



Eesti Maaülikool
Estonian University of Life Sciences

**SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT IN
ESTONIA: REFLECTIONS ON HERITAGE
PROJECTS ON KIHNU ISLAND, IN VILJANDI
COUNTY, AND IN VARIOUS PROTECTED AREAS**

**KESTLIK KOGUKONNAKORRALDUS:
KULTUURIPÄRANDIGA SEOSTUVATE
ARENDUSTE GEVUSTE PEEGELDUSI KIHNU
SAARELT, VILJANDI MAAKONNAST
JA EESTI KAITSEALADELT**

PRIIT-KALEV PARTS

A Thesis
for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Environmental Protection

Väitekirj
filosoofiadoktori kraadi taotlemiseks keskkonnakaitse erialal

Tartu 2015

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following papers that are referred to by the corresponding Roman numerals in the text. The papers are reproduced with the kind permission of the publishers.

Parts, P.-K. The Evaluation of Landscape: *Nature Morte* or Living Landscape?, 36 p. Manuscript submitted to *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*.

Parts, P.-K., Sepp, K. 2007. Assessing the Impact of Tourism: Intellectual and Economic Struggles and Landscape Changes on Kihnu Island. – *Sustainable Planning and Development Conference Proceedings III*. WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment, Vol 102, WIT Press: Southampton, Boston, 341–354.

Parts, P.-K. 2007. Kultuurilise tootmise tehnoloogia poole: kultuuri-pärandi näide [Towards a technology of cultural production: The example of cultural heritage]. *Akadeemia*, (2), 227–271.

Parts, P.-K., Rennu, M., Jääts, L., Matsin, A., Metslang, J. 2011. Developing Sustainable Heritage-Based Livelihoods: an initial study of artisans and their crafts in Viljandi County, Estonia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(5) September 2011, 401–425.

Kliimask, J., **Parts, P.-K.**, Järv, H., Sepp, K., Ward, R. 2015. Endangered Settlements and Protected Areas in Estonia – The Challenge of Maintaining Cultural Landscapes. *International Journal of Agricultural Resources, Governance and Ecology*, [In press].

The authors made contributions to the articles as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	V
Original idea	JK	PKP, KS	PKP	PKP	PKP
Study design	JK, PKP	PKP, KS	PKP	PKP	PKP
Data collection	All	PKP, KS	PKP	All	PKP
Data analysis	All	PKP, KS	PKP	All	PKP
Preparation of the manuscript	All	PKP	PKP	PKP, MR, LJ	PKP

PKP – Priit-Kalev Parts, KS – Kalev Sepp, JK – Jaak Kliimask, HJ – Henri Järv, RW – Raymond Ward, MR – Madis Rennu, LJ – Liisi Jääts, AM – Ave Matsin, All – all authors of the article

ABBREVIATIONS

- CC – Carrying Capacity
DA – discourse analysis
DAPIS – Database of Viljandi County Artisans Possessing Inherited Skills
DCPIS=DAPIS¹
EUROPARC (also EUROPARC Federation) – Federation of Nature and National Parks of Europe
ICHC – Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICHC – the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (below, the ICHC)
IPIC – individual possessing an inherited craft
LFA – logical framework approach
NATURA (to be precise: NATURA 2000) – a Europe-wide network of nature protection areas based on the EU nature directive 92/43/EC (last amended on 20 November 2006)
NP – National Park
PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA – Rapid/Relaxed Rural Appraisal
TA – Tourism Area
TACP – Tourism Area Carrying Capacity
TALC – Tourism Area Life Cycle
TCHC – Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage
UNEP – United Nations Environment Program
VASAB – Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea – is an intergovernmental network of 11 countries of the Baltic Sea Region promoting cooperation on spatial planning and development in the Baltic Sea Region
WTO=UNWTO – World Tourist Organisation, since 2005 UNWTO (United Nations World Tourist Organisation)

1 An earlier version of the name is DCPIS (database of craftsmen possessing inherited skills).

1. INTRODUCTION

The initial impetus for this thesis originated from an assignment that I undertook to prepare a set of recommendations regarding building restrictions in the Karula National Park (Parts 2002). My task turned out to be more complicated than I had initially expected and I soon found myself in need of an underlying theoretical framework on which to base my planning recommendations. In connection with elaborating the development and management recommendations concerning landscapes and cultural heritage, the thesis looks at the national parks of Karula and Lahemaa, various other protected areas of Estonia, the Kihnu island and Viljandi county. The principal questions I am dealing with are the following: Is the value of landscapes and heritage an objective one? Who should have the authority to decide on development priorities concerning landscapes and different types of heritage that they contain and how will that decision affect practical management of such landscapes and heritage? Is it possible to protect a landscape's authentic character? What characteristics of landscapes and/or heritage are likely to respond to management and how should they be managed? How should the notion of sustainability be interpreted in the context of landscape planning and heritage management?

My work and recreational pursuits have brought me into frequent contact with topics and environments whose current importance is linked to earlier historical periods – i.e., to cultural heritage. These topics and environments include valuable rural (traditional, 'national' (i.e., typical of Estonia), etc.) landscapes, the Kihnu cultural environment, tourism (II) and traditional skills (IV). They inspired me to delve further into the concept of heritage and try to define a set of principles for making (value) judgments that consist in selecting certain objects or practices and declaring these to constitute valuable rural cultural landscapes and/or heritage (I, III), as well as to provide an outline of the socio-economic and cultural trends that determine the type of past events to enjoy the support of the accepted social values hierarchy (III).

In the part of my thesis that precedes reprints of the four articles listed above I endeavour to identify the shared core of these phenomena and to position them in a wider context. The most important practical challenges of day-to-day protection and management of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes consist in the fact that the protected object has arisen

and developed in a radically different and considerably less dynamic situation than that is the context for the protection and management work itself. This requires protection managers to be constantly on their toes, ready to reassess the practical arrangements of their work and its conceptual underpinnings (I–V). Several theorists have stressed that the logic of 20th century capitalism dictates the need to market goods on the basis of their symbolic rather than practical value (e.g. Harvey 1994, Zukin 1990). This shift of focus has also influenced economy and politics.

In Europe, cultural heritage has emerged as a vessel of regional identity and an engine of regional economy. In the 1990s, the EU redefined its priorities in the area of rural development. Nature conservation, tourism, landscape management and the strengthening of communities were added to production-intensive agriculture, which was no longer top of the agenda. Previously, farmers received support under the Common Agricultural Policy to grow agricultural produce that would then be shipped to distant consumers. Now people come from faraway places to consume the basic elements of countryside settings that, with the change in outlook, have become valuable – i.e. the environment, scenic views, heritage, local customs and products (Gray 2000, p. 44).

The above redefinition of priorities by the EU's policymakers is related to a long-standing European social process manifesting itself as regionalism. In some cases, local character is emphasised in the interests of resuscitating the economy of a peripheral region, in other cases, local socio-economic development is redefined to fit local character. The EU's support to regionalism is also evident in its increased funding of regional programmes (e.g., the LEADER programme), which are aimed at turning the regions' attention to their own local resources, including cultural heritage (Ray 1998, p. 5).

The preservation of cultural heritage in the EU is based on a set of shared notions of such heritage and of protective practices. In general, according to a practice that is rapidly gaining ground in the EU, assessment of the impact on cultural environment is required as part of the general environmental impact assessment that developers seeking approval for their projects must present. The Strategic Environmental Assessment Directive (EU 2001) stresses the need to give consideration to the broader context of projects and to their wider social and functional links which may extend beyond the area under immediate assessment (*ibid.*).

In this context, the notion of post-productivist countryside is rapidly gaining popularity in rural sociology – although opinions regarding it range from sharply critical to superlative. Commodification of landscapes, of knowledge, of skills and activities is observed to invade rural life and cultural heritage (see e.g. Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 143–144). Commodification is often perceived as an agent of global homogenisation – it is thought to reduce differences between local communities, destroying or marginalising local knowledge and customs. However, the process of commodification can also be regarded as a development based on giving new meaning to skills, phenomena or locations, on rethinking existing cultural elements and utilising them as a new resource (Perkins 2006, p. 247). In this view, the local community is perceived as an important source of knowledge, and its experience and skills as the foundation upon which a region's unique identity can be built. In the view of myself, both lines of argument should be taken seriously. The first exhorts us to caution and skepticism concerning commodification, yet is likely to have resignation and frustration as its results. The second would have us shout out our optimism, yet still leaves room for deliberation and action. I advocate vigilance concerning both, and prefer to construct approaches that would be characterized by sensitivity to particular contexts and would not, by logic or rhetoric, obscure the presence of diverse development alternatives in managing rural cultural landscapes and cultural heritage.

The papers that form the core of this thesis are presented here in their logical order. Paper I sets the general scene for my theoretical and applied investigations. It starts with a critical analysis of the current discourse on the value of landscapes, and proceeds to sketch an alternative conceptual framework for evaluating landscapes, using the metaphor *nature morte* to illustrate the predominant approach to landscape evaluation and proposing to counterbalance that with an approach based on the notion of 'living landscape'. The features that characterise a living landscape are self-sufficiency, multi-functionality, integrity, continuity, dynamism, and customary use, while *nature morte* is defined from the outside, being characterised by limited functionality, complicatedness, discontinuity, stasis and traditionality. The economic subsistence aspect of self-sufficiency is operationalised by means of the concept of sustainable livelihood, one of the central notions of the dissertation. A livelihood can be defined as sustainable if it can provide a living, help cope with stress, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood op-

portunities for the next generation at the local and global levels and in the short and long term (Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 6).

Paper **II** is in essence a case study of tourism in a particular location. It uses the island of Kihnu (Estonia) as an example to examine the impact of tourism – one of the most prominent influences on modern rural life and rural economy – on cultural environment, landscapes, intangible cultural heritage and community development. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, traditional economic activities such as agriculture and fishery have declined considerably for various environmental, economic and political (e.g., EU directives) reasons (Vetemaa *et al* 2006). Instead, new economic activities such as tourism, the sale of traditional foods, handicraft products and similar items have become an important source of income in Kihnu. These changes have had a sweeping influence on the cultural and natural landscapes of the island, and have created a number of conflicts between the interests of tourism and traditional economy, the agendas of local interest groups and of the cultural and economic elite, the priorities of national policy makers, etc. Although tourism offers new sources of income to complement traditional livelihoods, it may sometimes also compete with them or even undermine their foundations. Here, the concept of sustainable livelihood serves as an excellent reference for evaluating the influence of tourism on cultural environments.

Article **III** offers a critical assessment of the notion of cultural heritage and examines the origins of the modern heritage industry. It also sketches a conceptual framework for a theoretical discussion of the topic. The article argues that heritage is a symbol of a social value system that is in constant transformation due to changes in the tangible and intangible fabric of society – as such, heritage is a politically motivated selection from the past. Admitting the socially constructed nature of cultural heritage allows us to start a rational discussion on the subject and thus gives us an opportunity to let our heritage practices be guided by our best knowledge regarding their probable outcomes. Based on this admission, article **III** describes the concept of cultural heritage preservation in protected areas in Estonia as a rational ‘design endeavour’. The article suggests that the endeavour in question should be based, figuratively speaking, on the understanding that ‘country people’ are an endangered ‘breed’. The introductory part of the thesis will flesh out this view with a methodology based on a logical framework approach for organising

the monitoring of (project-based) protection of cultural heritage and the evaluation of the results of protection measures.

Focusing on traditional woodworking and building crafts, article **IV** examines the possibilities of combining educational goals and practical economic needs with the aim of protecting intangible cultural heritage. Amongst other things, the article sketches the challenges that policy-makers and relevant public bodies are facing with respect to intergenerational transmission of crafts-related skills and practices. The article starts with a theoretical discussion of skills as a form of tacit knowledge, a mode of knowing that does not easily submit to verbal explanation and transfer. The methodology, purposes, procedures, and precedents of collecting information about artisans and their skills are also discussed in detail. Relying on fieldwork data collected in Viljandi County, Estonia in the summer of 2008, the article provides an overview of relations between the region's artisans and the communities they live in.

Paper **V** discusses the conservation of protected areas of Estonia and rural cultural landscapes, in order to provide baseline information for key institutions in protected areas to develop more efficient management policies for cultural landscapes. Based on demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas, it draws the conclusion that present conservation management practices in limited management zones do not guarantee the sustainability of cultural landscapes, as human activity there is practically vanishing. In order to ensure sustainable human activity, which is the key factor for the preservation of cultural landscapes, it is advisable to reduce legal and practical restrictions on human activity in limited management zones. Paper **V** proposes a methodology for assessing the viability of settlements located in protected areas and selecting endangered settlements, where relieving restrictions of nature conservation would be beneficial. Based on the methodology, the paper estimates that protection restrictions could be relieved in approximately 20% of settlements situated in Estonia's protected areas, altogether 46 villages and hamlets. Additionally the article proposes four policy options for reducing such restrictions.

The words that make up the phrase 'sustainable community management' in the title of this thesis each represent a complex concept that evokes an extensive semantic field. Attributing discrete definitions to these concepts would amount to a separate research project. For this reason, I make several passes at their definition at various junctions in

the thesis where the context requires it. By way of introduction, let it be stated that, for the purposes of the thesis, ‘sustainable management’ is premised on the meaning that the term has in the Brundtland Report (United Nations 1987). It has, however, been somewhat refocused in the thesis with a view to making it more specific and practical. Thus, I do not approach sustainable development as a process for meeting general human development goals while sustaining the general environment (in the sense of global natural systems, or the necessities of life in general), but as a process of sustaining the capacity of particular, specific, present environments (in the sense of local landscapes, the conditions of existence *here and now*). What I use the concept to denote is the environment with which distinct individuals or communities of people² are in a relationship of immediate reciprocal dependency and which they influence through usually indispensable and meaningful practices (inhabitation, work, daily chores, etc.) (cf. Cooper 1992; Arntzen 2003). The general outline of the approach adopted in this thesis to sustainable development is represented in Figure 1.

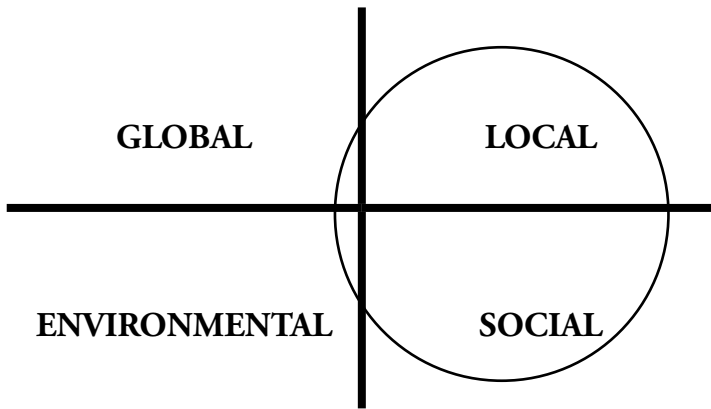


Figure 1. The focus of the thesis located in a matrix representation of the idea of sustainable development.

The thesis at hand deals with matters of development and regulation in communities inhabiting specific environments. Similarly to the distinction between global and particular environment referred to above, I prefer the reference to ‘management’ over ‘development’ when discussing

² Particular environments include other living beings apart from humans—a fact that I deal with briefly in the thesis. The inclusion of non-human beings in this definition, however, would result in specific conceptual problems (see, for instance, Vilkkka 1995) which would fit awkwardly into the practical framework of the thesis.

particular environments. Applied to the realities of the particular environment, I see it as a better fit with the aims expressed in the Bruntland report. It is also remarkable that in the course of the projects that form the empirical basis of the thesis I have personally had to bear witness to the insignificance of ‘high-level’ decision-making in day-to-day reconciliation of environmental and practical (economical, technical, etc.) concerns in a small community. At the same time, the importance of meeting the community’s needs and necessities could not be overstated. Hence, the practical experience that I have accumulated is much better described, both emotionally and in terms of scale, by the word ‘management’ for its evocation of continual practical decisions and consistent performance of small-scale actions. Management as a term is also less burdened with the notions of technological progress and economic growth that are close associates of the term ‘development’. Still, I do not wish to make a sharp distinction between the two.

