almost* like this, if you do not have a place to compare too. But if you have your childhood home, which has been loved, then . . . (Tiina)

Neeme expressed similar feelings:

> What does this place mean for me? It means everything. This *is* [italics added] my home. Not just a big island. I have everything here what I am, what I need. My roots. There is no home in Tallinn. That is some other kind of concept. A place you go to sleep and leave to go to work. Home does not evolve from four walls. It is more than that. Something extra. For me this a place were my ancestors are from. A place you come, and everybody from village knows you and your

> parents. And for many generations behind. It is this feeling you can not put into the words . . . It comes from somewhere deep inside. You put your feet on a ground, and you know, this is a place I belong to.

Meanings of homeplace are closely related to belonging, habitually discussed in relation to roots, leading to troublesome national identity. National identity, often connected to restorative nostalgia, this trial to repair longing with belonging where re-discovery of identity can dangerously put an end to mutual understanding, can confuse the actual home with the imaginary one (Boym, 2001). Yet those feelings do not have to be so restrictive. As Game positions it, "belonging, is an experience of living in-between" (2001, p. 226); and in this in-betweenness evolves reflective nostalgia allowing many flavors of different places and times (Boym, 2001).

> Our roots? This is not so important I think . . . We do not have any countryside roots . . . Where is your heart, there is your home. We have our heart in two places, here, and in Finland. There are two chambers in your heart [laughing] and we have two homes too, and I do not know which one is more important. (Riikka).

> It is hard for us to mention those most important places in our lives. We have moved ten times. And home is there where you build it next time [pause] and they change, and they are behind then, and you do not regret or miss them . . . Has this place became part of our identity? Yes, we are islanders and we want to be islanders [Matti says the last sentence in Estonian and laughs happily after that]. (Matti)

> What makes a place a home? First of all people [a long pause], and some personal things to do. Roots are important, but a person can get rooted somewhere else too. I think Saaremaa for me is more important than a place I was born, and where all my childhood friends are . . . Saaremaa offers me everything I want to do in life. And I think I want to come here more than my wife does [his wife was born on island]. (Timo)

Timo and I had a long conversation about his place on the island. Answering my question about lost places, Timo admitted to a deep emotional connection he had with his

grandfather in his childhood place. “That place is sold now, it is a lost place,” but adds that this place here compensates all those other places. I thought I understood. Timo surprised me with his almost flawless Estonian. He stressed the importance of appreciation of language and culture of places he deemed meaningful to him.

My conversation with my respondent Jon adds yet another flavor to a place and the language connection. Jon confesses how hearing the Estonian language in everyday conversations gives him that “odd and powerful feeling,” “When I come to Estonia I feel that I have *a place* here, yet simultaneously I feel I do not. It is a weird thing, and I cannot explain it.” Born in an Estonian-Canadian family, living his entire life in Toronto, he had a hard time identifying himself. “I want to think about myself as an Estonian,” he admits, but confesses his desire being somewhat “sadly playful,” “as a hobby” for him, as a meaning of belongingness that becomes merely “abstract,” when not “lived through everyday.”

Returns

“Every time I come here I feel better [pause] inside.” [laughing] (Peter)

Vacations are about nostalgia of return (Löfgren, 1999). Dreams of vacation are not linear in time as past memories become reflected in future dreams. Gertrud and Manfred, my only first time visitors, did not find a desired *holidayland*:

> Is it *really* the place I would like to go back to? [pause] Maybe in many, many years to come to see the *changes*. There is a very, very beautiful nature here, but [pause] I do not know if I would do the same trip again, going so *far to the east* . . . because I found it very depressing. But is that what I wanted to see? [pause] I would only recommend it to the people who are very *curious*, you must be prepared to find things to be *different* . . . So you must be very open. (Gertrud)

She describes her usual holiday places and makes a comment, “We spend holidays in Europe, never outside.” Sybil from Belgium however portrays a place as not *far to the*

east but as "far west," as a rest point from the "overcrowded system" as she calls it, with "this space, all this space we Belgium's like." Rene likes the place because of the space too:

> In the future I will also come, definitely, and maybe with my family. To convince them maybe? We have always liked places, which are not touristy places. This is not a touristy place, it is touristy, but not like this *massive* touristy place. This I think is a major thing for my family that is not massive touristy, that we can relax here.

Many interviewees indicated that a return was in their minds immediately when they reached the place:

> Both we have our hearts here, and when we are in Finland, we think when we go back. When we leave from here we start thinking when we get back. I cannot explain what it is. [pause] This is just that feeling what is so good. (Riikka)

Yet, Katrina referred to limitations for returning, "If my kids will not have any interest in this place, then [a long pause], then it is nothing to do, then we have to go [pause] and sell." She admits that she cannot accept the place run down, and that they soon would be too old to keep it because of all the work.

Since many of my respondents had second homes on an island, their experience of the place has yet another spatial and temporal dimension. As Löfgren states (1999), second homes give a temporal and spatial return an illusion of captured time and space, as the next vacation continues from the past where the last experience was left off. John Gillis (1996) notes that summer homes are houses we live by, rather than live in. "There is not been a month I have not been here physically, even for a day. Every free moment I have, I am here, even if not physically," said Neeme. This elsewhereland is freer and simpler, and is experienced as a bodily captured utopia. And a busy one filled with

everyday activities and experiences, “Time off? You do not take time off here, or to be more correct, being here is time off itself,” adds Neeme laughing.

One year later

During my time on the island in the summer of 2008, one year after the interviews, I met several of my respondents and visited their meaningful places. Riikka and Juhani are proud of their newly restored gate that has a spirit of the place; it looked so inviting when I passed by. Neeme had done a lot of renovation to his old farmhouse to bring in many modern conveniences for his daughters; I hope he does not change it too much. Kati is “stuck” with the island place tighter than before, since her business has expanded. To my surprise Katrina and Peter put their summer cottage on Vilsandi Island for sale, and moved to Kuressaare, where doctors are closer, shopping easier, and physical work not necessary. Yet, they both long for their place out there they left behind.

Discussion

Koselleck (1985) suggests two categories of experiencing space and time - space of experience and horizons of expectation. According to Koselleck, “Experience is present past, whose events have been incorporated and could be remembered . . . while expectation is the future made present; it directs itself to the not-yet, to the non-experienced, to that which is to be revealed” (1985, p. 272). Modern nostalgia longs for that ‘“shrinking space of experience’, that no longer fits the new horizon of expectations” (Boym, 2001, p. 10). As Boym (2001) implies, nostalgic love can only survive in a long-distance relationship where this cinematic image works as a superimposition of two images–of home and out-there, past and present, dream and everyday life–and cannot be reduced to a single one. Thus, nostalgic is never a native (Boym, 2001), but a displaced

person mediating between local and universal, gaining perspectives from the journey, gazing backwards and sideways. Tourism as a modern exile draws heavily on a feeling of nostalgia (Frow, 1991; C. Kaplan, 1996; Lowenthal, 1985; Minca & Oakes, 2006; Rosaldo, 1989). Thus, it is not surprising that experiences of an island place among the survey respondents and my interviewees were often voiced as nostalgic, even with quite different or mixed feelings, and dispersed fixation points in time. This is not surprising either, as the past has became much more unpredictable than the future (Boym, 2001). The Soviet past of the place was strongly present in my respondents' emotional readings of landscapes visited and dwelled. Past memories from the ideological images of place as well as memories of places elsewhere were intertwined into bodily perceptions of place, yet resulted in somewhat contradictory statements. Those individual and collective memories intertwined resulted in multiple layers of emotional readings of identity and vocalized desires of present and future experiences of the place. Evaluation of changes in landscapes correlated with perceived identities of place and self, and reflected upon readings of home.

Contemporary research of identities in a mobile world treats identity as a search (Young, 1997). "But sometimes movement is not about a search for, but an escape from, identity, or an escape from the dissonance between where one is and where one would like to be, but without any specific destination" (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 52). Home is an ambiguous concept and numerous studies have questioned the narrow views of home as exclusionary, totalizing and an emblem of regressive nostalgia (Blunt, 2005; Boym, 2001; Young, 1997). "Home as the materialization of identity does not fix identity, but anchors it in physical being that makes a continuity between past and

present" (Young 1977, p. 159). Serving as a link between past, present and future it allows us to revisit and reassess the past and rewrite our stories to view a future change. Young argues that without such an anchoring “we are, literally lost” (1997, p. 151). Respondents of this study expressed the meaningfulness of the island place (or places elsewhere) through the notion of home, however without the denial of change as part of it.

Many respondents found the openness of themselves an important aspect of their place experience, along with the qualities of the place, which enable those opportunities.

> I think that the biggest lure of Saaremaa is in the fact that I am here myself to experience it, that I have a place here. That you can still find places here where to be in total peace, but at the same time if you want, you have the access to the world out there. (Kati)

Opportunities in experiences were expressed in contrasts, often in combination of temporarily and spatially restricted tourist places and “open,” “sensual” places (Edensor, 2006); where the latter ones were perceived to be still more predominant and important to ensure desired experience. My interviewees voiced those opinions in relation to the development occurring, yet where the present still holds these intriguing opportunities as in a crossroads. The sensuality of the place noted resembled a certain delicate balance the place has maintained between a “marked” tourist place (Edensor, 2006) and the “old way of life” of its’ community.