The practical universe of day-to-day management choices needs a guiding framework and a pattern of activity that is, at the same time, sufficiently

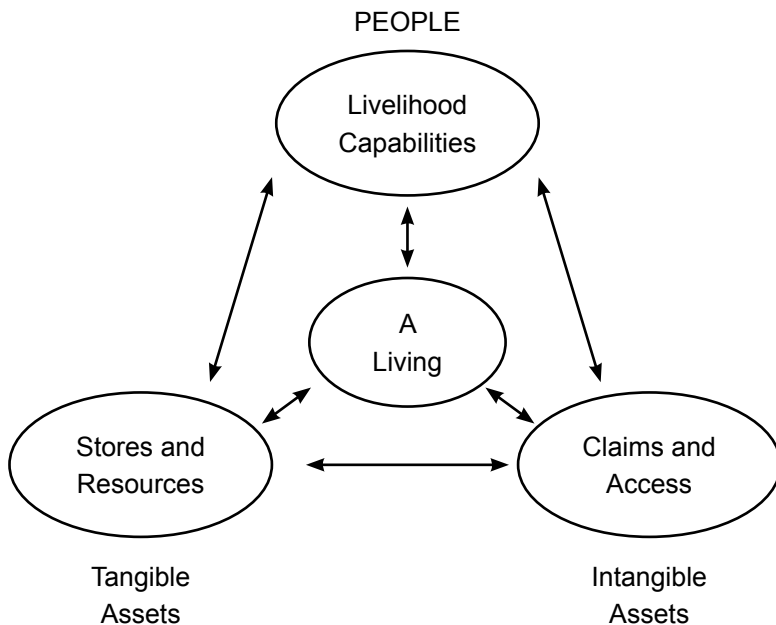


Figure 2. Components and flows in a livelihood. Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 7, relying on WCED 1987.

down-to-earth and inspirational, in order to keep managerial routines from degenerating into meaningless bureaucratic administration measures. This function is fulfilled by the concept 'sustainable livelihood' (see Figure 2) proposed by the development anthropologists Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway. A livelihood can be defined as sustainable if it can provide a living, help cope with stress, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation at the local and global levels and in the short and long term (Chambers and Conway 1991, p. 6).

Thus, in the thesis at hand I define sustainable community management as a complex set of actions that develop sustainable livelihoods. European landscapes and the communities that inhabit those landscapes are currently experiencing the situation in which agriculture in most rural areas has been reduced to a marginal source of income and employment. Against such a background it becomes important to rethink the meaning of the constitutive elements of rurality and the corresponding government policy. It is to this rethinking effort that the present thesis has tried to make its contribution: a search for more place-bounded, endogenous, non-universalistic ways of thinking about and managing landscapes and cultural heritage, without at the same time diluting it by the unsustainable proliferation of protectables.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1. Essence and principal tenets of planning

As has been pointed out in the Introduction, this thesis originally derives from a study that I was commissioned to carry out by the Karula National Park. The title of the study was *Ehituslikud piirangud ja kaldakaitsevööndite ulatuse määramine Karula Rahvuspargis. Soovitused Karula Rahvuspargi kaitse-eeskirja koostamiseks* [word for word, ‘Building restrictions and the setting of the extent of the shore protection zone in the Karula National Park. Recommendations for drafting the protection rules of the Karula National Park’]. The words *määramine* and *soovitused* [respectively, ‘setting’ and ‘recommendations’] imply an active subject who ‘sets’ or ‘recommends’. This led me to the distinction that Karl Popper (Popper 1961) makes between facts and norms.

In everyday language, facts and norms take the form of, respectively, ‘propositions’ and ‘proposals’. While propositions state facts, proposals recommend policies. By accepting a proposal, a corresponding policy or norm is created, which represents a social convention. Hence, proposals cannot have a truth value and they cannot be subjected to scientific validation (Vihalemm 1993, p. 1806). Since recommendations for the protection rules of the Karula National Park represent a proposal, they cannot be subjected to scientific validation either.

Regardless of the above, proposals, policies, norms and other statements of what is desirable in a society can still be criticised, contested and defended in a rational manner. This is so because, amongst other things, they must be persuasive and legitimate. Validity criteria of this type are used in many disciplines. Ilkka Niiniluoto uses the term ‘planning sciences’ to denote disciplines such as engineering, law or education that do not only describe factual reality but also participate in mapping a ‘desirable future’ (Niiniluoto 1990). To denote this sphere of action, I will here use the word ‘planning’ and its derivatives. Thus defined, ‘planning’, in addition to spatial planning, encompasses all activities aimed at achieving a desirable future. For a planner, then, it is of crucial importance to know what is desirable, or in other words, what exactly are the norms and values that should inform his or her professional decisions.

Various attempts have been made to formalise the language used in planning. One of these revolves around the concept of 'technical norm' (initially coined by von Wright (1963), developed by Niiniluoto (1990)). In contrast to social norms or legal rules, technical norms may be said to possess a truth-value³. However, the implementation of technical norms has often been hindered by the fact that societies find it difficult to agree on an explicit formulation of their aims and values. Moreover, a society's values are in constant change. It follows that, in essence, planners' work involves making value judgements and as such is inevitably value-laden (Lapintie 1995b, p. 68). This realisation has led me, in the articles that form the body of this thesis, to pay close attention to discovering and stating the dominant values of the relevant social settings. Since the elaboration of complex planning and management solutions can never be achieved by simply adding up and adjusting the existing value standards, I have tried to refrain from using rhetorical devices to conceal the presence of the personality of the planner. Instead, as explicitly as possible, I have attempted to highlight the role played by value judgements in constructing particular proposed solutions, such as to bring them as close as possible to the ideal of technical norms, i.e., to attaining traceability in terms of achieving their goal.

2.2. Discourse analysis: the role of language in 'making places'

People's environmental attitudes and values are constructed in ways which are seldom straightforward and readily accessible. For instance, how to interpret a situation where adherents of mutually exclusive planning solutions all claim to be objective, unselfish and 'environmentally-minded' in their judgments (see, e.g., Birmingham 1995, p. 96)? The problem lies probably with the assumption that answers collected in (sociological) surveys actually reflect the respondents' opinions or even their environmental behaviour itself.

3 According to Ilkka Niiniluoto, the general scheme of a technical norm is as follows: If you want A and believe to be in a situation B, do X. (Niiniluoto 1984; quoted by Lapintie 1995b, p. 63) The advantage of this kind of normative formulation in comparison to others lies in the fact that it has a truth value. According to Niiniluoto, a technical norm is true if 'doing X in the situation B in fact constitutes a means to attain A' (Niiniluoto 1984; quoted by Lapintie 1995b, p. 63). This makes it possible to check the truth value of the norm by verifying whether the planning proposal is suitable to achieving its aim. The concept of technical norm is a useful tool that allows deconstruction of hegemonic naturalist discourse of truth and its transformation into an open discussion of values.

In paper **I** and **II**, I chose discourse analysis as the method to investigate the production of space in the relevant Estonian context of landscape planning and conservation. Discourse analysis is founded on the understanding that linguistic expressions do not represent things ‘as they are’ and that language is an active medium used to construct reality (Laclau and Mouffe 1999) or at least a ‘detached commentary on reality’ (Burningham 1995, p. 96). Discourse analysts define discourse as ‘the broad system of thought, which informs how we conceive of the world and gain practical expression in regulative institutions’ (Livingstone 1992, quoted in Jones 2003, p. 23). Discourses can thus be seen as ‘vehicles of social power’ and can serve as ‘strategies of moral manipulation’ (Livingstone 1992, quoted from Jones 2003, p. 23).

In the analytical study of discourse, instead of searching for ‘absolute and objective truth’, one concentrates on how reality is constructed in social practices, including in scientific research (Foucault 1989). Discourse analysis represents an active and creative approach to the subject matter of one’s research: it gives the researcher an opportunity to propose new ways of categorising and conceptualising social reality (Jokinen and Juhila 1991, p. 63).

The values which underlie planners’ work often remain effectively disguised by the language they use. It is widely accepted in theoretical literature (for instance, Jones 2003, pp. 21–52) that language has a role in ‘making places’ (Tuan 1991) and that there is no “universal language’ of space ... independent of practical activities and historically situated actors’ (Harvey 1994, p. 216) or a language that is ‘morally neutral’ (Tuan 1991, p. 694). Still, these realisations are very rarely taken seriously in practice. Yet, spatial concepts and the corresponding linguistic expressions certainly have an impact on social, political and economic realities (Harvey 1994; Claval 2003; Jones 2003). Thus, linguistic and other representations of space are not something innocent or indifferent, but ‘have the potential ... to act as a material productive force’ (Harvey 1994, p. 219).

2.3. Essentialism and cultural constructivism

A detailed treatment of philosophical theories of values is beyond the scope of the present thesis. However, there is one important dichotomy which these theories highlight and which should be evoked at this point, i.e. the dichotomy between essentialism and cultural constructivism.

Although discourse analysis as a method avoids defining the subject matter of its research before carrying out an initial analysis of the data, we must realise that the foundations of this thesis and the method of discourse analysis are informed by a theory of values known as cultural constructivism. As the philosophers Yrjo Haila and Richard Levins put it, according to cultural constructivist views, values ‘grow from historical and social experience and are institutionalised in systems of thought adopted in a given culture’ (Haila and Levins 1992, p. 10). The approach that is the opposite of cultural constructivism is essentialism, which regards values as intrinsic⁴.

Discourse analysts can accept and recognise such intrinsic values – insofar as it is conceded that these, too, are socially constructed. Although discourse analysis makes no claims in respect of the ontological status of values or things ‘in itself’, it does not deny the importance of ontology in value discourse, since ontological theories have a significant impact on the development of human behaviour (Vilkka 1995). For example, construction, landscape and population settlement policies are likely to be strongly influenced by whether, for example, a particular spatial configuration is regarded as a ‘historical settlement pattern’ or an ordinary residential area.

It is also important to make a distinction between using the noun ‘value’ and the verb ‘to value’ when talking about values. The question is – which is primary? ‘If primacy belongs to the verb, then the noun ‘value’ designates something ‘valuable’, something valued, which is the object of a valuing activity on the part of human beings (or other valuing subjects). ‘Value’ as primarily a noun designates an object in its intrinsic quality, whether or not human beings or sentient beings value it’ (Vilkka 1995, p. 29). Although Leena Vilkka herself is a proponent of intrinsic values of nature, her distinction is a useful one for the purposes of the present study, since it allows us to deconstruct the operational mechanism of the noun use of ‘value’ which would otherwise be likely to make a strong rhetorical impact with many readers/listeners. The noun ‘value’ conveys an objective impression and is difficult to contradict, whereas the verb ‘to value’ foregrounds the ‘valuing’ subject in the text/speech – allowing him/her/it to be critically evaluated by other subjects.

4 An intrinsic value is essential, for its own sake, while instrumental value serves a purpose beyond itself and thus represents a derivative value, one which is ‘good for something’ (Vilkka 1995, pp. 26–27).

2.4. Cultural heritage: historical and legal background

'Heritage'⁵ is by origin a legal term to denote property that descends to an heir (Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 1–3). It is only in the 20th century that the term has acquired additional connotations that link it to values derived from the historical experience of a society or community (*ibid.*). 'Heritage' is used today in many different contexts and is a most productive word in terms of generating new terms and meanings in probably all European languages, including Estonian. Indeed, we are no strangers to such words as *cultural heritage*, *natural heritage*, *landscape heritage*, *industrial heritage*, etc. In some cases, semantical or grammatical constraints rule out word-for-word translations of 'heritage' terms and the corresponding equivalents may thus be harder to relate to the semantic family or 'heritage', 'patrimony', 'legacy', etc. Yet such terms can have considerable importance in the corresponding culture, such as, for instance, the Estonian *pärandkooslused* 'seminatural habitats' (in word by word translation, 'heritage biocoenosis') and *pärimusmuusika* 'traditional folk music' ('heritage music').

In connection with heritage, several other words with overlapping meaning, such as 'past' and 'history', are often used. Although it is probably hopeless to seek to eradicate mixed meanings in everyday usage, for academic purposes it is advisable to make a clear distinction: **the past** should denote everything that has been and **history** the concerns of several academic disciplines. 'If these concerns, however, focus upon the ways in which we use the past now, or upon the attempts of a present to project aspects of itself into imagined future, then we are engaged with **heritage**. The concept of time has remained central: heritage is a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future.' (Graham *et al.* 2000, p. 2.)

The UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972 (UNESCO 1972) defines cultural heritage by reference to monuments, buildings, and sites that are at least partially man-made. In order to qualify for the designation 'cultural heritage',

5 The Estonian words *pärand* and *pärimus* are derived from the same root and are often used interchangeably. *Pärand* is a close match to the English word 'heritage', while *pärimus* means 'lore': 'põlvest põlve edasi kantud rahvalooming, tava, uskumus' [popular stories, customs, beliefs passed down from generation to generation] (Leemets *et al.* 2003, p. 637), but sometimes also 'tradition'.

these must be “of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science”. The fact that the convention specifically refers to certain disciplines gives the relevant academic circles a considerable say in assessing the presence or absence of this ‘universal value’. The spirit of the TCHC has also informed the Estonian Heritage Conservation Act (*Muinsuskaitseadus*), whose definition of ‘monument’ is even more specifically academic (for more detail, see paper **III**). At the same time, in the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), the emphasis has shifted to the intangible part of cultural heritage without, at least explicit, disciplinary associations – the sense of cultural identity that is essentially local and includes, amongst other things, traditional skills and lifestyles.

Protection of intangible cultural heritage on an international level is a relatively recent phenomenon – the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) was adopted only in 2003. The ICHC defines intangible cultural heritage as follows:

The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

(UNESCO 2003, Article 2)

In ICHC, the emphasis has clearly shifted towards more democracy and less universalism, as compared to the TCHC:

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as “cultural heritage”:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; [...] (Article 1 of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage).

Estonia has acceded to the UNESCO conventions mentioned above (1995 and 2006 respectively) and has thus assumed moral responsibility to protect both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. This responsibility has been already mentioned in several Acts of Estonian Parliament, although in most of these it is simply cited without any definitions being provided. For example, the Republic of Estonia Environmental Impact Assessment and Environmental Auditing Act stipulates that projects falling in the category of those having a 'significant environmental impact' must also be assessed with regard to their impact on cultural heritage (without specifying whether tangible or intangible). It is highly likely that the legal definition (or lack thereof) of cultural heritage will soon become a high-stakes issue to be fought out in the courts.

In my opinion of the identification of an object or phenomenon as belonging to cultural heritage depends on the observer, and may be disagreed with by another observer, even if the other observer is part of the same group or community. I find the Council of Europe (2005) approach to cultural heritage much more sympathetic than TCHC. I also find that the notion of cultural heritage under the ICHC is much better in practical terms than that used in the TCHC. In fact, the ICHC definition should also be applied in the TCHC framework since tangible cultural heritage, too, has to do with constantly recreated meaningful practices that simply happen to be associated with tangible objects rather than denoting tangible objects that have an intrinsic value which is recognizable from the point of view of pre-determined academic disciplines (these issues are examined in detail in paper **III**).

It seems that cultural heritage is perceived as such through membership in a community that regards and values it as such (cf. Cohen 1993). Attempts to provide a conclusive definition of cultural heritage (e.g., Tarang 2003; Fry *et al.* 2004) by means of a finite number of common denominators are most likely doomed to fail, since the notion of 'cultural heritage' is linked through "family resemblance" (to use Wittgenstein's famous metaphor (Wittgenstein 1968, p. 32), to a wide variety of very different things, as I will show in the next Chapter.

In *Geography of Heritage* (Graham *et al.* 2000) 'heritage' is defined as the modern use of selected aspects of the past – thus, the past is used as a resource, and the selection of aspects becomes a 'politics of the past'. At the same time, people living in the present are not passive recipients or

carriers of heritage, but active administrators motivated by their contemporary goals and purposes: **heritage is a politically motivated selection from the past** (Parts 2007a,b; see also Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995, p. 370; cf also Cohen 1993, pp. 98–103).

2.4.1. Cultural heritage as cultural phenomenon

Just as the notion of ‘heritage’ can be referred to by various other words, it can itself also be made to denote widely different phenomena. The phenomenon is succinctly characterised by David Lowenthal (1996, p. 21): ‘Spanning the centuries from prehistory to last night, heritage commingles Mesozoic monsters with Marilyn Monroe, Egyptian pyramids with Elvis Presley’.

How to explain the sudden popularity of heritage? Of course, particular reasons vary from place to place, yet several general trends can still be pointed out. David Lowenthal (1996), for example, has linked it to population ageing and to increasing longevity, to mass migration, urbanisation, and to growing fear of technology and technology-induced rapid social change. As a result, the general attitudes in society have changed and a ‘socially accepted nostalgia’ imprints its seal of approval on people’s yearnings for everything transient more than ever (Lowenthal 1996, pp. 23–26). The growing authority of academic circles also plays an important part – the number of people who have been trained at the universities to recognise cultural heritage has increased, and they have, in their turn, spread that knowledge in their own circles and in schools as teachers (Howard 2003, p. 140).

The symbols of the past seem to have a universal tendency to become highly valued especially when the community comes under pressure to change. ‘We thus encounter the paradox that, although the re-assertion of community is made necessary by contemporary circumstances, it is often accomplished through precisely those idioms which these circumstances threaten with redundancy’ (Cohen 1993, p. 99). Cohen emphasises that such a reaction to change is not mere ‘traditionalism’, getting stuck in the past and being unable to adapt to the present, since the past is used as a resource. References to the past can be used to legitimise present actions, as may often be seen in politics in particular (Cohen 1993, pp. 98–103).

Using the past as a resource in the service of the interests of the present is not exclusively an Occidental and postmodern phenomenon. Anthropologists have emphasised the mythical nature of this activity. In this view, myths express how people ‘cognitively map past, present and future’ (Cohen 1993, p. 99). Without such models, the world would appear to them mysterious and terrifying. Usually, however, individuals as well as communities can cope with potential crises by neutralising them through resorting to their common sense reality models, as explained by Clifford Geertz. Geertz uses as an example Evans-Pritchard’s⁶ famous study on how the Azande people tend to explain unexpected events by witchcraft as a typical example of such crisis management (Geertz 2003, pp. 105–108).

Perhaps closer to our own culture, we can highlight the adage ‘the exception proves the rule’⁷, which works to buttress our existing understanding of the world against facts that appear to refute it. Our rational or even scientific image of ourselves can thus be preserved. Getting closer to our cultural heritage, we should also recall two Estonian sayings: ‘he who does not remember the past will live without a future’ and ‘he who reminds [others] of an old thing should have his *eye* put out’. Such contradictory sayings appear to contain a strong dose of common sense (cf. also Geertz’s 2003, pp. 121–122), which allows us to map the past safely: ‘So, it is the very imprecision of these references to the past – timelessness masquerading as history – which makes them so apt a device for [...] expressing symbolically the continuity of past and present, and for re-asserting the cultural integrity of the community in the face of its apparent subversion by forces of change’ (Cohen 1993, p. 103).

Although stated with what at first glance appears to be a strong dose of flippancy, the realisation commands considerable liberating and practical power. Were one to take an excessively rigorous and orthodox approach to cultural heritage, there is no escaping the insurmountable logical and practical paradoxes (e.g., which historical period to select as the golden age that defines the monuments and landscapes deserving conservation), conflicts between stakeholders (for instance, in Estonia, the dilemma of choosing between the heritage of the peasant population as opposed to

6 Sir Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1902 – 1973).

7 I use the saying in the meaning that it has in Estonian popular parlance, which would have the exception—paradoxically—confirming the rule or at least leaving the rule unaffected. In the Estonian cultural space, this interpretation has near-universal currency and the saying itself is attributed to Karl Marx.

that of the German-speaking upper class, or between rural and urban heritage), as well as unreasonable costs. I favour myself a contextual and dynamic approach to heritage preservation proposed by Sven Arntzen (2003), which aims “not to fix or arrest the environment’s physical characteristics, unless this would be part of maintaining the sense of meaning or identity among those whose environment is preserved” (*ibid.* 68). The approach accords with the understanding of heritage described in the previous section as a set of constantly recreated meaningful practices sometimes associated with tangible objects, sometimes not. Arntzen’s concept of dynamic preservation is based on the ethics of concrete human environment (as opposed to global environment, see also Introduction in this volume), which should lead heritage management practices on a path that does not contrast the past, the present and development, but stands up for and takes care of the continuation of significant, beloved and appreciated processes and allows for the persistence of sustainable identities.

In publication **I**, I approach cultural heritage as a dynamic cultural phenomenon. I use the concept of ‘living landscape’ as the foundation for decisions concerning the management of a particular human environment. I argue that treating time and space as a continuum makes it easier to extend the ethical principles of care and attention: i.e., a certain landscape or artefact should not be merely regarded as a specimen instance of an idealised historical period but rather as a living phenomenon that continues to change (for more details, see also Parts 2008). In publication **III**, this approach allowed me to frame the task of elaborating a set of principles for cultural heritage preservation in protected areas as a design project. Similarly, in publication **IV** the dynamic approach made it possible to conceptualize traditional crafts as sustainable heritage-based livelihoods and thus to outline a series of practical management recommendations for integrating the preservation of traditional crafts into a contemporary institutional framework.

2.4.2. Long lists: cultural heritage and ethnographic tradition

The currently prevalent interpretation of cultural heritage stems chiefly from research carried out in the spheres of classical anthropology and ethnography – take, for instance, the premise of 19th century evolutionary anthropology that culture evolves from primitive societies⁸ through barbarism towards

8 The notion of ‘primitive societies’ included all extra-European (as well as intra-European but pre-industrial) forms of culture (Söderholm 1996).

civilisation. These spheres of research and, through that, the entire system of relevant modern concepts, have been strongly influenced by nationalism (see, for instance, Gellner 1994, 1995), whose strongest expression in scholarship was probably the ‘preservation ideology’ of ethnographic and anthropological research of the turn of the 20th century (Söderholm 1996).

According to ‘preservation’ thinking, the main task of anthropological and ethnographic research consisted in documenting and preserving in museum showcases the heritage of tribes, ethnic groups and cultures who were succumbing to tempestuous cultural change (Söderholm 1996, pp. 125–126). This ideology has exercised and still exercises considerable influence on a number of disciplines such as folklore studies, linguistics and several branches of history studies. A form of ‘preservation thinking’ is typical also of the functionalist school that arose in the 1920s and dominated European cultural anthropology up to the 1960s. Functionalists focused their attention on the so-called ‘traditional cultures’, which possess an established way of life which is presumed to be stable. The premise on which representatives of the school based their research was that ‘traditional’ cultures were on their ‘way out’, and it was the duty of anthropologists to document them as thoroughly as possible before they disappeared for good (*ibid.*, pp. 131–133).

While such premises have been radically revised in anthropology, ethnography and ethnology at the latest starting in the 1960s, there are still numerous disciplines such as planning studies, cultural heritage management as well as various widely held notions which continue to be based on the ‘harmony hypothesis’, a narrative of ‘a timeless traditional society in stable harmony with its environment which is suddenly overwhelmed by a progressively changing modern society’ (Olwig 2001, p. 345). The drawing up of long lists of objects and articles, landscapes, habitats and other valuable things which merit protection appears to be on the rise everywhere (cf., for instance, Lowenthal 1996). Due to custom and the law (such as the Nature Protection Act, the Cultural Heritage Protection Act) large-scale work-specific or thematic inventories of objects are a common occurrence in Estonia as well (see, for instance, Tarang 2003; State Forest Management Centre homepage, section ‘Pärändkultuur’).

Whereas initially, the designation of heritage has almost without exception remained the task of the social elites, and has focused primarily on majestic castles and fine artisanry (i.e., the ‘elites’ own heritage), the large-

scale heritage registration of down-to-earth, popular, industrial, pop-culture items and structures tends to be a relatively recent development (Graham jt 2000, p. 42; Howard 2003, pp. 74–75). It is true that several nations who did not possess a native nobility (including Estonians), have in constructing their national identity laid the principal stress on peasant culture as a culture of autonomous (small) farmsteads (see, for instance, Kruus 1920, pp. 53–56; Karjahärm 1995), all but neglecting to mention the situation and heritage of ‘landless peasants’ or town workers. At the same time, heritage protection registers in Estonia show a tendency to value grand cultural specimens – such as those of manor culture – at least ten times higher than specimens of peasant culture⁹, while entries reflecting peasant culture of Estonians of the 19th century are relatively few and do not correctly reflect the proportions of the different strata of peasantry.

With the progress of democratisation, the attention of heritage protection agencies has shifted closer and closer to the present. The lists and collections of valuable phenomena are being expanded by numerous so-called ‘ordinary’ landscapes, various practical everyday items and utensils, the heritage of minorities, etc., which were previously considered to be of secondary importance. Below, I will refer to such developments as the ‘paradigm of designation’¹⁰.

9 According to National Heritage Board Chief Inspector of Rural Structures, Jaan Vali, there are 29 protected farmsteads in Estonia. The number of rural structures on the lists is slightly higher – for instance, they contain 60 windmills. At the same time, the number of protected buildings from the approximately 400 manor ensembles totals more than 2000 (the figures are quoted from a presentation by Jaan Vali at the seminar *Arhitektuuripärand kaitsealadel* [Architectural heritage in protected areas] on 3 December 2002 in the Ähijärve Learning Centre of the Karula National Park). These data no longer reflect the current situation – according to Acting Director of the National Heritage Board Riin Alatalu, heritage protection now extends to 49 farms, (i.e., ensembles of farm buildings) and ‘256 locations whose name includes amongst others the word talu [farm]’ (translated by the author from an e-mail message dated 30 January 2006). At the same time, the number of protected manor locations continues to grow – which means that their proportion to protected farm sites has largely remained the same. Characteristically of the current attitude, concerns over weak representativeness of the sample have led to increasing the total number of registered sites, instead of altering the proportion, i.e. changing the approved rate of registrations in a category and possibly removing certain entries from the register altogether.

10 In the field of nature and landscape protection, this phenomenon has been referred to as the ‘object-habitat perspective’ (Gustafsson and Peterson 2002, p. 335), and expresses itself, for instance, as drawing up inventories of valuable habitats. For example, during the time of preparation of the manuscript of this thesis a score of new protected areas has been created in Estonia. According to the Estonian Nature Information System, as of 24 November 2006 the number of protected areas in Estonia totalled 380, while on 1 January 2015 the number had risen to 401 (not counting various less extensive designations such as parks, biocoenoses, etc.).

Alongside these tendencies, we are also witnessing the rise of serious concerns regarding the viability of heritage protection systems – the extension of protected status cannot continue endlessly (Gustafsson and Peterson 2002; Lowenthal 1996, 2004). The celebrated British human geographer David Lowenthal, whose academic career was to a considerable extent linked to cultural heritage and museums, has raised the issue of memory as a burden in a specialised journal of museum researchers, stressing the need for deliberate selective forgetting (Lowenthal 1993). A decade later, in his late seventies, he also wrote:

The glut causes chaos; reduced publication and maintenance funds make their expanded stocks ever less accessible. [...] The sheer magnitude of tangible mementos and documentary traces inhibits creative action. Worship of a bloated heritage invites passive reliance on received authority, stifles rational inquiry, replaces unpleasant reality with feel-good history, and saps creative innovation. And all too often it ignores the needs of local inhabitants whose involvement is essential. (Lowenthal 2004, pp. 38–39)

Amongst other things, the paradigm of designation has been reproached for failing to take into account the inevitability of change (Fairclough 2003), for proving unsustainable in many cases and for focusing excessively on physical appearances as opposed to processes and ideas (Gustafsson and Peterson 2003). Instead of exhaustive and detailed lists, regulatory efforts regarding the management of cultural environments have attempted to focus on describing valuable special qualities or the general character that should be preserved in landscapes (cf. Fairclough 2003, p. 300), on establishing general guidelines regarding landscape or building design in an area (cf. Siistonen 1997; Kokkonen 1999; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2002). So far, these measures have proved inefficient as planning tools – detailed lists are easier to work with for lawyers and planners. In fact, developers, too, appear to prefer being told in so many words where they can build and where not (Howard 2003, p. 69).

I personally share the concern for the sustainability of conservationism given the continuing advances of protective designations. In the thesis at hand I attempt to sketch an approach for thinking about and managing landscapes and cultural heritage that is place-bounded, endogenous and non-universalistic, and does not encourage the proliferation of protectables. In publication **I**, I propose an alternative approach for evaluating cultural landscapes. It is based on the ethical imperative of *elusamus*

[more-aliveness] used by the Estonian theologian Uku Masing (Masing 1998, p. 134). When applied to assessments of landscapes and cultural heritage, it means that a valuable landscape or heritage practice must have the potential to sustain a high quality of life of its inhabitants. The features that characterise a living landscape are self-containment, multi-functionality, integrity, continuity, dynamism, and customary use. Management in the light of the aforementioned characteristics amplifies the self-adjusting potential of the landscapes or heritage in question. It does so by empowering their immediate stakeholders and thus lessens the need for protective designations and other administrative or financial measures.

In line with the above, seeking to contribute to the elaboration of qualitative assessments of tourism carrying capacity and value-based tourism policy, publication **II** lays out my critical examination of the fundamental concepts and oppositions of the current development discourse in regard to the Kihnu cultural environment (e.g., “cultural tourism” versus “mass tourism”). The examination raises important questions concerning the impact on environmental practices concerning valuable natural and seminatural landscapes in the specific context of Kihnu island and beyond that: How do various policy measures and tourism sectors impact the Kihnu community’s distinctiveness as the basis of the brand that constitutes the island’s tourism resource? Do they promote or discourage sustainable innovation? In publication **III**, I have defined the basic principles of cultural heritage protection such that they could be adjusted to reflect the particular needs and aims of specific areas. I have assigned a higher priority to ‘living’ (i.e., currently used) features of landscapes and heritage such as buildings or roads in use, conventional ways of using natural resources accepted in the community). In publication **IV**, together with my co-authors, I argue that reliance on external characteristics and lists should only be used as an exception when defining cultural heritage (in this case – crafts and craftspeople). Instead, I advocate the use of sustainability driven and user driven values which in the context of this article refers to the needs and interests of the local community and the schools teaching the relevant crafts. Together with the other authors, in publication **V**, I elaborate a methodology that is based chiefly on quantitative demographic and settlement analyses and that, in protected areas, would permit to short-list settlements around which legal and practical restrictions on human activity should be reduced in order to ensure the sustainability of cultural landscapes. Additionally,

we propose four policy options (general relief of restrictions, relief of restrictions for individual settlements with endangered population, active landscape management programmes and non-enforcement of restrictions) for targeted improvement action.

2.4.3. From cultural heritage to cultural capital

Designating and maintaining cultural heritage is a complicated task that requires considerable funds, which means that someone is paying for it and someone is being paid for it. Moreover, there are always economic consequences to decisions regarding heritage designation and management: such decisions entail allocation of economic resources and privileges in society and are thus intimately related to big industries, including one that is now probably the biggest of all – tourism (Kupiainen and Sihvo 1996).