> I must invent or find out a new word how to describe it. If you say it is cute or quaint, then maybe it would describe the place as it tries to replicate the old way of living, this modern attempt to live the way it *used to be*, but here people truly *live* it. It is original, peculiar, friendly, and very historical too in its’ way. To see this place [pause], some things are easy to see, some things you must find out. (Jon)

On Reflexivity

I would also like to discuss issues of reflexivity in relation to my findings. The importance of reflexivity in research is acknowledged, yet the emotional aspects of reflexivity in research have been widely neglected, with some exceptions (Bondi, 2005; Varley, 2008; Widdowfield, 2000). As a researcher of my own childhood place, I was aware that my own emotions would be inevitably part of this study. Many places on island, meaningful to me in the past, have changed. Many people who made the place what it is to me have left. I understood many levels of emotional comments of my respondents, and those smells, tastes and sounds of the place are important to me as well. I was more sensitive to those aspects in our conversations, thus probably deemed it more important to reflect upon. I understand the limitations as well as advantages of my study due to my complex insider–outsider position. Quite a lot remained unspoken; I felt like many of my respondents often gave up on the idea of trying to explain everything meaningful in the place. As Soile Veijola described it in relation to her homeplace Ii, "I should have pointed at myself and said: here is part of Ii. Or I should have shown the darkness behind the sign: there is part of me." (2006, p. 77) As she states, these "parts" are what much of the contemporary cultural theory tries to make sense of in its' conceptualizations of place, identity and mobility.

CHAPTER 7 – DISCUSSION

This case study examines the dynamic between real landscapes, their representations and negotiations of identity under the umbrella of a stabilizing past among foreign and domestic visitors to Saare County, Saaremaa Island in Estonia. The idea to analyze place, identity and landscape concurrently with tourism and memory stems from previous theoretical discussions allow to see the mutual interplay in construction of these notions. Placing tourism within the framework of theoretical (see Figure 1, Chapter 1) approaches of place, identity and landscape together within theoretical discussions of memory helps to understand how the layers of experience are created and perceived among the multiple inter-related constructions. Studying these processes gives both theoretical and applied perspective to understand tourism within the wider socio-political context required in a contemporary world of mobility, where issues of identity are increasingly highlighted. Landscapes are both locus of tourism and reification of identity and memory (Knudsen et al., 2008a). Approaching tourism and place experiences from this wider framework helps to investigate multiple layers of meaning-making salient for sustainable destinations and visitors to those destinations.

Theoretical discussions in this dissertation indicate that "change" is a common characteristic of places, identities, landscapes and memories (see Knudsen et al., 2008a; Wersch, 2002). Societal interruptions (i.e., changes to the environment) are reflected on each of these layers, creating a variety of multidirectional options for the future. Places

and identities become enacted through a set of potentials provided within a socio-political context. Landscapes of tourism (places and identities in temporality) are multi-vocal and both tourists and locals participate in the process of resistance and compliance to articulated authority through their practices. This study draws theoretically and conceptually on a model adapted from Huff (2008) with added dimensions of tourism and memory and societal changes as well as interfaces between the dimensions (see Figure 1). This dissertation addressed two research questions:

1. How does collective memory influence the multiple readings of place/landscape identity in transition?
2. How do individual and collective memories facilitate present and future perceived place/landscape experiences?

The first phase of this study explored negotiations over place identity through the space of new media following the anonymous public debates posted online aroused in response to official media texts in national and local newspapers, related to the proposed bridge to mainland. The online forum provided virtual space for debate about the bridge to mainland. Critical discourse analysis following the analytical dimensions of landscape, place, identity and memory through interfaces of societal changes valorized strong involvement of past in construction of views about sense of place, its identity, and future developments. The online texts were heavily based on political rhetoric of promises for a better future using a bridge as the means to materialize past dreams. Political nostalgias to re-centre the island in changed socio-political conditions used selective memories from the past into necessities of the present (economic development). Island of "childhood memories," a narrative powerfully present for domestic and foreign travelers, was

rhetorically transformed into “island without a bridge,” defining it through the absence – of equal possibilities for future, Wanderlust, freedom of movement, etc. Landscape representations derived from “past idealized” notions come from the political manifestations “of present unwanted.” Following Manichean consciousness, these manifestations lack a neutral zone and this lack of axiological neutrality reflects on their future visions of the island. No alternatives were offered to the bridge as “aesthetically pleasing” in this process of “aesthetization” of politics.

Public responses to the text online followed both routes of resistance and compliance- from recollections to nostalgia. Remembrance and nostalgia remapped the island in “future-past of present” quite differently–from motility inside of home-place to mobility out there/as everywhere. Freedom of movement envisioned through the bridge and equalized with progress and whiteness offered impressions of the present islands’ place as pure nostalgia for outsiders, drawing the line between tourist place and lived place. In opposition, more attuned experience of place was envisioned without centering planning for future environment solely on private vehicles coming to the island. References to memory linked developmental plans to a Soviet ideological past, with grand narratives and great conquest plans for nature in the name of progress. Sense of place of the island itself was perceived to evolve around past memories and the great infrastructural change (a bridge to mainland) distinguished as an attempt to erase that memory.

The public sphere in a network expanded through new media opened a new political arena for the discursive process of meaning-making of place. Subjugated knowledge (see Foucault, 1980; Rossiter & Cooper, 2005; Yell, 2005) evolved through

these non-linear, interactive, and real-time systems of relations in a constant process of doing, partakes in the "doing" of place in many aspects of its multiple "becomings" (Simonsen, 2008) of "throwntogetherness" (Massey, 2005). In this particular case "past–future– present" of place was envisioned linking multiple layers of memory (see D.S.A. Bell, 2003; Küchler, 1999; Wersch, 2002) with real landscapes in their materiality (see Kaur et al., 2004). Affective responses from people showed the importance of island landscapes in their identity formation concurrently with place identity. Landscape as a palimpsest of different social relations (including tourism) was "read" across a continuum of recollections and nostalgia linking to other places in their absence (Soviet past, larger socio-economic space of contemporary Estonia, European Union).

In the second phase of this study of tourists to the island, the readings of place investigated through survey analysis included layers of meanings from visitors across more than 20 different nationalities with different socio-demographic backgrounds. Visitors' sense of place was measured using Bott's (2000) psychometric scales to identify variables (e.g., sense of place) with predictive power of perceived future place experiences. Memory influenced both Estonians' and foreigners' readings of place, even though an in-depth understanding of its precise role remained unclear in this empirical phase. Traditional landscapes, villages and rural lifestyle have positive influence on perceived future experiences with the island. Knowledge from places elsewhere linked to conversations about perceived risks of future experiences from a bridge to the mainland among interviewees in the third phase of the study. The interface between memory and nationality (identity) seemed to influence perceived risks in multiple ways. Estonians memory of traditional landscapes as part of their cultural identity surprisingly, did not

reveal connections between perceived future experience and the proposed bridge. Linking findings from theoretical discussions and findings from the first paper offered possible reasons related to this collective memory's partial "amnesia." Foreigners through their habitus perceive landscapes and possible changes differently in dependence on their socio-cultural, economic and political conditions of their places back home. Perhaps memories from places elsewhere (home, other vacation places) influenced the significant connection between foreigners' memory and perceived future experience related to construction of a bridge. It is possible to argue that places in their absence played a role in perceived future experiences. For Estonians, these might be linked to places of permanent residency (and to actual and perceived distances between places of work and leisure), places from a Soviet past (ideological) linked with present-future places of European Union enlargement (enlarged space of economic opportunities as well as strict environmental requirements). Threat to perceived positive place experiences for both Estonians and foreigners was related to such changes as disappearance of traditional villages, rural lifestyle and particular island landscapes. Estonians were more disturbed by potential environmental change threats than foreign visitors and as place memory and historic/authentic values combined with the spirit of the people increased, potential environmental changes detracted from their perceived future enjoyment of the place. Surprisingly, a sense of belonging and being part of the community was positively related to environmental changes by adding to perceived future vacation experiences.

Differences in cultural memory play a role in evaluation of landscapes as well as changes in those environments (Brocki, 2004; Ingold, 1992; Knudsen et al., 2008). Theoretical discussions related to landscape evaluations, stress the importance of

aesthetics and mystery in the evolution of the very idea of national landscapes and identity (Cosgrove, 1985, 1989). Landscapes of national identity are understandable and significant, and related to aspects of memory and well-being. Island landscape and social environment has symbolized "home" for Estonians for many years, especially during the Soviet occupation. As a closed border zone, it was a desirable place to visit, memories of which still remain. Foreigners are probably more inclined to perceive the place as the place of "Other," looking for sensual experience qualities missing in many analogous European island- vacation-spaces that have been turned into well constructed expected holiday destinations (Edensor, 2006; Rojek, 1995). This might explain the higher scores among foreigners for the transactional socio-cultural sense of place scale, evaluating the place as authentic and historic.