Several theorists have stressed that 20th century capitalism was characterised by the need to market goods based on their symbolic rather than practical value. It has been said to represent a reaction to problems of capital accumulation in post-Fordian economy. For example, failure to differentiate strains of standardised mass products means that they will be much harder to market (Harvey 1994). One excellent opportunity to improve the synergy between production and marketing is to create themed environments (Harvey 1994, pp. 155–156)

The strategy that was originally elaborated by Walt Disney for its amusement parks has now become part and parcel of the marketing of various goods and establishments – as an aspect of their advertising (Fotsch 2004, p. 781). In fact it is already for a considerable time that film-making has been replaced by thematic property development, hotel business and tourism as the main field of operation and source of income for the Disney company (Zukin 1990, p. 44) – albeit the latter are clearly based on the cultural capital accumulated by the company in the film business. The emergence of heritage industry as a sector of culture industry can also be regarded as part of this process. The goal of themed environments is always to encourage consumption (Fotsch 2004, p. 783; Graham *et al.* 2000, p. 20). Construction of themed environments has become a recognised part of the development of regional brands (Ahponen 1994, pp. 111–115). It also manifests itself in the search for a ‘regional identity’ from the region’s culture and its natural and cultural heritage (for a longer discussion of the subject, see e.g. Parts 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

The tourism researcher John Urry (1999) has highlighted the tendency of museums and shopping malls to borrow extensively from each other: the architectural design of shopping malls, hotels and other commercial establishments, as well as of 'genuine' museums tends to be based on a selected theme. The internal environment in such establishments (including museums) creates a background favourable to commercial transactions of a certain type, while at the same time the shop windows have started to include items which are not intended for sale but rather serve to induce a 'thematic' mindset, to stress specifically local features of the place of commerce, etc. Examples of the latter may involve products or work of a local artist or artisan, symbols denoting local identity or the identity of the trader – a cross, a wagon wheel or a poster with the image of a pop star.

Such trends indicate that we need to integrate cultural analysis into discussions of modern market economy. Sharon Zukin, for example, explains the popularity of themed environments with the emergence of new, post-Fordian consumption patterns, where 'real cultural capital' plays an increasingly important role and where consumption experience is highly mediated by a new type of extremely professional culture producers.

Cultural capital plays a real, i.e. material, role in moving financial capital through both economic and cultural circuits. It is integrally involved in real investment and production. It creates real economic value. Cultural capital also exerts an influence on physical infrastructure from gentrification to 'contextual' urban planning, from movie sets to fantasy architecture and planned communities. And it shapes new forms of labour and occupations. (Zukin 1990, p. 53)

Zukin's message is succinctly summarised by the title of her book, *Loft Living* (1988), which deals with inner city lofts – originally the abode of bohemian types or the poor, they were suddenly transformed into an exclusive luxury good with a corresponding price tag. Such developments are also accompanied by a number of indirect effects, notably that of gentrification – the creation of a desirable living or consumption environment for more affluent social groups, which tends to induce an upward hike in rental and property prices. In addition to urban areas where it has been noted extensively (e.g., Feldman 2000; Männik 2008; Hiob

et al. 2012; Nutt 2012), this phenomenon appears to be in evidence also in the Estonian protected areas (Vollmer 2007), and on Kihnu island.

Regardless of the many promising business opportunities that the growing number of tourists brings, it may also have a devastating effect on traditional livelihoods, leaving the local community or the entire society with a significant tab for damage caused to the natural environment (Shipp and Kreisel 2001; Newsome *et al* 2002; Hall and Boyd 2005). The question thus is: should we regard such consequences as acceptable, and if yes, then to what extent? These issues are examined in detail in publication **II** under the head of impact exerted by regional policies on the distinctiveness of specific communities in a situation where the distinctiveness is to be protected as such (given that the Kihnu Cultural Space is included in the list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity), and forms the basis of the brand that constitutes the tourism resource. Publications **I** and **III** deal with the institution, in the legislation and planning documents concerning the protected areas of Estonia, of a system of meanings that favours the practices and interests of mobile social groups over local ones and thus affects the accumulation of cultural capital.

2.5. The notion of cultural environment preservation and European Union

The preservation of cultural heritage in protected areas in the EU is based on a set of shared notions of such heritage and of protective practices. Thus, the European context is relevant when discussing the preservation of cultural and natural heritage in protected areas of Estonia (**III**, **V**), as well as in relation to other areas which might not enjoy the legal status of a protected area, although they may possess a wealth of cultural heritage and be vulnerable (e.g., Kihnu island, see article **II**).

In general, according to a practice that is rapidly gaining ground in the EU, assessment of the impact on cultural environment is required as part of the general environmental impact assessment that developers seeking approval for their projects must present. Although environmental impact assessment practices differ from member state to member state, they have to meet the basic requirements established in the Strategic Environmental Assessment Directive (EU 2001). The directive stresses the need to give consideration to the broader context of projects and to

their wider social and functional links which may extend beyond the area under immediate assessment (*ibid.*).

In terms of the link between cultural heritage preservation and tourism in protected areas, the views of the EUROPARC Federation (Shipp and Kreisel 2001) probably carry the most weight. The EUROPARC Federation emphasises that tourism development in protected areas is acceptable only when it is based on principles of sustainability' (Shipp and Kreisel 2001, p. 1). The definition of sustainable tourism derives directly from the UN definition of sustainable development:

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts:

- the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.

United Nations 1987, chapter 2.

Consequently, the Federation of Nature and National Parks of Europe defines sustainable tourism as 'all forms of tourism development, management and activity, which maintain the environmental, social and economic integrity and well-being of natural, built and cultural resources in perpetuity' (Shipp ja Kreisel 2001, p. 5).

The federation points out that nowadays culture and nature tours are no longer a status hobby of the select few but a lifestyle available to and practised by many. This means that the pressure on protected areas is greater than ever before and it is impossible to deny that mass tourism has already dealt a significant blow to authentic environments in many areas and turned the life of local inhabitants (including those living in protected areas) upside down. At the same time, we must admit that conservation activities in protected areas have not benefited from tourism as had been expected – in fact, it may even be said that tourism has caused more problems than it has helped resolve (see also Newsome *et al* 2002; Hall and Boyd 2005). Nevertheless, the federation stresses that a confrontation between conservationists and tourism developers is detrimental to both sides and that they should engage in close cooperation in order to elaborate a sustainable system of tourism management.

Since the local community in the opinion of EUROPARC is the primary custodian and steward of cultural heritage (especially intangible, but also tangible heritage), the European experience in relation to protected areas and the views which have been expressed across EU regarding the relationship between tourism and communities should be of great interest to us. EUROPARC realises that tourism has so far undeniably exerted a harmful influence on certain communities. Local economies rarely benefit from the tourism investments of large corporations since most of the profits are transferred to corporate headquarters. The demands of the tourism industry may also either fossilise or destroy the traditional lifestyle (as has been noted in the case of Kihnu in the corresponding application to UNESCO (Kuutma 2002)). Expanding on the views of EUROPARC, it must be noted that tourism may also serve to reproduce or invent traditions. These phenomena are often difficult to distinguish from the fossilisation of traditions. Thus, in the period following the reinstatement of Estonia's independence, Kihnu island has seen a notable increase in the manufacture of handicraft and the performance of folk songs—a clear response to the demand created by tourism and above-average media coverage. It is also remarkable that over the last decades, the clothing worn by the islanders, which as a natural development had for more than a century included industrially produced materials and articles, exhibits a trend towards becoming more archaic (compared to, for example, the islanders' costumes in late 1980s). Whether this is to be regarded as the fossilisation or renovation of the relevant tradition depends on the ideological stance of the observer.

Since tourism may often offer significantly greater income than can be obtained in traditional jobs, it can dramatically change the socio-economic balance in rural communities (a trend that, in the areas studied within this thesis, has attained its most palpable forms on Kihnu island, see publication **II**). Local communities often find themselves facing the need to pay for the maintenance of infrastructure built to satisfy seasonal demands of tourism (Shipp ja Kreisel 2001, p. 16).¹¹ On the other hand, as can be seen in case of Kihnu, tourists' seasonal demand for ferry traffic creates an economic incentive for the Estonian government to lay out funds for the corresponding infrastructure, thus remarkably benefitting the island's residents (see **II**, p. 347).

11 Other cultural heritage scholars have also made the same observation: the tourism industry tends to act as a parasite in its environment, profiting from resources that it itself does not create and does not help to preserve (Graham et al. 2000: 20; see also Newsome et al 2002; Hall and Boyd 2005).

Although the EUROPARC report concludes that no cases of fully sustainable tourism can be cited at present, it still provides guidelines for better management and points out positive examples. The report emphasises that sustainable tourism can play an important educational and political role in promoting nature conservation. The protected areas should take a proactive stance and clearly identify the forms of tourism that their area can endure. At the same time, tourism organisations should and could make their own contribution to nature conservation by influencing the attitudes of their customers, e.g. by developing new high-quality ‘green’ tourism products (Shipp and Kreisel 2001, p. 17). On the basis of the experience of Kihnu island, one must concede that the elaboration of an informed tourism policy is a task that is complicated not only because of the difficulty of correctly capturing the elusive phenomenon of the particular cultural environment, but also for the reason that the concepts and interpretations of tourism policy that are employed in the political arena often prove to be constructed on an implicit ideological or other agenda and are thus often lacking in empirical foundation (see II, pp. 346–248; for detailed analysis of the topic, see Parts *et al.* 2004, pp. 12–15).

2.6. The concept of tourism carrying capacity

The second article (II) upon which the present thesis is founded is based on a survey conducted on the island of Kihnu in 2004 with the goal to assess the tourism carrying capacity of the cultural environment of Kihnu. The island’s remote location, ethnographic uniqueness and a sharp increase in its accessibility following the collapse of the Soviet regime (1991) led to its ‘discovery’ by many. In addition to a flood of euphoric tourists, these changes have also been accompanied by questions about the limits of growth in this particular meeting place of the global and the local.

According to estimates of World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) the part of tourism in worldwide gross domestic product (GWP) constitutes approximately 5%. The role of tourism as a source of employment is even more significant – it creates 67% of the overall number of jobs worldwide (direct and indirect). As such, tourism represents one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world (UNWTO 2011). A discussion of such a global phenomenon clearly cannot be based on solely local sources and norms. Thus, the experience of the World Tourism

Organisation, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the programme Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea 2010 (VASAB) and their recommendations for the management and spatial planning of tourism have been taken into account both in the survey of the tourism carrying capacity of Kihnu (Parts & Sepp *et al.* 2004) and in the respective article (II).

In their joint publication, the WTO (since 2005 UNWTO) and UNEP (United Nations Environment Program) have defined tourism carrying capacity as follows:

'Carrying capacity' is the level of visitor use an area can accommodate with high levels of satisfaction for visitors and few impacts on resources. Carrying capacity estimates are determined by many factors; in the end, they depend on administrative decisions about approximate sustainable levels of use. The major factors in estimating carrying capacity are (a) environmental, (b) social, and (c) managerial."

McNeely *et al.* 1992

The idea of the sustainability of tourism is inextricably linked to a widely accepted model of the life cycle of a tourist destination which was proposed by Richard W. Butler in 1980 in his still highly relevant article *The Concept of a Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources*¹². Butler adapted the life cycle product model to the tourism industry and created the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model (see Figure 3). His model distinguishes six stages of tourism: in addition to exploration, involvement, development, consolidation and stagnation, it added a new one rejuvenation¹³. For Butler, a source of inspiration in creating the TALC was the S-shaped curve of animal population growth known from wildlife ecology. The curve essentially refers to capacity limitations (Butler 2005b, pp. 21–22). The basic idea of the TALC is that, in the beginning, a tourist destination is relatively unknown and the number of visitors is kept in check by lack of access. That number then begins to grow rapidly toward a theoretical carrying capacity which is imposed by social and environmental limits. Butler claimed that this

12 This article (Butler 1980) was first published in *Canadian Geographer*, 19 (1), pp. 5–12. Due to better availability, a 2005 reprint of the article has been used in this thesis.

13 Butler as well as many other authors writing on the subject have also used several other words (such as pre-commercialisation, introduction, growth, maturity and decline, or embryonic, growth, shakeout, maturity and decline) to describe and denote the TALC phases.

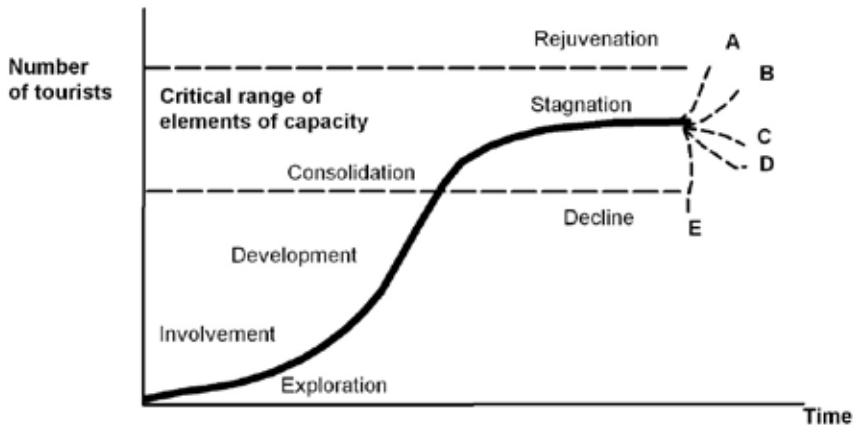


Figure 3. Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourism Area (adapted from Butler 2005a, p. 5).

development often occurs very rapidly, as implied by the exponential nature of the growth curve.

Although tourism area life cycle is mainly a graphical tool to represent a succession of phases over what normally is a relatively long period of time, and has as such been employed in various disciplines, it still poses several specific problems. In fact, Butler himself admitted in his original article in 1980 that it is difficult to quantitatively prove the hypothesis, since usually there is not sufficient numerical data to cover at least the exploration phase. He also admitted that the growth curve need not be similar in all tourist areas as certain areas appear to enjoy a highly stable number of visitors throughout the years – i.e., the same tourists seem to spend their vacations in the same location each year for decades (true, in that case the development of tourist areas is usually also different, i.e., as a rule, the first two phases are missing). This, of course, in no way detracts from the importance of Butler’s central message – that we should start regarding tourist areas as finite and possibly non-renewable resources, with the conclusion that their development should be thought through in detail.

Butler’s model has been criticised and expanded by several theorists. For example, it has been found (e.g., Hovinen 2005) that an area can experience several stages of the model simultaneously (for instance, it can mature at different points in time depending on the particular type of tourism use), and that it can escape decline by investing into rejuvena-

tion (e.g., Agarval 2005; Copper 2005), which means that the degeneration of tourism areas is by no means ineluctable. Indeed, one should probably concede that ‘decline’ is a matter of interpretation. Comparing a tourism area with the life cycle of a product immediately brings decay to mind. Yet at the same time, the TALC model contains a hidden sting that may diminish the framework’s relevance considerably. Since, as Brian Wheeller (2005) asks in his article *The King is Dead. Long Live the Product: Elvis, Authenticity, Sustainability and the Product Life Cycle*, whose title alludes to the inevitable decline implied by the notion of TALC, some prefer the authentic product and some the less authentic one – if the customer is satisfied, then where is the problem? Wheeller questions the authenticity of tourist experience per se – why should a youthful Elvis be better than an Elvis approaching middle age, or even a dead Elvis? (Or, in this case – why should an “authentic” Kihnu cultural space be more desirable than “an exoticised display window culture”, which is the expression that is used in the UNESCO application (Kuutma 2002, p. 66) to describe what the applicants think should be avoided?)

Is (perceived) deterioration in quality necessarily synonymous with decline? To some – often the pretentious and condescending – be they academic experts, pseudo-travellers or music connoisseurs, the answer invariable [original spelling – P.-K. Parts] is ‘yes’. But the majority – the mass market – may see things from a different, less privileged, more prosaic angle. To them, the supposed decline may appear merely as a shift in focus, a change that brings the product within their economic and cultural compass. ... They prefer the staged to the actual, the superficial to the real.

(Wheeller 2005, p. 347)

Indeed, if a tourist area is a product whose life cycle more or less inevitably involves both growth and decline, or is at least subject to S-shaped fluctuation, then what role is there left for sustainability and carrying capacity in our discussion over tourist areas? Butler himself also admits that probably the most that we can do to improve the sustainability of tourist areas is to extend their life cycles (Butler 2005c, p. 338). Yet is there anything at all that we can do to save Elvis from the inevitable? Since the cause of the decline of a tourist area need not be an excess of its carrying capacity – the area can very well succumb because of external factors which converge to destroy its competitiveness, such as decisions of transnational corporate managers, government action and changes in

travel destinations proposed by foreign tour operators (Lagiewski 2005, p. 47) or – to offer an example analogous to Wheeler’s – the rise of the Beatles. In principle, however, the TALC model can be rid of the drama that is introduced by the concepts of sustainability and carrying capacity. Modification of the model – for instance, by complementing it with, in the best of cases, a (deliberate and collective exit from tourism is likely to open our eyes to alternative choices regarding the future (Baum 2005).

‘Beneath’ a tourist area there is always a substratum or base which underlies the tourism area as a product. For example, Kihnu as an area of cultural and community tourism relies on its local culture and people together with its corresponding physical infrastructure and natural environment. Thus, while discussing sustainability and life cycles, it may be prudent to distinguish between sustainability of the product (or different tourism products and their aspects) and sustainability of the area, at the same time keeping in mind that the product and its base are interrelated. It is especially conspicuous in the case of cultural tourism, since culture is a dynamic phenomenon. ‘Tourism products cannot remain static while their base moves forward,’ emphasise Marois and Hinch (2005, p. 267). They then continue as follows: ‘The TALC offers a useful tool to track development, make decisions about the pace and nature of change in the present and to predict change in the future. It does not, however, allow for definitive statements on sustainability¹⁴’ (*ibid.*, p. 268).

Observations at several tourism areas have indicated that the community’s and other stakeholders’ attitude towards tourism cannot be regarded as an area’s substratum, since the community’s attitude towards tourism and tourists changes throughout the TALC. TACP indicators are related to goals which tourism stakeholders intend to achieve through development. This cannot be predicted exactly, since it depends on the stakeholders’ self-understanding, goals, environment, and past (Haywood 2005, p. 68). Assessment of TACP cannot rely solely on economic parameters, since profit is by no means the only goal of TA stakeholders, who may also desire to improve the area or the community (Haywood 2005, p. 69). We can conclude that TACP indicators are related to goals which tourism development is intended to achieve, so that, sometimes, actually ‘performance can be enhanced by actually catering to fewer visi-

14 In Butler’s defence it must be said that when he proposed the TALC model he did not imagine that it could function both a descriptive and a prescriptive tool (Lagiewski 2005, p. 46).

tors' (*ibid.*, p. 64). Consequently, Haywood finds that a better view of TA performance is provided by nonfinancial and intangible measures which 'reflect community and visitor value to be derived from tourism' (*ibid.*, p. 65). It is for considerations that are nearly identical to the aforementioned ones that the assessment of the Kihnu TACP, reflected in publication **II**, is chiefly qualitative and devotes considerable attention to the analysis of the aims of various stakeholders of the Kihnu TA.

Indeed, to defend the relevance of sustainability analysis in the TALC discussion, arguments which rely on the distinction between tourism product and its base have been put forward. Different aspects of a TA may have different CPs (e.g., the absorption capacity of natural environment and tourism infrastructure may differ). The growth curves regarding different aspects of a tourism area need not be synchronous at all. Respectively, they also need to be measured and counted separately (Tooman 1996, quoted in Lagiewski 2005, pp. 45–46). Thus, in our analysis, too, we have in most respects separated the treatment of the CP of the Kihnu cultural environment from that of potential impact on the valuable landscapes of Kihnu (see **II**; in detail see Parts *et al.* 2004).

Although the TALC model cannot be said to have exhausted itself as a subject of scientific discussion, it must be admitted that in their majority, assessments of the model tend to be supportive. It stands out that differences of opinion regarding the validity of the model tend to concern its later stages – authors have expressed doubts regarding the postulated inevitability of the decline of tourism areas (e.g. Agarwal 2005, Cooper 2005, Wheeler 2005), the linear nature of their development and the dominant position of the S-curve as its graphic descriptor.

In publication **II**, we also estimated that there are indications that Kihnu has reached the maturity stage in the TALC (see also Meeras 2002), which raises questions at least with respect to regulating the methods of exploitation of the resource. However, the critique of the relevance of the sustainability analysis in the TALC does not provide an alternative foundation for the elaboration of measures for the reproduction of Kihnu as a TA, nor does it create incentives for the stakeholders to invest in the rejuvenation of the TA. In any case, the general TALC discussion as well as the particular case of Kihnu begs the question of the applicability of the life cycle product model to protected areas that serve as TAs and to various institutions directly linked to the heritage industry (e.g.,

museums, thematic environments, crafts unions, etc.), since they, too, function culturally and economically as part of the tourism industry¹⁵.

Questions have also been raised regarding the units used to carry out operational analysis of the TALC, as well as regarding possible future trends in the development graph of the Butler model, etc. (Lagiewski 2005). Albeit the development of tourism and tourism areas appears to defy planning efforts in many respects, neither policy makers, TA stakeholders nor the general public are ready yet to cede their ground to *laissez-faire* attitudes. Thus, should any party or stakeholder publicly declare that tourism is destroying the Kihnu culture and hence also the Kihnu tourism industry, but, for lack of alternatives, should nevertheless be allowed to continue, this would be perceived in the community as a clear case of heresy.

2.7. Crafts Today: Theoretical Approaches, Economic and Political Context

In the following sections, I will present a combined view of the principal arguments presented in the articles **III** and **IV**. I will analyse the situation of cultural heritage and traditional skills in post-productivist markets and examine the challenges that current realities present for the relevant institutions and for government policy. In more detail, the discussion presented in article **IV**, including an overview of the process of data collection for the article – the gathering of information about individuals possessing an inherited craft in Viljandi County (Estonia) in 2008 is available as a book in Estonian as well as in English (Parts *et al.* 2009a, b).

2.7.1. Tacit knowing and other vivid descriptions of possessing a craft

The concept of tacit knowing was broached in academic circles by the philosopher Michael Polanyi (1891–1976). He argued that, in addition to facts, knowledge also relates to the performance of various acts that require skillful or tacit/implicit/hidden knowing. Tacit knowing manifests itself in dexterity, skill and connoisseurship. It cannot be acquired by

15 World Tourism Organisation defines the tourism industry as follows: "The tourism industries designate the set of enterprises, establishments and other organizations one of whose principal activities is to provide goods and/or services to tourists" (Frechling 2001: 4).

reading a book. 'Knowing' as skill is acquired through practice and interaction with the environment. Such knowing does not easily submit to verbal expression. Often, we may even not be aware of having it – according to Polanyi, 'we can know more than we can tell'. Skillful knowing and skillful doing are closely related. They are the key ingredients in attaining an accomplished, masterly performance, either in a theoretical or a practical pursuit. A skillful performance succeeds if its underlying rules are obeyed without a conscious effort (see Polanyi 2002, pp. 49–50).

Polanyi also argued that it is impossible to provide an exhaustive description of experiential phenomena such as a pianist's 'touch'. From the maxim 'we can know more than we can tell', he inferred that there is a considerable body of knowledge that is passed on by hidden, ineffable means such as between a master and apprentice, as opposed to formal descriptions (e.g., a doctor's prescription). This limits the spread of skills to the skill possessor's circle of personal contacts. It also explains why crafts tend to be transferred from one country to another mostly by resettling groups of craftsmen or artisans, and also why a craft forgotten for a single generation usually proves irrecoverable (see Polanyi 2002, pp. 51–53).

Different authors have brought different research interests to the subject, and have offered various interpretations of the notion of craft as a special kind of knowledge. For instance, Jonas Frykman (1999), a contemporary Swedish ethnographer, stresses that 'cultural competence' and 'wordless knowing' is by no means a phenomenon exclusive to indigenous or pre-industrial societies, and applies equally to scholars and scientists. 'To be a child who is raised to be a scholar or scientist does not only mean *reading* Homer, solving integral equations or studying the mechanisms of government. It means *knowing* these things *implicitly*, in the same way that the son of a fisherman knows how to sail a boat or a farmer's wife knows how to cook' (The author's translation from Frykman 1999, p. 77 (in Estonian)).

In anthropological literature we often encounter the concept of 'indigenous knowledge', which generally covers traditional knowledge and skills of indigenous peoples, thus overlapping with the terms 'local knowledge', 'folk knowledge', 'traditional knowledge'. Although particular authors writing within a specific academic discipline or cultural context may sometimes attribute a difference of meaning to one

or the other, the terms still represent a related set of concepts that do not need to be defined specifically for the purposes of this thesis.

2.7.2. Cultural heritage and traditional skills on the post-productivist market

Several theorists have stressed that the logic of 20th century capitalism dictates the need to market goods on the basis of their symbolic rather than practical value (e.g. Harvey 1994, Zukin 1990). This shift of focus has also influenced economy and politics. In 1990, for example, the EU redefined its priorities in the area of rural development. Nature conservation, tourism, landscape management and the strengthening of local communities were added to production-intensive agriculture, which was no longer top of the agenda. Previously, farmers received support under the Common Agricultural Policy to grow agricultural produce that would then be shipped to distant consumers. Now people come from faraway places **consume** the basic elements of countryside settings that, with the change in outlook, have become valuable – i.e. the environment, scenic landscapes, heritage, local customs and products (Gray 2000: 44).

In connection with these trends, a number of authors have started to use references such as ‘post-productivist transition’ and ‘post-productivist countryside’, both of which describe a reality where agricultural production in many rural areas has been reduced to a marginal source of income and employment (see Phillips 2005, Evans *et al.* 2002). Instead of agriculture, people in those areas engage in the commodification of landscapes, local knowledge, skills and various community actions and events related to rural life and cultural heritage (see e.g. Cohen 1993; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 143–144; Parts 2004; Parts *et al.* 2004).

This above initiative of the EU’s policymakers is related to a long-standing European social process manifesting itself as regionalism. In some cases, local character is emphasised in the interests of resuscitating the economy of a peripheral region, in other cases, local socio-economic development is redefined to fit local character. The EU’s support to regionalism is also evident in its increased funding of regional programmes (e.g., the LEADER programme), which are aimed at turning the regions’ attention to their own local resources, including cultural heritage (Ray 1998, p. 5).

Opinions regarding ‘post-productivist transition’ range from sharply critical to superlative. Commodification of landscapes, knowledge, skills and activities is observed to invade rural life and cultural heritage (see e.g. Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 143–144). Commodification is often perceived as an agent of global homogenisation – it is thought to reduce differences between local communities, to destroy or marginalise local knowledge and customs.

However, the process of commodification can also be regarded as a development based on giving new meaning to skills, phenomena or locations, on rethinking existing cultural elements and utilising them as a new resource (Perkins 2006, p. 247). In this view, the local community is perceived as an important source of knowledge, and its experience and skills as the foundation upon which the region’s own identity can be built.

It is interesting to note that the idea of tacit or wordless competence is gaining popularity not only in niche disciplines and lofty academic debates, but also in some very modern and ‘in’ fields, such as organisation and innovation studies. Authors writing about knowledge management and innovation management suggest that human societies have entered a Knowledge Era, in which a society is defined by the methods its members use to acquire, process and propagate knowledge (Drucker 1993, Quinn 1992). Now, in order to survive, organisations must ever be on their toes, constantly learning and renewing themselves. Similarly, individuals are required to possess outstanding social and information management skills and an excellent learning ability, since the useful lifespan of their formal education has become very short (see Davenport and Prusak 1998). Against this background, the study of crafts as such on both micro and macro levels appears a bold endeavour likely to prove a wise choice before long.

2.7.3. The concept of an inherited craft

Michael Polanyi’s aforementioned concept of tacit knowing has given rise to a number of theories, which have also found application in the study of crafts. In Nordic countries, the discussion most frequently revolves around the concept of *handlingsboren kunnskap*, which is literally translated there into English as ‘action-borne knowledge’. Related concepts include ‘learning by doing’, ‘situated learning’ and ‘tacit knowing’.

*Norsk Handverksutvikling*¹⁶ (Norwegian Crafts Development Agency, hereinafter referred to as the NHU) (see NHU, a) founded to preserve, pass on and develop crafts as a form of knowledge, as a means of expression and as trades, explains that *handlingsboren kunnskap*, knowledge acquired by practice, means the sum of experience and skill inherited from the previous generation in the form of day-to-day activities, activity patterns and practical insights attained through joint work, imitation and practical training (Martinussen *s.a*).

Although ‘family resemblance’ is still the only connection between various inherited crafts, our team, while preparing to collect information about individuals possessing an inherited set of skills in a traditionally male craft (IV, Parts *et al.* 2009a,b), concluded that the NHU definition offered above was sufficient for the purposes of our project.

2.7.4. Reasons and methods for collecting information about individuals possessing an inherited craft: international experience

As part of a project entitled *The Development of a Crafts Cluster in Viljandi County*, carried out by the Department of Native Estonian Crafts of Viljandi Culture Academy of the University of Tartu, we were looking to make contact with institutions, movements and individuals engaged in inherited crafts. In respect of collecting information about inherited crafts, learning an inherited craft, working with craftsmen, networking with the crafts community and interpreting crafts development and processes, the richest source of inspiration that we found was the NHU.

One of the NHU’s primary means of achieving the aforementioned goals is the National Register of Craftsmen and Craft Enterprises (*Det nasjonale registeret over håndverkere*) (NHU, b). There are currently approximately 2500 registered craftsmen in Norway. The purpose of the register is to promote skilled craftsmen, to offer them better opportunities to find work, and to facilitate the development of professional cooperation ties.

In addition to maintaining the register, the NHU engages in crafts research and development. Special attention is paid to endangered crafts,

¹⁶ Founded in 1987 in cooperation between the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs and the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research.

but also to crafts and inherited knowledge that is needed to protect and preserve architectural and cultural monuments, e.g. blacksmithing, dry masonry, traditional log building, knowledge of traditional materials.

For teaching crafts and preserving them for future generations, the NHU has developed its own 'triangle model'. The model is based on the master-apprentice relationship in which the master is responsible for the training of the apprentice. According to the model, that traditional relationship is expanded to include a third party, who is instructed to act as an observer, describing and recording the process for future use (eventually also by the apprentice himself or herself).

It is appropriate here to mention a few of the NHU's actual projects. One is the millstone project in Hyllestad (2006) – a series of practical experiments related to millstone cutting were conducted in an old stone quarry during three years. Another is the ice cutting project that introduced an old master, who in his youth had earned a living as an ice cutter, to a motivated apprentice – who now has founded his own company, and specialises in selling ice blocks to be used for sculptures and installations (from the interviews conducted by P.-K. Parts and J. Metslang at the headquarters of *Norsk Riksantikvariat* in Oslo on September 25, 2008).

The NHU maintains a separate register for rare and protected crafts. The register also includes information about courses in such crafts, and about companies and masters holding teaching licences. To support such crafts, even if they are extremely rare, the NHU organises vocational training courses, taking into account both commercial and cultural considerations. It is interesting to note that arrangements have been made that permit official recognition to be extended in certain cases to craft studies conducted in informal settings. Thus, individuals who wish to learn a rarefied trade in which no formal courses are offered, can acquire the know-how and skills of that trade by working for a master of the trade, or in an enterprise in which the trade is practised. Apprentices can be both employee and student at the same time, and are entitled to take out student loans on the same basis as regular students¹⁷.

17 From the interviews conducted by P.-K. Parts and J. Metslang at the headquarters of the NHU in Lillehammer on September 24, 2008; NHU, Martinussen s.a.).

2.7.5. Cataloguing inherited crafts and collecting information about individuals who possess them: previous experience in Estonia

As part of the preparatory work for building a database of Viljandi County IPICs, we consulted various databases compiled on Estonian craftsmen during the last decade. We discovered fourteen databases of interest, thirteen of which were partially or completely web-based. On-line databases on traditional craftsmen differ from one another in the information they contain: some only provide contacts, others only focus on selected trades, some are public, some are intended for internal use only. The material is therefore assorted and uneven.

A group of the databases that we encountered can be described as **business directories**. These offer contact information of masters of particular trades, including a listing of their skills and of the services they offer. The principal purpose of such directories is to help clients find the craftsmen they need.

Another group is constituted by **databases and webpages that, in addition to fulfilling a directory function, also seek to promote cultural heritage and traditions in general**. They differ from the previous group in that the information they contain is partially or wholly gathered by means of fieldwork.