Meaningfulness of home-place does not have a simple connection to memory and perceived affect from infrastructural changes. Recollections of the past are not necessarily trapped in restorative nostalgia or easily explained by it (Boym, 2001; Smith, 1989). Estonians had higher scores on individual memory of the place, yet were more positive towards the construction of the bridge, which would open the place to more rapid change. Emotional desires for easy access to "home," to a place of individual significance and part of one's identity seem to mask the perceptions of possible negative aspects of infrastructural changes.

In the third and final phase of the study, in-depth interviews with 16 visitors drawn from the survey sample helped to explore the place experience in more depth, to answer some assumed connections between memory and perceived place identity through experienced landscapes of tourism. Past memories of island place and places elsewhere,

linked identities, places and landscapes perceived and remembered. Home, everyday, and elsewhere form intertwined impressions of island places memorized; balanced on the line of expressions of belonging, as quality experiences of everyday and nostalgic renderings of times and places lost. Tourism as a modern exile draws heavily on a feeling of nostalgia (Frow, 1991; C. Kaplan, 1996; Lowenthal, 1985; Minca & Oakes, 2006; Rosaldo, 1989). Thus, it is not surprising that experiences of an island place among the survey respondents and my interviewees were often voiced as nostalgic, even with quite different or mixed feelings, and dispersed points in time. This is not surprising either, as the past has become much more unpredictable than the future (Boym, 2001). The Soviet past of the place was strongly present in my respondents' emotional readings of landscapes visited and dwelled. Past memories from the ideological images of place as well as memories of places elsewhere were intertwined into bodily perceptions of place, yet resulted in somewhat contradictory statements. Those individual and collective memories intertwined resulted in multiple layers of emotional readings of identity and vocalized desires of present and future experiences of the place. Evaluation of changes in landscapes correlated with perceived identities of place and self, and reflected upon readings of home. Historical aspects of place were deemed an important part of place experience. Different layers of meanings related to Saare County's past as an island place included influences from collective memories, autobiographical memories intertwined with collective ones, as well as from representations of the place used by the tourism industry. Place identity and personal identity were evaluated against that screen of past and socio-cultural background of respondents and played an important role in those readings.

Respondents without prior knowledge or experience similar to the socio-cultural, economic and political context in Estonia were inclined to identify place based on comparisons of home place from their own residency and past memories from places traveled elsewhere. Representations of place were incorporated more into their readings and returned to find explanations when "real" landscapes offered contradictory readings. Finnish respondents screened their perceptions against similarities in socio-cultural contexts and perceived experiences and gathered positive support from local social contacts. Societal changes reflected in landscapes of tourism were perceived and evaluated by the respondents within a socio-cultural context of origin as well as level of knowledge about the present socio-political context of Estonia.

To return to the overall research questions of this study and summarize findings from the three working papers (Chapters 4 to 6), the role of memory in perceived landscape identity and place experiences were evaluated through a series of interfaces between the different dimensions presented in the conceptual framework of this study:

Landscape /Tourism/Change Interface

(representational landscapes of tourism versus lived landscapes of societal changes, authority in landscapes versus lay person knowledge)

Place/Tourism/Change Interface

(sense of place as nostalgia for home versus sense of place as remembrance of past, place as center in movement versus place as periphery in movement)

Identity/Tourism/Change Interface

(collective memory as authority versus autobiographical memory as authority, touring between places versus touring in places)

Conclusive Remarks

The island place of Saare County was an ideal case to investigate the power of the past over the present and future. Acknowledging that memory is a central medium for identity construction coming from multiple paths available for the future, only those memories which fit best the current context are chosen. The Estonian case, however, appears paradoxically extreme. The political willingness to surpass the socio-cultural and economic consequences left behind by betweenness of fifty years of Soviet occupation has paradoxically placed itself into the betweenness of a Manichean consciousness.

Willingness to identify with changed socio-political and economic conditions is politically practiced through attempts to not only bring the past into present, but placing present into past. Selective collective amnesia for the present is forced to accommodate the past without a neutral perspective (alternatives for consideration). The image, the template for island place identity, is placed into an idealized past; although real (actual) landscapes probably cannot sustain the burden of an iconic landscape in this amnesia for the present.

The desire to belong to an imagined community defined by either "Europeanness" or "Nordic with a twist" makes haphazard mixes, which end up defined by the absences– Estonian as "non-Russian," island as "place without a bridge." Residents and visitors to the place must situate themselves among these paradoxes. For visitors, who come from places elsewhere, where slowly changing narratives of society parallel with the pace of change on every level in their society, the island place is perceived as a search for their identity, even though the place is laced with its own layers of cultural history. Paradoxically in this perceptual openness, visitors find ease, a sense of *Gemütlichkeit* for

their own fragmented identities linking places from past and present. The experiences perceived and desired are dependent upon those memories from places elsewhere, although imaginary. Personal memories mingled with powerful national narratives create an unexplainable authority of the past. Even evaluations of perceived changes in landscapes with seemingly important attributes for personal and place identity creation, nest the large developmental changes into a comfortable past of a childhood place, blind to the future. Perhaps a coping mechanism with everyday spatial anxieties, these landscapes of memory remain important for locals and visitors. The past is powerfully present and perceivable in the landscapes of Saare islands; however, without alienation into Otherness, the islands offer experiences of wilderness, Thirties, Fifties, or Seventies and so forth. Perhaps, because these multi-layers are not overpoweringly present, they are referred to as the hidden secrets thousands of tourists come to discover each year.

Implications

From a management perspective, the study identifies the importance of communication among the general public about the different aspects of infrastructural changes, as well as between the tourism industry and research institutions to map different views, conflicts and the possible solutions based on those constructive discussions. In order to maintain and increase visitor satisfaction with the place, their opinions about developmental issues should not be ignored. Such implications should be viewed in the broader context of tourism's role in the future of the island-place. More importantly, the need exists for a more specific type of tourism development, more appropriate for environmentally sensitive areas such as islands. Building the bridge will have an undeniable impact on visitor flows, and affect the overall experience with the

place as supported by previous studies (Baldacchino, 2007; Terai, 1999). Yet, the chain reactions set off by building the permanent links are different case by case, as well as the extensions of mutations of the "bridged islands" (Baldacchino, 2007). Previous studies show that islands linked to mainland by terrestrial links have faced both decline and increase of visitor numbers over a period of time, decrease of local lifestyle, and changes in landscapes due to increased developmental pressure (Baldacchino, 2007). In some cases identity of place has strengthened through desire to maintain distinctive communities and managerial actions like strictly controlled visitor numbers and flows have been applied (Baldacchino, 2007). Some linked islands have a desire to reverse the process, introducing plans to demolish terrestrial links (Baldacchino, 2007).

From a methodological context, Bott's (2000) sense of place scales were replicated and applied empirically as predictor variables. Obviously, not all of the psychometric scales would be applicable to this study or others, but in the context of an overall examination of cultural memory, and place identity, several of the scales were significant predictors including memory of place and well-being. The development and application of a set of scales that are valid indicators of sense of place may be useful in the evaluation of a place and the experience itself (Bott, 2000). With an understanding of what contributes to a positive sense of place, planning and managing for sustainable tourism may be enhanced.

Theoretically, sense of place contributed slightly to the prediction of both perceived environmental changes and a bridge to mainland. This has not been tested previously. Application of Bott's sense of place scales was an attempt to step beyond the typical application of "involvement" and "place attachment" as the typical theoretical

sense of place constructs used in the natural resource literature. Bott's scales provide an alternative approach to examine visitor perceived experience. Cultural memory plays a key role as a predictor of the evaluation of potential threats to visitor experience.

Narrative perspective and critical discourse analysis was used for the qualitative approach in this study. For the first paper, a narrative analysis via content analysis of online text concerning pro-anti debates about the bridge was recorded. These sorts of public online forums are numerous and continuing to expand in the form of blogs, discussion groups, and discussion threads. New forms of media and representation of place are occurring online offering a new twist to media studies and the impact of media on social sciences in general and more specifically on the natural resources. Studies of new media can open new layers of meaning- making in the space of "hypertext." Exploring "marginal" media and communication practices (internet chat etc.) as possible sites of subjugated knowledge (Yell, 2005) help to understand and see the "slowly turning narratives" of society.

The intent and hope for the present study is that it will initiate dialogue and research interest in the tourism community around the importance of the relationship between sense of place and sustainable tourism development. The potential exists for tourism researchers to extract benefits from the proposed method to measure sense of place that will assist the marketing efforts of tourism destination managers in similar ways to those that recreation researchers have been able to achieve for the natural resource management community. The present study represents a beginning of that effort.

Limitations

For the quantitative study, results are exploratory and any generalized reference should be exercised with caution first of all due to a small number of respondents and a limited timeframe. Data was primarily collected on a ferry, which is the major, yet not only access point to the island. Recently the number of visitors arriving on the island via yachts and air transport has increased. Developing alternative access points to the islands has been encouraged to cater to diverse markets, and meet expectations contemporary tourists seek in island-places.

This study perpetuated the need to recognize the diverse needs and opinions of visitors about the islands as a competitive tourism destination. These opinions point to possible conflict from increased visitor numbers and the desired experience. The data support assumptions that increased visitor flow does correlate directly with the benefits sought by the tourism industry (Baldacchino & Spears, 2007; Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Terai, 1999).

Further Research

Although the predictive power of the sense of place scales was limited to 10% of the variance explained in the logistic regression, the model was significant with four sense of place predictors. The bridge to mainland seemed to enhance the sense of well-being; however, there was a negative relationship with memory of place, feelings of belonging / part of community, and the aesthetics of place. Two of the non-significant predictors (natural character of place and significance of place) of the bridge to mainland change were negative correlates. Surprisingly, transactional socio-cultural, existential, significance, transcendental sense of place scales were neither predictors nor correlates of

the bridge to mainland change. These items represent the socio-cultural and the affective individual domains. The heterogeneous nature of the sample (domestic versus international visitors) representing 22 countries total including Estonia may be one explanation for the limited predictive power of sense of place. A more homogenous sample is recommended, for instance, to examine sense of place among Estonian visitors to the island. There is a need for more comprehensive longitudinal research to identify visitors' place evaluations, perceptions of proposed changes, and expectations for future visits. Future research should include residents to identify possible discrepancies between different stakeholders in relation to future developments. A focus on second homeowners and their sense of place would be another study to consider.

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APPENDIX A. SURVEY

Dear Visitor of Saare County,

Colorado State University, is conducting a study entitled "Cultural Memory and Place Identity: Creating Place Experience" to explore the background of construction of place identity in a line with changes in salient characteristics of the environment. We are interested in the opinions of all visitors of Saare County so even if you are just recently discovered islands of Saare County as a vacation destination, your input is still important to us. We are interested in surveying visitors which should take no more than 20 minutes to complete

In accordance with U.S. federal regulations, the Colorado State University Human Research Committee has reviewed and approved this study. There are no known risks or direct personal benefits associated with your participation. Consistent with University research requirements, your participation in this study is voluntary and will remain completely confidential. The data gathered will be presented in aggregate form. The instructions are given in each questionnaire. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement. The appropriate answers are the ways you feel about yourself with respect to each statement of the questionnaire. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you may contact Janell Meldrum of the CSU Human Research Committee at (970)491-1655. Your name will never be associated with your responses. Record of your participation in this study will be destroyed as soon as the data collection is completed.

We would be happy to answer any questions you might have regarding the study. Please feel free to contact Jana Raadik by phone or email (details provided below). Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

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Colorado State University
Knowledge to Go Places

Survey #:_____
Date:_____
Location:_____
Ferry direction:_____

1. Including this visit, about how many times have you visited Saare County this calendar year?
(Write ONE number) _____number of visits this calendar year

2. How many years including this year you have been visiting Saare County? ***(Write ONE number)***_____ number of years

3. What time of the year do you usually visit Saare County?

☐	Summer	☐	Spring
☐	Winter	☐	Fall
☐	All year around	☐	Does not apply

4. On the scale below, please indicate how familiar you are with Saare County? ***(Circle ONE number)***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all familiar							Extremely familiar	

5. How important to you are **each** of the following reasons for visiting Saare County?
(Circle ONE number for each activity)

	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Extremely important
To relax	1	2	3	4
To enjoy nature	1	2	3	4
To be on island	1	2	3	4
To enjoy cultural events	1	2	3	4
To learn more about this place	1	2	3	4
To be with friends or family	1	2	3	4
To be on your own	1	2	3	4
To bring back pleasant memories	1	2	3	4
Other. Specify_____	1	2	3	4

6. Saare County is a group of islands including – Saaremaa, Muhu, Vilsandi, Ruhnu, Abruka. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree that each statement by circling the appropriate response.
(Circle ONE number for each statement)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I come here to be on an island place.	1	2	3	4	5
I come here just for a certain island place.	1	2	3	4	5
I come here for a certain area, being on island is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5

7. Please specify the island which is most special to you. ***(Check ONE)***

☐ Saaremaa ☐ Muhu ☐ Vilsandi ☐ Abruka ☐ Does not apply

8. Do you have a special area which is most meaningful to you?

   □ No □ Yes Specify location_____

If you did not indicate any island place or area as special to you in questions 7 or 8 skip questions 9- 11 and go to question 12

9. The following are a series of statements about meanings of place. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree that each statement as it applies to your special place X as you indicated earlier in question 7 - 8. ***(Circle ONE number for each statement)***

For me this place X is	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Safe	1	2	3	4	5
Clean	1	2	3	4	5
Familiar	1	2	3	4	5
Peaceful	1	2	3	4	5
Distinctive	1	2	3	4	5
Comfortable	1	2	3	4	5
well-known	1	2	3	4	5
Inspirational	1	2	3	4	5
Meaningful	1	2	3	4	5
Beautiful	1	2	3	4	5
Significant	1	2	3	4	5
Natural	1	2	3	4	5
Serene	1	2	3	4	5
Reassuring	1	2	3	4	5
Memorable	1	2	3	4	5
Interesting	1	2	3	4	5
Harmonious	1	2	3	4	5
non-threatening	1	2	3	4	5
aesthetically pleasing	1	2	3	4	5
Balanced	1	2	3	4	5
understandable	1	2	3	4	5
Revitalizing	1	2	3	4	5
Historic	1	2	3	4	5
Authentic	1	2	3	4	5
Valuable	1	2	3	4	5
has obvious boundaries	1	2	3	4	5
has distinct landmarks	1	2	3	4	5

For me this place X	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
has a spirit of people	1	2	3	4	5
generates respect for the individual	1	2	3	4	5
has attractive buildings	1	2	3	4	5
generates positive sensory experience	1	2	3	4	5
has distinctive energy	1	2	3	4	5
has a spirit of place	1	2	3	4	5
evokes strong memories for me	1	2	3	4	5
reminds me about my childhood place	1	2	3	4	5
associates with some special place from my past	1	2	3	4	5

This place makes me feel	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
alive	1	2	3	4	5
peaceful	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of attachment	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of connection	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of my identity	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of comfort	1	2	3	4	5
like there are opportunities for me	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of history	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of ownership	1	2	3	4	5
inspired	1	2	3	4	5
like I know it well	1	2	3	4	5
fulfilled	1	2	3	4	5
part of a community	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of belonging	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of nostalgia	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of appreciation	1	2	3	4	5
like I have options	1	2	3	4	5
strong emotions	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of mystery	1	2	3	4	5
a sense of refuge	1	2	3	4	5
like being at home	1	2	3	4	5

10. What is the main reason place X is meaningful to you? _____
_____

11. What for you are symbolic to your special island place/area? ***(List THREE main ones)***
1._____
2._____
3._____

12. How important to your experience are each of the following qualities of Saare County?
(Check ONE number for each quality)

	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Extremely important
Pristine nature	1	2	3	4
Semi – cultural landscapes	1	2	3	4
People who live here	1	2	3	4
Safety	1	2	3	4
Solitude	1	2	3	4
Insularity	1	2	3	4
Recreational opportunities	1	2	3	4
Rich history	1	2	3	4
Pace of time	1	2	3	4
Other. Specify_____	1	2	3	4

13. There are a number of things that can contribute to your overall evaluation of your experience with a place. Listed below are some possible changes that could occur in Saare County. Please indicate how much each statement would possibly affect your experience. ***(Circle ONE number for each statement)***

	Add to my enjoyment	No effect on my enjoyment	Detract from my enjoyment	Does not apply
A. Decline of rural lifestyle	1	2	3	8
B. Increased number of tourists	1	2	3	8
C. Increasing development of seashore	1	2	3	8
D. Increased number of summer cottages	1	2	3	8
E. New modern architecture	1	2	3	8
F. Bridge to mainland	1	2	3	8
G. Loss of traditional villages	1	2	3	8
H. Excessive forestry	1	2	3	8
I. Commodification of places of interest	1	2	3	8
J. Decrease of safety	1	2	3	8
K. Loss of peculiar (unique) island landscapes	1	2	3	8
L. Other. Specify_____	1	2	3	8

15. From the list of potential changes in Question 13 (above), which do you feel might be the one main threat to your positive experience? ***(Write only ONE LETTER)***

_____ Letter from above list

14. How would you like to see Saare County in the future?_____
_____

15. What would cause you to not return to Saare County?_____
_____

16. Do you have a second home in Saare County?

☐ no ☐ yes How many years?_____years

17. Please indicate where you usually stay while visiting Saare County. ***(Check ONE most appropriate answer)***

☐ In my second home	☐ With my relatives	☐ With my friends
☐ In hotel	☐ In B & B	☐ Renting a place
☐ Camping	☐ In farmhouse	☐ Other. Specify_____

18. How long do you usually stay in Saare County during a single visit? ***(Check the most appropriate answer)***

☐ Couple of days	☐ A week	☐ A month
☐ Couple of months	☐ Other. Specify_____	☐ Does not apply

19. How many days in total are you staying in Saare County per year? ***(Check the most appropriate answer)***

☐ Couple of days	☐ A week	☐ A month
☐ Couple of months	☐ Other. Specify_____	☐ Does not apply

Finally we would like to ask some questions about you personally. All answers will be kept confidential.