For example, the research project entitled *Promotion and Development of Entrepreneurship Based on Local Cultural Traditions in Setomaa*¹⁸ is probably one of the most thorough studies of its kind in Estonia (MTÜ Eesti Maaturism 2006). As part of this project, the local crafts traditions were also studied extensively. The aim of the project was, ‘... in addition to factual information on craftsmen and their trades, to provide information on the attitudes and opinions of craftsmen with regard to the prospects of their trades, on their readiness to pass on their knowledge, on endangered trades, etc.’ (translated by the author from the MTÜ Eesti Maaturism and Maelu Arengu Instituut OÜ, 2006, p. 3).

Smaller databases have been compiled by the non-profit corporation *Vanaajamaja* (Vintage House), see *Log-Building Traditions and Their*

18 The Seto are an indigenous Orthodox ethnic minority in South East Estonia and across the border in Russia. The Seto cultural space has been nominated for the UNESCO list of masterpieces of oral and intangible heritage of humanity.

Revitalisations. A Study, 1998¹⁹, by the Estonian National Museum, Viljandi Culture Academy, the Estonian Open Air Museum and several other non-profit corporations, and as part of several specific projects. The Training and Development Centre for Native Estonian Culture, which coordinates the implementation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Estonia, has begun to put together a list of intangible cultural heritage, which will also include information on Estonian craftspeople (Põllo 2007, p. 63, Grünberg 2008)²⁰.

19 Original Estonian title: Palkmajaehitustraditsioonide uurimine ja taaselustamine – transl.

20 According to K. Grünberg, specialist for intangible cultural heritage at the Training and Development Centre for Native Estonian Culture (personal communication by Joosep Metslang, 6 Aug 2008).

3. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main hypotheses of the study were:

- Kihnu has reached the maturity stage in the TALC (II).
- Intangible heritage (in the context of the current thesis denoting mainly traditional crafts and related local knowledge) is based on a form of tacit knowledge, a mode of knowing that does not easily submit to verbal explanation and transfer, but is rather acquired by practice and personal contact. As such, it poses considerable challenges for entrenched institutional practices and government policies in terms of involvement and support (IV).
- In conditions of general urbanisation, the preservation of traditional rural landscapes in the limited management zones of Estonian protected areas is currently unsustainable. To provide for sustainable preservation, nature conservation policies must have regard to issues of regional development and settlement policy (V).

The general objectives of the present thesis are:

- To provide landscape planners with practical clues as to how the values of a landscape may be alternatively/creatively determined, and how they may be implemented (I).
- To elaborate spatial and social concepts and the corresponding management procedures based on values that are fundamentally life- and sustainability-centred (I, II, III, IV, V).

The specific aims of the thesis are:

- To derive from current practices and regulatory texts a framework of value-based guidelines for the management and evaluation of cultural landscapes and for setting building and land-use rules in culturally sensitive areas (I).
- To assess possible dangers and areas of conflicting interests concerning the effects of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu (II).
- To describe analytically the aspects of the phenomenon of cultural heritage and to review the corresponding Estonian terminology (III).
- To elaborate a set of fundamental principles for the protection of cultural heritage in the protected areas of Estonia (III).
- To produce the knowledge required for the preservation and invigoration of intangible heritage (IV).
- To produce the knowledge required for the facilitation of inter-generational transmission of craft-related skills and practices (IV).

- To work out and formulate integrated development agendas that match up the educational and practical economic needs of communities with the goals of protecting intangible cultural heritage (IV).
- To develop more efficient and comprehensive policies for the management of cultural landscapes in protected areas and to set priorities regarding conservation management and the allocation of resources in order to improve the sustainability of cultural landscapes (V).

4. MATERIALS AND METHODS

4.1. Study areas: general overview



Figure 4. Location of study areas (map data: Estonian Land Board 2015).

4.1.1. Karula National Park, Lahemaa National Park and other protected areas which include seminatural landscapes

Karula National Park is situated in South East Estonia²¹ and is today split between two counties, whose administrative centres (the towns of Võru and Valga, respectively) are located at a distance of 30–35 km from the park. The closest significant settlement to the park is Antsla, a small town of 1,650 residents. The territory of the park was first designated as a landscape protection area in 1979 mainly due to its scenic hills (Kepart 2006, p. 109). The status of national park was granted to Karula in 1993.

As of January 2007, the population living in the territory of Karula NP on a permanent basis amounted to 193 residents, a number that tem-

21 To display an English-language version of the homepage of the Karula National Park, direct your browser to <http://www.keskkonnaamet.ee/karula-eng> (accessed 6 May 2015).

porarily increased to approximately 290 during the summer (Karula Rahvusparki Administratsioon 2007, p. 8). The villages in Karula have largely arbitrary boundaries, consisting of sparsely scattered farmsteads, although there are a few settlements that are populated slightly more densely. The majority of Karula's residents live in the northern part of the National Park, which makes up approximately one third of the park's territory and predominantly represents the farmed environment. The rest of the park is covered by forests.

'The seminatural landscapes of Karula National Park are primarily characterised by a patchwork of different land cover types – arable lands and meadows alternate with forest and bogs' (Karula Rahvusparki Administratsioon 2007, p. 15). After World War II, for political (Stalinist deportations) as well as economic reasons (hilly land is unsuitable for mechanised agriculture), the proportion of seminatural landscapes in Estonia has constantly decreased and that of forested landscapes has increased. Currently, seminatural landscapes account for approximately 30% of the total area of the National Park (Figure 5) (Protection management plan 2, p. 8).

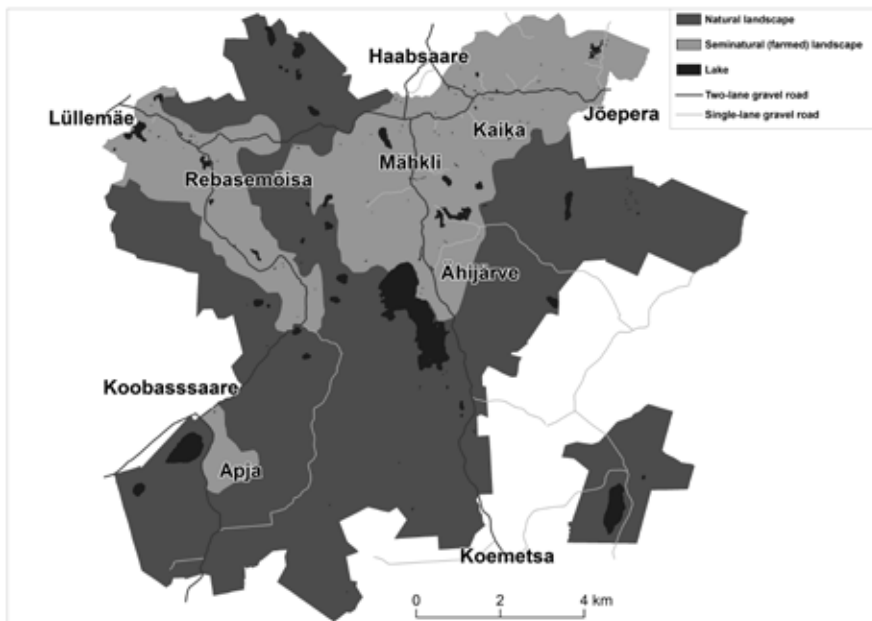


Figure 5. Landscapes of Karula National Park (Protection management plan of Karula National Park 2008–2018, p. 14).²²

22 The legend shown to the right of the map, as well as all subsequent quotes from the protection management plan, have been translated by the author.

The Lahemaa NP is the oldest national park (founded 1971) in the territory of the former Soviet Union²³. The LNP is also the largest national park in Estonia by its surface area (47,400 ha in mainland, 3,598 residents). There are a total of 70 settlements in the territory of the protected area, the largest of which are the small towns of Kolga (454 inhabitants) and Võsu (334 inhabitants); there are 61 hamlets with less than 100 residents. The national park is located in the territory of two rural municipalities, Kuusalu and Vihula.

Officially, the LNP was created to protect characteristic North-Estonian landscapes and the national heritage of the area, and to preserve the harmonious relationship between man and nature. But the initiative also carried a hidden agenda of the patriotically disposed Soviet Estonian political and economic establishment. The agenda was to create a cultural and natural buffer zone between the rapidly developed and sovietised industrial areas in Tallinn and North-East Estonia (Printsmann *et al.*, 2011; Smurr, 2008). However, following the regaining of independence in Estonia (1991) ecological values of the LNP also became important and the LNP started to harmonize its legislation with EU.

With regard to national parks, the present thesis relies on three studies. One of the studies concerning Karula NP was commissioned by the administration of Karula National Park (Parts 2002) and the second by the MTÜ *Karula Hoiu Ühing* [Non-profit organisation Karula Protection Society] (Parts 2003–2004). The third study concerning Lahemaa NP was carried out in the framework of the project Applied Research in Nature Conservation (LOORA)²⁴; fieldwork was carried out in April 2014 (hereinafter referred to as the 2014 EMÜ report). Although all three studies and the respective publications propose generalisations regarding other protected areas in Estonia, their empirical part still mainly draws its inspiration from Karula (Parts 2002, 2003–2004) and Lahemaa (EMÜ report 2014). Two of the five papers (**I**, **III**) here concern Karula, one concerns Lahemaa (**V**)

23 To display an English-language version of the homepage of the Lahemaa National Park, direct your browser to <http://www.keskkonnaamet.ee/lahe-eng> (accessed 6 May 2015).

24 LOORA project was supported by institutional research funding IUT21-1 of the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research and by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (CECT) project 'Applied Research in Nature Conservation' (LOORA).

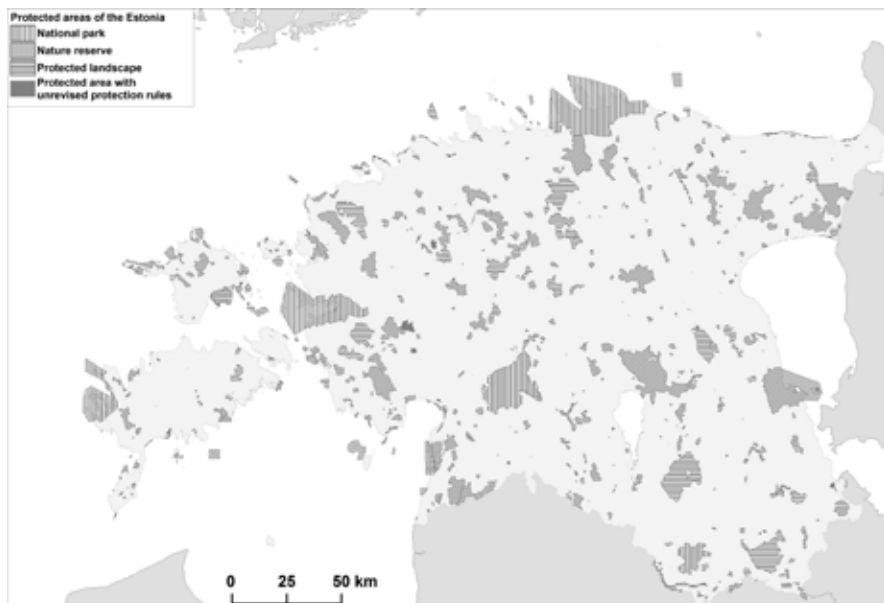


Figure 6. Protected areas in Estonia (Source: data from EELIS [Estonian Nature Infosystem] (June 2011).

Other protected areas in Estonia are discussed in more detail in papers **III** and **V**. At the time of conducting the relevant study (Parts 2003–2004) there were four national parks in Estonia (Lahemaa, Karula, Soomaa, Vilsandi). The fifth, Matsalu, was at the time still a nature protection area, yet plans to change its status to that of a national park were common knowledge already in 2004. For this reason, it was also taken into account during the study. As of 1st January 2015, the number of protected areas in Estonia totalled 401²⁵.

In accordance with the Republic of Estonia Protected Objects of Nature Act²⁶, and under the Nature Protection Act (adopted in 2004) as well, one of the principal aims of national parks is to protect cultural heritage and national culture. Other protected areas relate to cultural heritage insofar as they concern seminatural landscapes and seminatural communities.

25 Estonian Nature Information System, <http://loodus.keskkonnainfo.ee/eelis/default.aspx?id=1213366076&state=3;355613931;est;eelisand> (accessed 8 May 2015).

26 In Estonian, *Kaitstavate loodusobjektide seadus* (Protected Objects of Nature Act). The Act was in force at the time that the Karula study (Parts 2003–2004) was conducted. Its material provisions have since then been re-enacted as the *Looduskaitse seadus* (Nature Protection Act, adopted 21 April 2004).



Figure 7. A map of Kihnu municipality (Map data: Estonian Land Board 2015).

4.1.2. Kihnu island

Kihnu is a small island (16,88 km², about 530 inhabitants) off the west coast of Estonia, in the Gulf of Riga. Pärnu, the nearest city to Kihnu, lies at a distance of 41 km, and Riga, the capital of Latvia, at 123 km from the island. Today, Kihnu is a separate municipality that forms part of Pärnu county. The island is separated from the continent by the 10 km wide Strait of Kihnu (Looveer 2006). The landscape of Kihnu is highly diverse: numerous coastal and wooded meadows and historical settlement patterns have been preserved, the island and nearby islets are home to innumerable sea birds and a large population of seals.

The island has been entered in the UNESCO List of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity as the Kihnu Cultural Space (Kuutmaa 2002)²⁷. The ground for entering the island in the list

²⁷ Legally speaking, the Kihnu island is not a protected area, although it is often treated as one by the public because of the UNESCO nomination. It is also significant that conferral on the island of the status of a landscape protection area has been on the table on and off already since Estonia regained its independence (1991). The most authoritative proposal so far is that which was included in the Pärnu County thematic plan of environmental conditions that influence settlement and land use (Pärnu County Thematic Plan 2003, p. 90).

was the island's extraordinary ethnic uniqueness resulting from the island community's geographic isolation: this was expressed in language, customs and material culture, for instance in the fact that the locals to this day wear the island's folk costume in everyday situations (*ibid.*).

Historically, the central sources of subsistence for male islanders have been fishing, seal hunting and seafaring, while farming, herding and homemaking have been mainly left to womenfolk (Leesment 1942, Kalits 1963). This way of life, although in a semi-industrial form (Levald 1980, 1986), continued largely unchanged until the collapse of the Soviet Union, and corresponding perceptions regarding the natural division of labour are deeply rooted in the value system of the Kihnu community.

Of traditional sources of subsistence, fishing has largely retained its pride of place in the island's economy, although the poor condition of the Baltic Sea's fish stocks and EU directives are continually reducing its position (Vetemaa *et al.* 2006). It is very common for people to work both at sea and on mainland, and since the 1990s also abroad. Working abroad in itself is a phenomenon with long traditions, although the fact that it increasingly involves women is a new aspect.

The island's scarce natural resources and weak economy (by contemporary standards) were already noted in the 1980s (Levald 1980, 1986), although the Soviet period has gone down in the popular memory as an era of prosperity and stability due to various state subsidies and the special status of fisheries. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the accompanying gradual decline of the fishing industry, as well as Estonia's transition to a market economy have led to a reduction in state subsidies, although several indicators show that Kihnu remains one of the most subsidised regions of Estonia (Servinski 2003).

After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, the number of tourists visiting the island increased dramatically (while in the 1980s Kihnu received a few hundred tourists per year, since 1998 the number skyrocketed to 10,000 (Akkerman 1999) (or even 30,000?²⁸). According to a 2002 study, 25% of Kihnu residents estimated that their work depended to a great extent on tourism, while 28% answered 'occasionally' (Hurt *et al.* 2003). This clearly suggests that the island economy's is significantly dependent on tourism.

28 According to Johannes Leas (personal communication by telephone, 10 December 2004).

4.1.3. Viljandi county

Viljandi county (total area ca 3,500 km²) is situated in South Central Estonia (Figure 8) and its population amounts to ca 55,000. The county's administrative centre is the city of Viljandi (ca 20,000 inhabitants). A large part of Viljandi County lies in the Sakala Uplands. Lake Võrtsjärv (area 270 km²), the second largest mainland water body in Estonia, can be found in the eastern part of the county. In the western part there are large rivers and extensive wetlands. 45.2% of the county's total area is covered by forests. Approximately 12% of the county's total area is designated as protected areas, the largest of which is Soomaa National Park (370 km²), founded in 1993 to protect the wetlands, flooded meadows and forests.