1. Your sex? _____ male _____ female

2. Your age? _____ years

3. Your marital status?_____ single _____ married _____ divorced _____ widow

4. Place of current residence. Village or Town? _____Country? _____

5. Your nationality? _____

6. How much formal education have you had? ***(Check the highest)***

☐ grade school	☐ some college	☐ masters degree
☐ high school	☐ bachelor degree	☐ doctoral

Thank You for Your Cooperation!

APPENDIX B. SURVEY RESULTS

1. Including this visit, about how many times have you visited Saare County this calendar year? ***(Write ONE number)***

Number of visits this year to Saare County	*Total*	*Min*	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
	483	1	50	2.87	5.13

2. How many years including this year you have been visiting Saare County? ***(Write ONE number)***

Number of years visiting Saare County	*Total*	*Min*	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
	476	1	62	9.57	12.56

3. What time of the year do you usually visit Saare County?

Table X. Usual time of visit

Time of the year	**Visitors n= 486** %
time of visit summer	92
time of visit winter	21
time of visit all year around	21
time of visit spring	24
time of visit fall	24
time of visit does not apply	6

4. On the scale below, please indicate how familiar you are with Saare County? ***(Circle ONE number)***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all familiar								Extremely familiar

	Total	*M*	*SD*
Familiarity with Saare County	480	4.40	2.21

5. How important to you are **each** of the following reasons for visiting Saare County? ***(Circle ONE number for each activity)***

Table X. Importance of motivations to visit Saare County

Motivational items	*Not at all important* %	*Slightly important* %	*Moderately important* %	*Extremely important* %	*Total*	*M*	*SD*
to relax	3	9	37	51	458	3.36	0.77
to enjoy nature	2	6	38	54	461	3.45	0.69
to be on island	11	20	30	38	446	2.96	1.01
to enjoy cultural events	20	36	30	14	444	2.39	0.96
to learn more about this place	6	14	48	32	453	3.06	0.83
to be with friends or family	14	11	24	51	457	3.12	1.09
to be on your own	41	27	21	11	437	2.00	1.02
to bring back memories	38	19	22	21	436	2.25	1.17
other reason		4	10	86	51	3.82	0.48

6. Saare County is a group of islands including – Saaremaa, Muhu, Vilsandi, Ruhnu, Abruka. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate response.

Table X. Importance of island as an environment for the visit

	Strongly disagree %	*Disagree* %	*Neutral* %	*Agree* %	*Strongly agree* %	*Total*	*M*	*SD*
I come here to be on an island place	8	14	18	42	18	451	3.49	1.16
I come here just for a certain island place	12	22	21	29	17	447	3.17	1.27
I come here for a certain area, being on island is not important to me	12	25	19	25	19	455	3.15	1.31

7. Please specify the island which is most special to you. ***(Check ONE)***

Table X. Importance of particular islands to visitors

	Saaremaa	Muhu	Vilsandi	Abruka	Ruhnu	NA
Visitors % (n=485)	76.8	7.0	1.0	0.2	0.2	14.7

8. Do you have a special area which is most meaningful to you?

Table X. Existence of a meaningful and special area

	Yes (%)	Total (n)
Visitors	45	483

If you did not indicate any island place or area as special to you listed in questions 7 or 8 skip questions 9- 11 and move to question 12

9. The following are a series of statements about meanings of place. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree that each statement as it applies to your special place X as you indicated earlier in question 7 - 8. ***(Circle ONE number for each statement)***

Table X. Valuation of sense of place by visitors to Saare County

	Strongly disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	Total	M	SD
safe	0	1	9	55	35	337	4.25	0.64
clean	0	1	11	58	30	337	4.16	0.68
familiar	4	9	18	43	27	328	3.80	1.04
peaceful	0	2	14	47	37	332	4.19	0.75
distinctive	1	4	19	40	36	318	4.05	0.89
comfortable	2	6	19	43	30	330	3.95	0.93
well-known	3	15	30	34	18	326	3.50	1.04
inspirational	2	9	27	44	18	317	3.67	0.94
meaningful	1	9	25	42	24	315	3.79	0.94
beautiful	0	1	4	48	47	334	4.41	0.61
significant	1	7	23	41	28	315	3.88	0.93
natural	0	1	7	44	50	331	4.41	0.67
serene	0	1	16	42	40	322	4.20	0.78
reassuring	2	8	33	42	16	308	3.61	0.90
memorable	1	3	9	51	35	322	4.17	0.78
interesting	0	2	10	53	35	327	4.20	0.71
harmonious	1	2	21	49	26	322	3.98	0.80

non-threatening	0	3	19	51	27	318	4.02	0.77
aesthetically pleasing	0	3	24	50	23	310	3.92	0.78
balanced	1	3	31	45	20	317	3.80	0.83
understandable	1	5	28	50	17	313	3.76	0.82
revitalizing	1	5	30	45	18	310	3.73	0.86
historic	1	5	11	46	38	322	4.15	0.87
authentic	0	3	14	47	35	317	4.13	0.80
valuable	1	2	14	44	39	316	4.18	0.82
has obvious boundaries	3	5	31	44	18	303	3.70	0.91
has distinct landmarks	2	3	24	41	30	305	3.93	0.93
has a spirit of people	2	6	30	48	14	318	3.67	0.86
generates respect for the individual	2	6	34	45	13	315	3.62	0.85
has attractive buildings	2	6	13	53	27	316	3.96	0.91
generates positive sensory experience	0	1	13	51	35	316	4.20	0.70
has distinctive energy	1	5	24	40	30	318	3.92	0.91
has a spirit of place	1	3	16	46	35	313	4.09	0.85
evokes strong memories for me	8	14	26	27	25	313	3.46	1.24
reminds me about my childhood place	27	21	19	17	17	307	2.76	1.44
associates with some special place from my past	23	21	19	19	19	307	2.90	1.44
alive	1	5	27	48	19	309	3.80	0.84
peaceful	0	2	9	57	33	323	4.20	0.66
a sense of attachment	3	7	32	36	22	308	3.66	1.00
a sense of connection	8	13	29	33	18	307	3.38	1.16
a sense of my identity	10	15	33	26	15	306	3.20	1.18
a sense of comfort	2	4	19	50	25	315	3.91	0.90
like there are opportunities for me	6	12	40	33	8	303	3.25	0.99
a sense of	5	11	23	41	20	314	3.60	1.08

history								
a sense of ownership	17	21	32	18	12	308	2.88	1.24
inspired	3	9	29	46	12	308	3.56	0.93
like I know it well	6	14	35	30	15	314	3.32	1.09
fulfilled	2	4	25	48	21	312	3.82	0.88
part of a community	13	21	34	24	7	308	2.91	1.12
a sense of belonging	12	15	35	27	10	313	3.07	1.15
a sense of nostalgia	11	13	23	35	19	313	3.37	1.23
a sense of appreciation	8	11	34	34	13	308	3.33	1.09
like I have options	6	9	38	36	10	307	3.37	0.98
strong emotions	4	9	31	35	21	313	3.62	1.04
a sense of mystery	5	16	30	38	12	307	3.35	1.05
a sense of refuge	10	14	33	30	14	301	3.24	1.15
like being at home	9	14	27	28	23	315	3.41	1.22

Table X. Domestic and foreign visitors comparison related to their past memories of place

	Citizenship of visitors		X^2	*p*-value	Cramer's *V*
Cluster groups on past memories	**Estonians %**	**Foreigners %**			
No Past Memories	37	62	17.04	<.001	.24
Past Memories	63	38			

Table X. Domestic and foreign homeowners comparison related to their past memories of place

	Homeownership related to Citizenship		X^2	*p*-value	Cramer's *V*
Cluster groups on past memories	**Estonians Homeowners %**	**Foreign Homeowners %**			
No Past Memories	22	58	9.09	<.005	.36
Past Memories	78	42			

10. What is the main reason place X is meaningful to you?

11. What for you are symbolic to your special island place/area? ***(List THREE main ones)***
    1

12. How important to your experience are each of the following qualities of Saare County? ***(Check ONE number for each quality)***

Table X. Importance of the aspects of island environment to the place experience

Aspects of the Environment	Not at all important %	Slightly important %	Moderately important %	Extremely important %	Total	M	SD
Pristine nature	1	5	36	58	440	3.51	0.64
Semi - cultural landscapes	1	4	36	59	455	3.52	0.64
People who live here	3	22	37	38	451	3.10	0.84
Safety	4	9	33	54	450	3.38	0.80
Solitude	7	18	42	33	444	3.00	0.90
Insularity	6	19	36	39	445	3.07	0.91
Recreational opportunities	5	18	35	43	450	3.16	0.88
Rich history	3	12	41	45	453	3.28	0.77
Pace of time	6	14	39	42	443	3.17	0.87
Other	0	0	6	94	16	3.94	0.25

13. There are a number of things that can contribute to your overall evaluation of your experience with a place. Listed below are some possible changes that could occur in Saare County. Please indicate how much each statement would possibly affect your experience. ***(Circle ONE number for each statement)***

Table X. Affect on future experience through possible changes in the island environment

Environmental changes	*Add to my enjoyment* %	*No effect on my enjoyment* %	*Detract from my enjoyment* %	*Total* N
A. Decline of rural lifestyle	4	26	71	435
B. Increased number of tourists	3	30	67	446
C. Increasing development of seashore	5	23	72	444
D. Increased number of summer cottages	5	43	52	442
E. New modern architecture	11	24	65	442
F. Bridge to mainland	32	37	32	445
G. Loss of traditional villages	3	14	83	445

H. Excessive forestry	3	25	72	439
I. Commodification of places of interest	4	31	65	422
J. Decrease of safety	2	16	82	446
K. Loss of peculiar (unique) island landscapes	3	10	88	441

15. From the list of potential changes in Question 13 (above), which do you feel might be the one main threat to your positive experience? ***(Write only ONE LETTER)***
_____ Letter from above list

14. How would you like to see Saare County in the future?_____
_____
_____

15. What would cause you to loose interest to visit Saare County?_____
_____

16. Do you have a second home in Saare County?

☐ no ☐ yes How many years?_____years

Table X. Homeownership in Saare County

	%	Total
Second home in Saare County	17 (n=82)	479

Table X. Estonian and foreign second homeowners in Saare County

Citizenship of homeowners	%	Total
1 Estonians	19 (n=53)	286
2 Foreigners	15 (n=29)	193

17. Please indicate where you usually stay while visiting Saare County.

Table X. Accommodations of overnight visitors

Types of accommodation	*Overnight Visitors %*
In my second home	14
Hotel	20

Camping	13
With relatives	11
B&B	7
Farmhouse	4
With my friends	11
Rental place	3
Other	18
Total n= 471	

18. How long do you usually stay in Saare County during a single visit? ***(Check the most appropriate answer)***

TableX. Length of stay per visit

		Couple of days	Couple of months	Week	Month	Other	Does not apply
Visitors (n= 478)	%	68	3	20	1	4	4

19. How many days in total are you staying in Saare County per year? ***(Check the most appropriate answer)***

Table X. Total days in Saare county per year

		Couple of days	Couple of months	Week	Other	Month	Does not apply
Visitors (n= 475)	%	43	7	23	9	8	10

20. How do you usually travel to Saare County? ***(Check the most appropriate answer)***

Table X. Modes of transportation to Saare County

		Car	Bus	Plane	Other
Visitors (n= 476)	%	77	14	2	8

Finally we would like to ask some questions about you personally. All answers will be kept confidential.

1. Your sex? ____**43.5%**_ male ___**56.5%**__ female

2. Your age? __*M*=**42**___ years

Age of respondents

	N	Min	Max	M	SD
Visitors	479	18	85	42.13	14.66

3. Your marital status?

Table X. Marital status of respondents

	n	%
Single	127	26
Married	313	65
Divorced	31	6
Widow	10	2
Total	481	100

4. Place of current residence. Village or Town? _____County

5. Your nationality? _____

6. How much formal education have you had? ***(Check the highest)***

Table X. Educational level of respondents

	n	%
Grade School	9	2
High School	80	17
Some College	133	28
BS degree	112	23
MS degree	118	25
Doctoral	28	6
Total	480	100

APPENDIX C. INTERVIEWS: RECRUITMENT, COVER LETTER, AND INTERVIEW SCRIPTS

Colorado State University Research Study

Cultural Memory and Place Identity: Creating Place Experience

Who: Visitors of Saare County

When: Summer 2007

What: Participate in an interview or survey to give your input on the research of place identity of islands of Saare County Estonia and share your views about memorable experiences of place.

Contact: Jana Raadik, M.S. (graduate research assistant)
jraadik@lamar.colostate.edu
#372-513-6931

Principal Investigator: Stuart Cottrell, Ph.D.
cottrell@cnr.colostate.edu
#001-970-491-7074

Dear Visitor of Saare County,

Colorado State University, is conducting a study entitled "Cultural Memory and Place Identity: Creating Place Experience" to explore the background of construction of place identity in a line with changes in salient characteristics of the environment. We are interested in the opinions of all visitors of Saare County so even if you are just recently discovered islands of Saare County as a vacation destination, your input is still important to us. We are interested in interviewing visitors of Saare County which should take no more than 95 minutes. Interviews will be audio taped.

In accordance with U.S. federal regulations, the Colorado State University Human Research Committee has reviewed and approved this study. There are no known risks or direct personal benefits associated with your participation. Consistent with University research requirements, your participation in this study is voluntary and will remain completely confidential. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you may contact Janell Meldrum of the CSU Human Research Committee at (970)491-1655. Your name will never be associated with your responses. Record of your participation in this study will be destroyed as soon as data collection is completed.

We would be happy to answer any questions you might have regarding the study. Please feel free to contact Jana Raadik by phone or email (details provided below). Thank you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Stuart Cottrell, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
Colorado State University
(970)491-7074
cottrell@cnr.colostate.edu

Jana Raadik
Graduate Research Assistant
Colorado State University
+37251-36-931
jraadik@lamar.colostate.edu

Interview Script

Introduction: Hello, my name is Jana Raadik, a doctoral student in the department of Human Dimensions in Natural Resources, Colorado State University, USA. I would like to invite you to voluntarily participate in my dissertation research project under the supervision of Dr. Maureen Donnelly, a tourism specialist at Colorado State University.The purpose of my study is to examine the relationship between memorable places of Saare County to the places significant to visitors to this county. Study results will help provide insight to why people visit this place and the main values this place offers to visitors.

The interview will take about 1 to 1 ½ hour. Is there a time that we could meet at your convenience?

Thank you for agreeing to participate in an interview. I will ask you thirteen primary questions with perhaps some additional questions that might arise as we talk. Please take all the time that you need to answer my questions. I would very much like to hear your thoughts and concerns related to your visit here I am happy to answer any questions about the study.

In accordance with U.S. federal regulations, the Colorado State University Human Research Committee has reviewed and approved this study. There are no known risks or direct personal benefits associated with your participation. Consistent with University research requirements, your participation in this study is voluntary and will remain completely confidential. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you may contact CSU Human Research Committee at + 011(970)491-1655. Your name will never be associated with your responses. Record of your participation in this study will be destroyed as soon as data collection is completed.

Is it OK with you – if I record our conversation? It will help me to go back to our conversation and analyze your answers in more depth. From time to time I will take some notes as well.

Please keep in mind that there is no right or wrong answers to any of the questions I ask you. I am interested in your personal thoughts. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions, you may choose not to answer them.

*****[*turn on digital recorder*]*****

1) First of all I would like to ask you about your connection with this place - Saaremaa. How important is this place to you and your life?

   [*If needed, probing:*
   Why are you visiting this place?
   What would it be like to not be able to come here any more?
   Is this place somehow part of your identification?

What makes this place meaningful for you?

If person has no previous experiences:
What would be a reason for you to visit this place again?]

2) I would like for you to tell me about the most important experiences you have had with this place - Saaremaa and its' surrounding islands. What comes into your mind first with mentioning this place – Saaremaa? Begin wherever you like and take the time that you need.

[*If needed, probing:*
Can you mention some particular places or stories or people Saaremaa or other islands here bring to your mind?
What is meaningful to you about those particular things and/or places?

If person has no previous experiences:
What did you expect to see and experience here? *(1st)*
Or can you think of a story or experience that you've heard from someone else that you would like to tell that caught your interest towards this place? *(2nd attempt)*
What about something you have read or watched on TV about this place? *(3rd attempt)*]

3) Are there any particularly important or special places for you here? Like before, you can tell me about as many experiences as you like that have occurred during any time in your life, and begin wherever you like.

[*If needed, probing:*
Can you give a more detailed description of those places or things what are special to you here?
Why are these places special to you?

If person has no previous experiences:
That's fine. Can you describe some places or events which caught your special attention during this visit? Why?]

4) What are the most important characteristics of this place? How would you describe this place to someone who'd never seen it?

[*If needed, probing:*

Could you describe some things and/or places what for you are symbolic to this island place? Why?
If you have to show this place to your friends who visit it, where would you take them? Why?
Are there some places you would not take your friends? Why?

If person has no previous experiences:
Can you describe places and/or things which you expected to see and experience, but did not? *(1st attempt)*]
Was there something what you experienced about this place that was not anticipated, but was extremely positive? Negative? *(2nd attempt)*]

5) Now I would like for you to tell me about things you have noticed or experienced as changing on this island place? Like before, you can tell me about as many experiences as you like that have occurred during any time in your life, and begin wherever you like.