Figure 8. Viljandi county. (Source: X-GIS, Estonian Land Board 2011).

At different times, Viljandi county has been under the control of Poland, Lithuania, Germany, Sweden and Russia, and several wars have battered the county. By the second half of the 19th century, Viljandi county had become one of the most prosperous counties in Estonia. On account of flax growing, the farmsteads developed quickly. As the wealthiest and the most prosperous in Estonia, they bore the brunt of Stalinist deportations. Nearly 9,000 people were shipped off to Siberia from Viljandi county in the 1940s.

Today, the county comprises 15 municipalities. Viljandi county is no longer a purely agricultural region, as it also boasts well-established timber and construction material industries, as well as textile, food, electronics and printing industries (Source: Viljandi county administration homepage <http://www.viljandimaa.ee/>).

4.2. Methods used

4.2.1. Discourse analysis

In articles **I** and **II**, and in an indirect manner also in **III**, I use the method of discourse analysis in its critical Foucauldian form (Foucault 1989). Discourse can be defined as a system of semantic relationships, a way of speaking about the world or ‘active social language’ (Jokinen and Koskiahio 1991), ‘the practice of articulation’ (Laclau and Mouffe 1985) that is used to construct reality. In the view of discourse analysts, even natural objects do not appear to us in their ‘pure form’, but are always discursively constructed:

The fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has *nothing to do* with whether there is a world external to thought, or with the realism/idealism opposition. An earthquake or the falling of a brick is an event that certainly exists, in the sense that it occurs here and now, independent of my will. But whether their specificity as objects is constructed in terms of ‘natural phenomena’ or ‘expression of the wrath of God’, depends upon the structuring of a discursive field. What is denied is not that such objects exist externally to thought, but the rather different assertion that they could constitute themselves as objects outside any discursive condition of emergence.

Laclau and Mouffe 1985, p. 108.

If we were to do draw a parallel between the brick example above and the subject matter of this thesis, we should note that neither ‘seminatural

landscapes' (in a word for word translation from the Estonian, 'heritage landscapes') of Karula', 'Karula building traditions' nor 'tourism carrying capacity of the cultural environment of Kihnu' are 'actual' entities. Instead, they are parts of a discursive reality, of socially produced constructs which are constantly reproduced.

At the same time, discourses are by their nature tangible phenomena, and cannot be regarded as simply mental or purely linguistic. '... [T]he practice of articulation (...) cannot consist of purely linguistic phenomena; but must instead pierce the entire material density of the multifarious institutions, rituals and practices through which a discursive formation is structured' (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, p. 109). For example, in Karula, the smoke sauna of the national park centre or the new buildings of the Pirrupuusaare (see article I) and their use can be construed as part of the corresponding discourse.

Discourse analysis represents an active and creative approach to the subject matter of one's research: it gives the researcher an opportunity to propose new ways of categorising and conceptualising social reality (Jokinen & Juhila 1991, p. 63). According to a widely accepted modernist view, science and scientific information are independent from power. However, Foucault (1986) states that this claim is merely a strategy of power. To perpetuate that power, diverse textual and rhetoric strategies are used to make the claims seem cogent, to dress them up as 'facts'. To increase their persuasive power, for example, the author's presence in the text is often hidden by using the passive voice instead of first-person narrations (Jokinen & Koskiahho 1991: 42). Such a rhetorical device creates an impression of objectivity, of the text's correspondence to 'actual' reality, etc. For example, when defining valuable landscapes or buildings, planners often seek to lend authority to their opinions by using 'scientific' expressions or other officially approved adjectives (such as 'ethnographic', 'typical', 'rare').

In the analytical study of discourse, instead of searching for 'absolute and objective truth', one concentrates on how reality is constructed in social practices, including in scientific research. In discourse studies, research is viewed as a 'hegemonic social practice where social reality is (re)constructed' or where objects, subjects, concepts and strategies are shaped into various formations of information' (Foucault 1986 cited Jokinen and Koskiahho 1991, p. 45). Research itself is understood not so much as

finding some already existing social regularity but rather as the **making** of understanding in a rhetorical process of negotiation of meanings (Shotter 1990, pp. 157–160, emphasis in the original). In the rhetorical negotiation process, communication takes place – readers themselves make a contribution to create the research text that they are reading. The researcher’s efforts to strike a rhetorically effective manner of argumentation should not be regarded as something morally suspicious, but simply as a means to make the intersubjective communication with the readers as effective as possible (Jokinen, Koskiahho 1991, p. 48).

One of the central tasks of discourse analysis is to reveal the constructed nature of truth discourses. Drawing attention to the constructed nature of a truth discourse has a deconstructive and undermining effect on that discourse (Jokinen, Koskiahho 1991, p. 62). Deconstruction for its own sake cannot be regarded as rational – it has to have a motive. Jokinen and Koskiahho find that such a motive can be identified when we observe what kind of social reality the discourse produces. When established truth discourses produce controversial effects or cause undesirable consequences, their deconstruction is justified (*ibid.*, p. 73).

Using the approach outlined above, I analysed and interpreted a selection of texts whose choice stemmed from purely practical considerations. These dictated the selection of those expert, administrative and statutory texts which were of direct relevance to my work for the Karula National Park. The texts include legislation, management plans of various levels (plans for specific nature protection areas, county-wide protection plans, etc.), as well as expert opinions and inventories of cultural and natural heritage. The analysis is outlined in Section 5.1.1 and in article I (see also Parts 2003, 2004).

4.2.2. Rapid/Relaxed and Participatory Rural Appraisal

The methodological models used for the studies that underlie this thesis (articles II, III, IV, implicitly also in V) represent critical approaches that have been developed in the practice of international development aid. They are best known as ‘participatory methods’ or RRA and PRA (Rapid/Relaxed and Participatory Rural Appraisal) methods. These methods are characterised by an emphasis on practice, agency, interdisciplinarity, holistic approach and serious consideration of popular/indigenous knowledge (Mikkelsen 1995). They thus represent a framework in which

researchers are seen as agents of social change, and their research as a mutual learning process that involves the the objects of research.

In the study reported in article **II** (see also Parts *et al.* 2004), direct observation and analysis of existing research alongside the so-called informal conversational interviews – a type of semistructured interview (cf. Mikkelsen 1995) – were used in order to assess the social carrying capacity of the Kihnu cultural environment. In order to create a trusting atmosphere, recordings were not made during the interviews (although the doubts of certain informants in this regard would not be dispelled despite our assurances to the contrary), and the results of the interviews were recorded in the research diary at the end of the observation day. Excerpts from the fieldwork diary were used to illustrate our analysis. All names and other references that could permit identification have been left out, and personal reference is only made to those informants who explicitly did not wish to conceal their identity. The fieldwork consisted of visiting Kihnu as a passive observer in the role of a tourist (2–7 August 2004) and an interviewing session (20–27 November 2004). In addition, longer interviews (an hour or more) were performed with certain key persons whose principal connection with Kihnu was of a business nature.

I have already explained above (Section 2.4) that cultural heritage cannot be treated as something ‘given’—it is constructed in and by social processes. Thus, there is nothing to stop us from consciously modifying our heritage practices according to our best knowledge and understanding of the consequences of the corresponding actions. In article **III** I present one such ‘design endeavour’ commissioned by the *Karula Hoiu Ühing*, i.e., the analysis of the condition and purpose of the cultural heritage of Estonian protected areas and the proposal of a framework for cultural heritage preservation (Parts 2003–2004).

In order to carry out my task, I investigated the dominant views of stakeholders on the basis of the few existing written texts. At the same time, I also focused on mapping public opinion, on initiating a public debate and on interpreting and analysing feedback from it. I examined relevant legal documents and started a public discussion with my short provocative piece entitled *Framework for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Nature Protection Areas – What Should It Be Like?* (an abridged version of this is reproduced in article **III**) which I sent out to newspapers and

relevant mailing lists. I also delivered public talks on the subject and personally encouraged people whom I considered to be more outspoken to participate in the debate by writing them e-mails and engaging them in discussions. Almost all feedback that I collected is included in the annexes to the final report (Parts 2003–2004).

However, the nature conservation public remained rather passive, to the extent that voluntary feedback not elicited by targeted encouragement proved insufficient to ensure even a meagre legitimacy of the starting points and the proposed framework. Therefore I decided to send out an additional short questionnaire to the administrators of protected areas, whose results have also been included as annexes in the final report. Only in the final seminar of the project *Kultuuripärandi kaitse kaitsealadel* [Protection of cultural heritage in heritage protection areas] did the debate regarding the framework become more heated. I also included in the final text the observations and recommendations made in the final seminar.

The general starting point for formulating a framework for the protection of cultural heritage was that it should not be the brain child of one single individual or a compilation of various parts of already existing documents. Instead, it should be a ‘social contract’ born out of discussion, a summary of views shared by nature conservation stakeholders. Since the analysis turned out rather lengthy (119 pages in total, including annexes), it would no longer have been possible to apply it in practice. Thus I summed up its results in a short two-page article ‘Proposal for a Framework for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage: Country-people – Endangered Breed’ (article **III**, pp. 38–40). It focuses on core issues, deliberately avoiding the definition of cultural heritage in terms of its external characteristics and official lists, while providing clear, value-based criteria for determining what is cultural heritage.

4.2.3. Collecting Information about Individuals Possessing an Inherited Craft in Viljandi County: Elaboration of Principles and Content

In 2008, as part of a larger community development project (**IV**; see also Parts 2009, Parts *et al.* 2009) aimed at developing and instituting study programmes in traditional crafts at vocational schools a research team supervised by the author of this thesis collected information about individ-

uals possessing an inherited skill in Viljandi county (South Estonia). The project was motivated by unfortunate trends in Viljandi county, which used to be Estonia's granary, yet in which today agriculture and forestry are rapidly being marginalised as providers of employment (Viljandi maavalitsus 2005). Such a situation creates a natural niche for small rural businesses – especially ones that are capable of adding value to wood and timber in diverse ways (*ibid.*).

In part, the study owed its inspiration to the development anthropologists Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway, whose definition of the concept of 'sustainable livelihood' helped me to look at the situation in the field through the prism of applied anthropology. For Chambers and Conway, a livelihood is sustainable if it can provide a living, cope with stress, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Chambers & Conway 1991, p. 6).

Upon commencing our crafts development project, we soon realised that notions such as 'traditional craftsmanship' and 'intangible heritage', require considerable adaptation on the local level (cf., e.g., Siivonen 2002; Rattus and Jääts 2004, pp. 127–128). For this reason, we decided to adopt a more relaxed attitude²⁹ and selectively include in our study, besides crafts that have been inherited in the strict sense of the word (ICHC 2003, p. 2), also certain more recent skills, as well as certain skills and competencies that are not necessarily perceived as a 'craft' (e.g., the use of power tools in craftwork, certain agricultural and forestry know-how, etc.), but are often intrinsically related to one.

Implementation of the notion 'individuals possessing inherited skills' proved to be a complicated task. On the one hand, we wished to respect the community's own crafts-related beliefs and values. On the other hand, if we were to get any information at all on the type of artisan we were interested in, we needed to explain the concept somehow to our informants at the outset of the project. Thus, in the preparatory stage

29 We were inspired by the programmatic 'relaxed attitude' of the family of developmental approaches and methods which has also been referred to as 'Relaxed Rural Appraisal' (although it is probably better known as 'Rapid Rural Appraisal', 'Participatory Rural Appraisal', etc.). The goal of these approaches is 'to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act' (Chambers 1992, p. 1). In addition to that, emphasis is also placed on methodological flexibility and on the ability to improvise and to be economical ('principles of optimal ignorance') (Mikkelsen 1995, p. 69).

of the project, we decided to draw up a list of crafts or products that we were interested in, in order to clarify the aims of our research (see paper **IV** table 1; for further details see Parts 2009).

It was unlikely that we would be able to make significant progress in understanding and describing the skills of our artisans during the relatively short period of the project. Consequently, we decided not to focus in detail on the technical aspects of our craftsmen's skills (leaving these for future research projects) and restricted ourselves to compiling an inventory of those who could potentially become teachers of their craft, and of their skills. To gain a better overall picture regarding the viability and sustainability of the crafts we focused on, we also decided to note the conditions required to ensure the sustainability of a craft. At the same time, we tried to organise our research such that it would facilitate the emergence and growth of informal communication networks.

4.2.4. Assessing the Viability of Settlements for Efficient Cultural Landscapes Management

In 2014, a research team whose members are the authors of publication **V**, analysed the situation of the conservation of rural cultural landscapes located in the protected areas of Estonia in the light of the fact that human activity is a key factor for the preservation of cultural landscapes. At the same time, it is obvious that decline in rural populations and the shift in agricultural methods towards large-scale production are processes that cannot be prevented—at least not in the foreseeable perspective. In this situation, nature conservation itself has become one of the main factors directing land use in protected areas. Thus, nature conservation policy has been given unprecedented responsibility in regional development.

In publication **V**, statistical analysis of demographic and settlement indicators of protected areas of Estonia was carried out in order to provide baseline information for the key institutions in protected areas to develop more efficient management policies for cultural landscapes. In order to predict demographic processes, we studied settlements in protected areas between 2000–2011, analysing the features of the settlements that grew or diminished and how rapidly this occurred. In order to identify endangered settlement areas, we used statistical indicators related to the survival of settlements. We selected villages and hamlets as our reference units. The first criterion we selected in order to distinguish less viable

settlements was their size, in combination with either population age structure or demographic dynamics indicators.

In order to assess whether the methodology proposed for technical selection of viable settlement is practically applicable, fieldwork was carried out in April 2014 in Lahemaa NP (EMÜ report 2014). A structured questionnaire was designed to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data. The interviews were scheduled to take place before active tourism and the agricultural season began (April 2014) so that the locals could allocate time for us (the length of interviews varied between 90 minutes and 2 hours). We adapted the snowball method: we first contacted persons within Lahemaa based on our earlier studies and asked them to recommend further informants. However, we specified that our interest was attaining an insight into the practical impact of regulations and protection practices, as this would support and inspire the development of management practices of cultural landscapes and the assessment of viability of the settlements located in protected areas. Therefore, in preparing our sample, we preferred individuals with direct links to the functioning and preservation of cultural landscapes (forestry, tourism, agriculture, fishing, hunting), officials, land owners and the like.

Relying on statistical analysis, the existing nationally defined institutional division of responsibilities, insights gained from the interviews and our previous experience in communicating with executive managers of protected areas and with stakeholders, we outline four strategic approaches to managing cultural landscapes in landscape conservation areas and national parks (see paper V).

4.3. Data

The general framework of data collection and the methods used are presented in Table 1. Article I employs discourse analysis as its central method – a list of the texts analysed can be found in Table 1. My choice of texts for the analysis stemmed from purely practical considerations. These dictated the selection of expert, administrative and statutory texts which were of direct relevance to my work for the Karula National Park (Parts 2002).

In the other articles, discourse analysis is neither the primary nor only method and the texts used as sources of data do not clearly distinguish

interviews or quasi-interviews from other sources. For article **II**, about thirty residents of Kihnu were interviewed (for a quarter of an hour or more), individually or in groups depending on the situation. Due to the nature of RRA/PRA, the number of respondents in article **II** is an approximation. The article also includes an analysis of extensive written sources.

Extensive interviews were used as a source of data also for the purposes of other papers (**III**, **IV**, **V**). For the purposes of publication **III**, qualitative data were mainly collected through public discussions in the form of moderated workshops, through questionnaires delivered by e-mail, through e-mail discussions, and a small number of in-depth interviews with key stakeholders.

The total number of respondents in the study conducted for article **IV** is an indicative one. In that study we created a list of the crafts that we were interested in (see Table 1 in article **IV**). During the preliminary stage of fieldwork, 128 individual craftsmen and 7 small companies were identified.