[*If needed, probing:*
Have you noticed changes in this place since your first experience?
How do you feel about those changes?
Could you give some examples about changes about this place that would make you feel uncomfortable, sad or even angry?
Tell me about some future changes you anticipate in this place?
What is causing these changes? Why are they happening, in your view?

If person has no previous experiences:
That's fine. Could you anticipate some changes which would make this place very different from a place you experienced during your visit this time? What makes you feel that things are possibly changing for this place? How do you feel about those possible changes? *(1st)*
Or can you think of a story or experience that you've heard about this place in the past which described like a totally different place what you experienced this time? *(2nd attempt)*]

6) I would like to ask some additional questions about your own special places elsewhere. How do you feel about the place where you live permanently?

[*If needed, probing*:
What does the phrase being at home mean to you?
Tell me about a place what you would call a home place, not just a place of residence?
What makes a place a home place?
How important is for you knowledge of your roots? Does this knowledge have some connection with your home place?

7) I would like you to tell me about particular places that evoke strong memories for you. What kinds of places evoke strong memories for you?

[*If needed, probing*:
Could you please describe those places?

Why are those memories important to you?]

8) When you think back to your childhood, what was one of the special places to you that come into your mind first?

   [*If needed, probing*:
   Tell me what makes that place from your childhood so important?
   Which way is this place still meaningful to you?]

9) Could you tell me about some place you ever lost that was special to you in some way?

   [*If needed, probing*:
   Could you think about some place what could replace that lost place to you?

10) Are there places from your past that are important to you, which you have not been lately but you would like to go again?

   [*If needed, probing*:
   What makes those places from the past important?
   How often do you think about your past important places?]

11) How would you like to see this place in coming years? What, in your view, should be the future of this place?

   [*If needed, probing*:
   What features, places or things are worth of preserving in this place?
   What kind of things would make it better?
   What would you not like to see?
   What kind of things would make this place not worthwhile of coming anymore?]

12) What do you think about the possibility of a bridge being constructed between mainland and this island?

   [*If needed, probing*:
   Why do you prefer either a bridge or better ferry connection between the island and mainland?
   In what way will a terrestrial connection to the island change your experience with this place?

That's all I have for the interview unless there is anything else you would like to add.

Thank you for agreeing to have an interview with me today.

APPENDIX D. BOTT'S PSYCHOMETRIC SCALES

TABLE 3.4 DOMAINS, SCALES, AND ITEMS USED IN SURVEY

DOMAINS AND SCALES	ITEMS
D1. Natural Setting Domain	
S1. Natural Setting Scale	natural, sunny, has good lighting, has a good amount of trees
S2. Built Environment Scale	made of materials which are appropriate in color, made of materials which fit the setting, has attractive buildings
S3. Character Scale	clean, alive, peaceful, distinctive, harmonious, balanced, well-maintained, simple, spacious, open
D2. Cultural Setting Domain	
S4. Inherent Sociocultural Scale	historic, authentic, has a spirit of the people, fits within the larger context of CSU, supports the activities of CSU, feel a sense of history
S5. Transactional Sociocultural Scale	offers a sense of belonging, provides opportunities for interaction with others, offers civility, generates respect for the individual, has a distinct energy, feel a part of the community, feel a sense of belonging
D3. Affective Individual/Personal Domain	
S6. Significance Scale	meaningful, significant, interesting, valuable
S7. Existential Scale	feel a sense of connection, feel a sense of my own identity, feel a sense of attachment, feel a sense of ownership
S8. Memory Scale	familiar, well-known, memorable, feel a sense of connection, feel like I know it well, feel a sense of nostalgia
S9. Aesthetic Scale	beautiful, aesthetically pleasing, pleasing to look at, generates a positive sensory experience, feel a sense of awe, feel a sense of appreciation
S10. Transcendental Scale	inspirational, magical, sacred, a spirit of place, feel alive, feel inspired, feel connected to a higher power, feel fulfilled, feel a sense of romance, feel strong emotions

Table 4.1. Reliability Analysis for 4 Domains and 15 Sense of Place Scales

Domains and Scales[1]	Cronbach's Alpha	Overall Mean Score[2]	Standard Deviation
Physical Setting Domain	**.89**	**1.02**	**1.19**
Natural Setting Scale	.74	1.04	1.33
Built Environment Scale	.85	.73	1.57
Character Scale	.89	1.28	1.02
Cultural Setting Domain	**.85**	**.87**	**1.07**
Inherent Sociocultural Scale	.82	.89	1.20
Transactional Sociocultural Scale	.86	.86	1.09
Affective Individual Domain	**.91**	**.60**	**1.15**
Significance Scale	.84	.89	1.29
Existential Scale	.87	.27	1.39
Memory Scale	.76	1.36	.97
Aesthetic Scale	.93	.65	1.55
Transcendental Scale	.93	-.16	1.39
Functional Individual Domain	**.88**	**.78**	**1.02**
Purposive Scale	.74	.95	1.48
Informational Scale	.75	1.02	.94
Prospect Scale	.82	.05	1.39
Refuge Scale	.61	1.07	.93
Well-being Scale	.95	.84	1.30

[1.] Each of the scales and domains were summated from individual items (Table 3.4).
[2.] Variables were coded on a 7-point scale ranging from "Strongly Agree" (+3) to "Strongly Disagree" (-3).

Bott's (2000) domains, scales and items adapted for this study

Domains and Scales	Items per scale
Natural setting Domain	
Natural and built environment scale	Items**:** Natural, attractive buildings
Character scale	Items: Clean, peaceful, distinctive, harmonious, balanced
Cultural setting Domain	
Inherent Sociocultural Scale	Items: Historic, authentic, has a spirit of people, feel a sense of history
Transactional Sociocultural Scale	Items: Offers a sense of belonging, generates respect for the individual, feels a sense of belonging, feels a part of community, has a distinct energy
Affective Individual/ Personal Domain	
Significance scale	Items: Meaningful, significant, interesting, valuable
Existential scale	Items: Feel a sense of connection, feel a sense of my own identity, feel a sense of ownership, feel a sense of attachment
Memory scale	Items: Familiar, well- known, memorable, feel a sense of connection, feel like I know it well, feel a sense of nostalgia, evokes strong memories for me, reminds me about my childhood place, associates with some special place from my past
Aesthetic scale	Items: Beautiful, aesthetically pleasing, generates a positive sensory experience, feel a sense of appreciation
Transcendental Scale	Items: Inspirational, a spirit of place, feel alive, feel fulfilled, feel strong emotions, feel inspired, feel a sense of mystery
Functional Individual/ Personal Domain	
Informational Scale	Items: Understandable, has distinct landmarks
Prospect Scale	Items: Feel like there are opportunities for me, feel like I have options
Refuge Scale	Items: Non-threatening, has obvious boundaries, feel a sense of refuge
Well- being Scale	Items: Safe, comfortable, serene, reassuring, revitalizing, feel peaceful, feel comfortable, like being at home

APPENDIX E. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES USED FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Local Newspaper Articles

Aardam, R. (2007, 03.01). Sild tuleb nagunii. *Oma Saar Online*

BNS (2007, 04.24). Parts: Saaremaa püsiühenduse kasutus hakkab olema tasuline. *Meie Maa Online*

Jakson, A. (2007, 03.07). Riigikogulased: püsiühendusega venitada ei saa. *Meie Maa Online*

Kuivjõgi, V. (2003, 02.07). Tarvis: Keskerakond pole püsiühendust arutanud. *Meie Maa Online*

Kuivjõgi, V. (2007, 02.05). Püsiühenduse otsuse teeb valitsus järgmisel aastal. *Meie Maa Online*

Laine, A. (2004, 10.16). Ansip: sõjakirves SLK vastu maha maetud. *Oma Saar Online*

Lember, A. (2007, 03.05). Doktoritöö hoiatab sillaehituse eest . *Oma Saar Online*

Lember, A. (2007, 02.02). Saarlased – rahvas, kes ei armasta koostööd, *Oma Saar Online*

Lember, K. (2007, 03.01). Areng ja edu eeldavad võrdseid võimalusi. *Oma Saar Online*

MM (2000, 02.18). Muhu mandri vahelise silla saatuse otsustab valitsus. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 01.19), Silla toetajad loodavad uuele võimuliidule. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 03.08). Saaremaa silla rajamine jõuab peagi koalitsiooninõukokku. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 03.14). Regionaalminister näeb silda aastaks 2010. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 03.19). Riik asub taas uurima saarlaste arvamust püsiühenduse kohta. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 04.13.). Püsiühenduse otsustavad 500 noort meest. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 04.16). Püsiühenduse küsitlejad ei uuri vaid meeste arvamust. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 09.05). Saaremaa püsiühendus koputab Euroopa toetusfondide uksele. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 09.18). Septembri lõpus valmib kaks Saaremaa püsiühenduse uuringut. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 10. 12). Mandriga ühendava silla teekond joonistati kaardile. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2002, 10.23). Lõppotsust silla või tunneli kasuks pole veel langetatud. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 02.13). Parteid püsiühenduse suhtes eriarvamusel. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 02.15). Silla pooldajad ei usu musta stsenaariumit *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 05.22). Miks ja kas Saaremaa on atraktiivne? *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 06.06.). Erkki Raasuke: sild valmib enne Tallinna-Tartu kiirteed. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 06.14). Euroopa Liit asus toetama Saaremaa püsiühenduse ideed. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2003, 09.10). Peaminister Juhan Parts arutas ettevõtjatega Saare maakonna arengu üle. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 03.05). Minister Atonen lubab jätkuvalt püsiühendust. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 03.17). Natura ei välista püsiühendust. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 05.22). Lõplik otsus püsiühenduse rajamise kohta tuleb teha järgmisel kevadel.*Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 06.08). Tarmo Sumberg: peab lahti saama mainest, et Saaremaa on lõbus peopanemise koht. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 10.20). Minister Ansip: Saaremaa sild ei valmi enne 2012. Aastat. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2004, 11.23). Teadlased: saared vajavad silla asemel kiiremaid laevu. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2005, 07.01). Konsultant soovitab püsiühenduseks silda. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2005, 09.24). Muhumaa ja mandri vaheline sild oleks tunnelist kaks korda odavam. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2005, 10.15). Herald Tribune avaldas pika loo Saaremaast. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2006, 01.21). Mandri püsiühendus: kaalumisel on tunnel ja kaks silla varianti. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2006, 02.08). Vastandamine: rahvas eelistab Tartu maanteed Saaremaa sillale. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2006, 03.02). Keskkonnakaitsjate esindaja püsiühenduse valitsuskomisjoni. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2006, 03.15). MERI JA SAARED. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2006, 06.06). Savisaar: Püsiühendusega tegelegu järgmised valitsused. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2007, 03.05). Püsiühendusest nii ja naapidi. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2007, 03.13). Roheline mõte. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2007, 03.27). Püsiühendus aastaks 2015. *Meie Maa Online*

MM (2007, 04.02). Saaremaa püsiühenduse uuringu tegija selgub juunis. *Meie Maa Online*

Õunapuu, J. (2007, 01.31). Püsiühendus mandriga või seltsimaja? *Meie Maa Online*

Pallas, L. (2007, 02.05). Püsiühenduse otsus tehakse tuleval aastal. *Oma Saar Online*

Priske, M. (2007, 02.08). Ministeerium ei pidurda püsiühendust. *Meie Maa Online*

Rand, O. (2007, 02.05). Saarlastest riigikogu liikmete hinnangul pidurdab ministeerium sillaehitust. *Meie Maa Online*

Rand, O. (2007, 03.03). Kandidaadid meelitavad saarlasi silla ja iibe tõstmisega. *Meie Maa Online*

Saapar, M. (2007, 03.17). SÜGi õpilased: "Saaremaa sild" ei ole lahe. *Meie Maa Online*

Sepp, A. (2004, October 06). Maavalitsuse tippametnik: sillaga kiirustada ei tasu. *Meie Maa Online*

Sepp, A. (2006, April, 28). Kas silda on siis vaja või mitte? *Meie Maa Online*

Sepp, A. (2007, 01.27). Muhu-mandri püsiühenduse teema küttis riigikogus kirgi. *Meie Maa Online*

Sepp, A. (2007, 02.14). Savisaar tahab sillatrasse Natura alast välja võtta. *Meie Maa Online*

Sepp, A. (2007, 03.2) Sild aastaks 2015 valmis? *Meie Maa Online*

Sooäär (2007, 02.12). Sild tuleb valmis ehitada! *Meie Maa Online*

Uustalu, A.-M. (2007, 03.07). Doktoritöö Saaremaa ja Hiiumaa transpordiühendusest. *Meie Maa Online*

Vare, S. (2007, 02.16). Teine teisel pool Saaremaa silda. *Oma Saar Online*

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Alas, A. (2006, 09.21) Leedo: Saaremaa silda ei tule . *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Ammas, A. (2002, 03.14). Tehnikaprofessoril valmis Saaremaa silla katsemudel. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Ammas, A. (2004. 11. 10). Saared vajavad silla asemel kiiremaid laevu. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Ammas, A. (2005, 09.27). Saaremaa sild maksaks ligi kolm miljardit krooni. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Ammas, A. (2006, 06.06). Sadamat tabas ebameeldiv üllatus. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Aripaev.ee (2007, 02.26). Atonen: kui Savisaar on minister, ei saa Saaremaale üle silla sõita. *Äripäev Online*

Asmer, T. (2002, 04.12). Saaremaa silla lugu. *Postimees Online*

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Berg, M. (2005, 07.21). MAIMU BERG: Saaremaa valss. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Dreving, M. (2003, 06.16). Demokraatia saare moodi. *Postimees Online*

Eelrand, H. (2002, 03.15). Jostov paneks töötud kaevurid tunnelit ehitama. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 03.07). Saaremaa silla rajamine jõuab koalitsiooninõukokku. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 03.11). POOLT JA VASTU: Kas Saaremaa silda on vaja? *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 03.11). PRIIT HÕBEMÄGI: Vähid Saare silla all. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 03.11). Saaremaa püsiühendus läheb maksma 1,8 miljardit. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 03.21). Kas rajada Saaremaa püsiühendus mandriga? *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2002, 09.30). Muhu vald kavandab ühendust mandriga. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2003, 04.15). VALLO TOOMET: Saaremaale sild SLK asemel. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2003, 07.30) IMRE SOOÄÄR: Muhu sild. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2003, 12.03) REPLIIK: Sild ja sadam. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2003, 12.03) Saare sild sõltub süvasadamast. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2003, 12.03). Saaremaa ja mandri vahelise silla ehitus lükkub edasi. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2004, 02.14). DEBATT: Keskkond või töökohad? *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2004, 03.16). Saarlased kardavad loodushoiualasid. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2004, 05.22). Püsiühenduse loojad kaaluvad kahte varianti. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

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EPLO (2005, 09.24). Saaremaa sild oleks kaks korda odavam kui tunnel. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

EPLO (2006, 02.06). JUHTKIRI: Kiirtee Tartusse ja sild Saaremaale. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

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Kaarberg, V. (2006, 06.30). Kas silda on ikka vaja? *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Käärt, U. (2005, 08.06) Saaremaa ühendusele leiti sobilik kulgemistee. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

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Kalamees, K. (2002, 10.12). Saaremaa silla uuringud nõuavad 15 miljonit krooni. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Kald, I. (2003, 06.04). Erkki Raasuke: Saaremaa sild võiks valmida riigi koostöös erasektoriga. *Äripäev Online*

Kallas, R. (2007, 02.02). Priske: Saaremaa silda lähema kümne aasta jooksul ei tule. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Kook, U. (2006, 02.06) Rahvas eelistab Tartu kiirteed Saaremaa sillale. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

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Ojakivi, M. (2005, 09.23). Teadlased: saare sillaga peaks ootama. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Õuemaa, T. (2003, 06.19). Professoril oma Saaremaa sild. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Paris, K. (2006, 03.10). Euroopa keskkonnaühendused: Saaremaa sild on keskkonnavaenulik. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

Piirsalu, J. (2003, 06.13). EPL UURIB TAUSTA: Praamivaba Saaremaa projektil euroraha taga. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

PM Online (2002, 03.14). Professor lõi üle väina Muhumaale rippsilla. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2002, 04.12). 500 saarlast otsustavad mandriga püsiühenduse loomise. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2002, 05.20). Küsitlus näitab saarlaste toetust püsiühendusele mandriga. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2002, 10.12). Juhtkiri: Sild see tulgu. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2002, 10.12). Saaremaa miljardisilla teekond joonistati merekaardile. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2002. 09.09). Ministeerium küsib ELilt sillauuringuks raha. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2003, 02.12). Parteid on Saaremaa püsiühenduse suhtes eriarvamusel. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2003, 06.13). Euroopa Liit toetab Saaremaa püsiühenduse kava. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2006, 01.18). Kiirtee on Saaremaa sillast olulisem. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2006, 01.24). Juhtkiri: Püsiühendus tulgu. *Postimees Online*

PM Online (2006, 01.24). Saaremaa püsiühendus 2014. aastaks. *Postimees Online*

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Raun, A. (2007, 02.02). Kantsler: Saaremaa silda kümne aasta jooksul ei tule. *Postimees Online*

Roonemaa, H. (2007, 03.02). Ärimehed kavandavad Saaremaa silla alustele maadele elumaju. *Eesti Päevaleht Online*

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Šmutov, M. (2007, 03.12). Ärimehed kavandavad Saaremaa silla alustele maadele elumaju. *Postimees Online*

Tooming, R. (2007, 02.08). Reformierakond: miks ei ole Saaremaa püsiühendusega tegeletud? *Postimees Online*

Tooming, R. (2007, 04.13). Uuring: püsiühendus üksi saarte majandusarengut ei tiivusta. *Postimees Online*

Zirnask, V. (2003, 07.18). Pool Eestit karulaaneks! *Eesti Päevaleht Online*