The principal part of the fieldwork consisted of in-depth interviews conducted with 39 craftsmen. In our search, we did not find artisans representing every craft and skill in our preliminary list, however, we did discover a few individuals possessing rather unexpected crafts. Some craftsmen engaged in several crafts simultaneously and sometimes their principal area of competence was difficult to pinpoint, as they might have ceased to actively engage in some areas. If an individual skill/craft was difficult to define or was pursued predominantly as a hobby, we classified it as 'other' (article **IV**, Table 2). The information collected as a result of the fieldwork conducted in 2008 is stored in a web-based database (DAPIS – Database of Viljandi County Artisans Possessing Inherited Skills). Due to data protection requirements, access to some of the information collected had to be restricted.

Publication **V** includes both qualitative data (collected by means of interviews) and quantitative data (concerning demographic and settlement indicators, drawn primarily from the census data of 2000 and 2011 (Statistics Estonia, www.stat.ee)).

Table 1. General framework of data collection and methods

Year	Location	Number of texts analysed	Number of respondents	Methods	Article
2002	Karula National Park	11	N/A	DA (discourse analysis)	I, III
2003-2004	Karula National Park and other protected areas of Estonia which include seminatural landscapes	N/A	ca 18 (plus informal / free discussions)	DA, RRA and PRA (public discussions in the form of moderated workshops, questionnaires delivered by e-mail, e-mail discussions, in-depth interviews); study conducted by P.-K. Parts	III
2003-2004	Kihnu island	N/A	ca 30	RRA and PRA, DA, (informal conversational interviews, analysis of literature); study conducted by P.-K. Parts, K. Sepp and A. Palo	II
2008	Viljandi county	N/A	39 (interviewed in depth; tips collected about 128 artisans and 7 small crafts companies)	RRA and PRA, structured and semistructured interviewing; study conducted by M. Rennu, J. Metslang, L. Jääts	IV
2014	Lahemaa National Park	N/A	32 (interviewed in depth)	Statistics Estonia; structured interviews; study conducted by J. Kliimask, H. Järv	V

5. RESULTS

5.1. Evaluation of Landscapes

5.1.1. Analysis of the Estonian discourse of the value of landscapes

The texts studied³⁰ revealed an abiding rhetorical core in the Estonian landscape value discourse, *i.e.* certain words and views that appear in nearly all relevant texts. Henceforth I will refer to them as ‘canonical vocabulary’ (see Table 2 in article I). From a general point of view, one might say that environmental law in Estonia presupposes a fundamental divide between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’. The rules established to govern the interaction of humans with ecosystems, species, habitats and natural landscapes pay almost no attention to cultural aspects of landscapes.

The applied texts of Estonian spatial discourse that I analysed follow the rhetorical framework of official environmental policy with remarkable regularity. While performing evaluations of objects of nature and natural landscapes during fieldwork, it has become customary for experts and civil servants with responsibilities in the field to reproduce and rein-

30 The list of the texts analysed comprises the following:

Kaitstavate loodusobjektide seadus (Protected Objects of Nature Act). The Act was in force at the time that the Karula study (Parts 2002) was conducted. Its material provisions have since then been re-enacted as the *Looduskaitseseadus* (Nature Protection Act, adopted 21 April 2004), which, however, does not embody any rules that require a special mention for the purposes of the present article.

Muinsuskaitseseadus (Heritage Conservation Act)

Planeerimisseadus (Planning Act)

Ehitusseadus (Building Act)

Säästva arengu seadus (Sustainable Development Act)

Väärtuslike maastike määramine. Metoodika ja kogemused Viljandi maakonnas (Identifying Valuable Landscapes. Methodology and Experience in Viljandi County) (Methodology)

Lahemaa rahvusparki maastike planeerimine ja arhitektuurinõuded rahvusparki kaitsekorralduskava väljatöötamiseks (Landscape planning and architectural requirements for developing the protection management plan of Lahemaa National Park) (Merila 2002)

Kultuuripärandi ja traditsioonilise elulaadi kaitse. – Kaitseala kaitsekorralduskava koostamise juhised. (Protection of cultural heritage and traditional lifestyle, in *Guidelines for drafting protection management plans for protected areas*) (Eller & Tomson 2002)

Koguva muinsuskaitseala ekspertiis (Expert Assessment of Koguva Heritage Protection Area)

Karula Rahvusparki piires asuva arhitektuuri, ajaloo- ja kultuuripärandi inventeerimise aruanne (Inventory Report on the Architectural, Historical and Cultural Heritage of Karula National Park) (Eller 1999)

Karula Rahvusparki kaitsekorralduskava aastateks 2001–2005 (Protection Management Plan of Karula National Park 2001–2005)

force the dominant values stemming from heritage texts that foreground *sight-seeing*, *viewing*, *open spaces* and *historical* value (for a more detailed analysis, see Parts 2004, pp. 244–256).

As a result of uninformed acceptance of the canonical vocabulary listed in Table 2 of article I, social debate on the value and usage of landscapes has effectively become restricted to identifying the sector of the tourism market in which a particular landscape can best be marketed. In referring to the country's sights, expert opinions in Estonia tend to use attributes such as *typical*, *unique*, *rare*, etc. These adjectives are implicitly expected to work as an effective marketing vocabulary. Their use conveys a suggestion that enjoyment of the beauty of nature and of historical sights is a refined cultural pursuit which ranks above simple consumption of tangible/material goods (Merila 2002, p. 5). The creation of such a contrast, in its turn, tacitly elevates landscapes to the status of a rarefied, superior and desirable commodity.

In addition to **commodification**, I propose to distinguish a parallel process which I have dubbed **academisation** (see Table 2, article I; Table 2, article III). The description of landscapes as *historical*, *archaeological*, etc., stakes out new research areas for the academic community or protects the existing ones. Academisation in this context means that, from a broad range of researchable objects or phenomena, one or several are selected as (potential) subject matter of research.

Thus, one should note a shared rhetorical space in Estonian landscape value discourse. Even if participants of that discourse champion widely different aims and interests, and even though some of them can safely be said to resist the dominant discourse, they use the same core vocabulary to argue their case. Hence, this rhetorical space appears to be flexible, although we may assume that it makes access to the process of production and legitimisation of cultural values and norms easier for certain social groups. Thus, it is questionable whether a common stock of rhetorical devices can constitute a valid basis for formulating technical guidelines for Estonian planners and environmental managers, or whether formulating such technical guidelines in such a situation should be regarded as a meaningful aim at all.

5.1.2. 'Livingness' as proposed basic value for landscape planning and community management

In article I, I propose an alternative approach to evaluating cultural landscapes. It is based on the notion of **living landscape** (the term is borrowed from the Norwegian philosopher Sigmund Kvaløy (Arntzen 2002)). The concept 'living landscape' is based on the notion and ethical imperative of *elusamus* (a loose English translation of which would be 'a heightened sense of alive-ness'³¹) used by the Estonian theologian, philosopher, linguist, and writer Uku Masing (Masing 1998, p. 134). *Elusamus* means being more alive, both in the sense of having alert senses and an inquisitive mind, and of using these to broaden the human world to include the worlds of other sentient beings in order to realise the full capacity of a human being to live within a place.

In order to elucidate the concept of living landscape, I have contrasted it with *nature morte* in Table 3 of article I (see also Parts 2004). By *nature morte* I mean 'aesthetically pleasant composition of elements detached from nature and history' (Lapintie 1995a, p. 20). Central for the contrast are Kvaløy's concepts of **complexity** and **complication**. Complexity is 'dynamic, irreversible, self-steering, goal-directed, conflict-fertilised manifoldness of nature...' Complication is 'the static, reversible, externally steered, standardising structure-intricacy of the machine' (Kvaløy 1993, pp. 122–123). Other features that characterise a living landscape are self-containment, multi-functionality, integrity, continuity, dynamism, and customary use, while *nature morte* is defined from the outside, being characterised by limited functionality, complicatedness, discontinuity, stasis and tradition.

5.2. Assessing the Impact of Tourism on Kihnu Island

5.2.1. Historical background for tourism in Kihnu

Tourism as a livelihood and a cultural phenomenon is a very recent development for Kihnu islanders. During Estonia's first independence period (1918–1940) the island was used as a place of banishment for politically undesirable individuals. The latter, in the main part, were people

31 There is no direct equivalent of *elusamus* in English. The word was coined by U. Masing to convey a specific idea and literally means 'more-aliveness'.

of considerable means who, together with their guests whom they had invited to visit them in 'exile', acted like not entirely unlike the 'vodka tourists' of modern times. The birth of Kihnu as a tourist destination may be linked to this curious fact (Akkerman 1999).

Already during the interwar period, the island also became the Mecca of ethnographers (e.g., Leesment 1929, 1942), whom we can describe in TALC model terms as a group of pioneers. However, World War II and the subsequent Soviet annexation arrested its potential of development for decades. In the later stages of the Soviet period, the popularity of Kihnu culture slowly increased, along with the island's improved accessibility. The period witnessed the publication of tourist guides (Saar 1965; Saar 1973), a photo album (Kärmas 1975), a series of ethnographic studies (Kalits 1963; Kõiva 1964, 1965), and even a pioneering applied study which examined the tourism potential of the island (Tamme 1975). A number of documentaries were shot (*Kihnu saare pulmakombestik* [Wedding traditions in Kihnu island] (1956), Mark Soosaar's *Kihnu naine* [Kihnu women] (1973) and *Kihnu mees* [Kihnu man] (1985)), and the island and its people also provided inspiration for writers (Jõgisalu 1985).

In the Soviet times, the patrons of the Pärnu health resort came from mainland to Kihnu to pick mushrooms in the forest and taste the warm Baltic herring at the local fish processing plant (Akkerman 1999). The opening of the Rock City³² holiday home in 1967 served as a springboard to the development of tourism in Kihnu. In 1980s, tourism was still widely regarded as a marginal source of livelihood (Vare 1985, p. 3), although the island's scant natural resources and generally bleak economical outlook forced the local population to resort to tourism as well. At the time, tourist groups no larger than consisting of 30–40 members were considered conceivable (Levald 1980, p. 9).

After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, the number of tourists visiting the island increased dramatically. The number of Kihnu-related publications and newspaper articles also increased sharply. According to a 2002 survey, 25% of Kihnu residents estimated that their work depended on tourism to a great extent, while 28% gave their answer as

32 The name Rock City does not allude to a lifestyle movement or a music style—it reflects the name of the eponymous and last ship of the legendary seafarer Captain Jõnn of Kihnu (legal name: Enn Uuetoa [1848–1913]) which sank off the coast of Denmark (<http://www.rockcity.ee/ajalugu.html>).

‘occasionally’ (Hurt et al. 2003). This points to the island economy’s significant dependence on tourism.

5.2.2. Popular theories of tourism development and the basis for determining CP

The modern development of Kihnu as a tourist destination started in the 1990s, when on summer days the number of visitors in the island began to exceed the number of local residents (cf Butler’s [2005a, pp. 6–7] definition of development stage). As of 2000, the number of local residents was 518³³ (Looveer 2006, p. 69), the total number of seasonal residents and a day’s visitors was thought to range between 100 and 400 (Looveer 2006, p. 69). The total annual number of tourists visiting the island soared from an estimated few hundred in 1980s to 10,000 by 1998 (Akkerman 1999)³⁴.

In 1990s, expectations for the development potential of tourism’s were high and the general attitude toward it was positive. For example, the number of yacht tourists was expected to skyrocket – according to estimations made at the time when the yacht pier was being built, the number of visiting vessels was expected to catapult from 223 in 1994 to 2000 in 8 years (Kerge 1995, pp. 16–18)! The construction of the pier was never completed and actual figures never reached the predicted heights – according to a survey conducted in 2002, the number of tourists arriving in Kihnu on a yacht (mainly sleeping aboard the vessel) amounted to 9% of the total number (Hurt *et al.* 2002, pp. 36–38). Since 1999, the total number of tourists visiting the island has even begun to stabilise³⁵.

Throughout the 1990s and even today, the development of tourism was and continues to be conceptualised in terms of ‘mass tourism’ (Kerge,

33 It is an estimated number of permanent residents actually living on the island in 2005, the respective number of registered residents as recorded in the population register was higher: 639 according to Looveer 2004 (p. 14) or 634 according to Strategic Plan of Kihnu municipality (Kihnu vallavalitsus 2207, p. 5).

34 However, completely indisputable data is unavailable, according to the estimation of Johannes Leas, Chairman of the Executive Board of the municipality at the time of the study, as well as of a local tourism entrepreneur and a ferry owner, the annual number of tourists visiting the island was around 30,000 (notes of a telephone conversation with J. Leas on 10 December 2004).

35 On the basis of the telephone interview conducted on 23 November 2004 with Anneli Akkerman, a local tourism entrepreneur and a ferry owner, subsequently Chairman of the Executive Board of the municipality.

Vihalem *et al.* 1994a) versus ‘elite tourism’ (Kerge, Vihalem *et al.* 1994a, 1995; Kihnu vallavalitus 2002), ‘ecotourism’ (Akkerman 1996) versus ‘vodka tourism’ (Kuutma 2002). The explanatory power of these theories is nevertheless undermined when they are compared with empirical data. For example, according to a survey conducted among the island’s visitors in 2002, 32% of visitors to Kihnu were campers, and more than one half of the visitors did not purchase any non-food services/goods (65%) or entertainment (62%) locally, their main expenditures being the ferry ticket, food and drink (in precisely that order!) (Hurt *et al.* 2003). Given such a background, it appears to be suitable to speak of ‘consumer tourism’ only in the case of the so-called culture tourists, since it is they who need accommodation, who purchase handicraft products, who enjoy folklore performances, etc. To contrast them with the ‘bad’ mass tourists who personify all the unwanted side effects of tourism creates a binary opposition and thus confirms the ‘good’ image of the elite cultural tourist.

Upon an examination of the legislation concerning measures intended to protect the natural and cultural environment of Kihnu, it became apparent that the existing spatial plans contain unrealistic or impossible recommendations, or proposals founded on repealed legislation. For example, the general plan of the Kihnu municipality proposes that Kihnu should request ‘the status of an ethnic protection area’ (Kerge *et al.* 1994b, p. 40) or ‘the creation of Kihnu ethnographic-cultural protection area’ (Kerge *et al.* 1995, p. 5) – unfortunately neither of those terms has a legal meaning in Estonia (for further information, see Parts *et al.* 2004, pp. 8–10, and see also article **II**).

The draft version of the general plan of the Kihnu municipality from the year 2006 (Looveer 2006, as of 7 May 2015 still under debate in the municipal council) has to a large extent adopted the views presented in the study of the carrying capacity of the cultural environment of Kihnu island (Parts *et al.* 2004). The importance of tourism for the island’s economy has been realised, and the island’s focus is set on ensuring sustainability of the tourism industry and on avoiding the island’s becoming solely reliant on tourism for revenue. Specific principles and measures have been proposed regarding the municipality’s spatial development (Looveer 2006).

Table 2. Mechanisms of change for three tourism related life cycles in Kihnu

Time period	Cultural tourism product		Sightseeing product		Destination	
	Mechanism	Stage	Mechanism	Stage	Mechanism	Stage
...-1918	N/A	Pre-tourism	N/A	Pre-tourism	N/A	Pre-tourism
1918-1940	Critical event Additions Ethnographers' field trips – ethnographers stay at locals' homes Kihnu becomes the banishment destination of (usually well-off) politically undesirable individuals, who invite visitors to the island – this may be termed the start of 'alcohol tourism'	Exploration	N/A	Pre-tourism product	Critical event Additions Arrival of non-business visitors (banishees and their visitors, ethnographers)	Exploration
1940-1967	Blurry transition Alterations Ethnographers' field trips become more frequent, research results are more readily accessible to the public (film, popular science publications) Additions A few summer residents accommodated by the locals A few intellectuals establish their summer homes on the island	Exploration	N/A	Pre-tourism product	Blurry transition Alterations Ethnographers' field trips become more frequent Additions Natural interactions between hosts and guests begin	Exploration

1967-1991	<p>Blurry transition Alterations Earlier trends continue</p>	<p>Blurry transition Alterations At the end of 1960s, regular air service to the island during the summer period starts operation, regular ferry service starts in 1971³⁶ A few excursions as part of the mainland health resort package, etc.</p>	<p>Blurry transition Additions A museum (1972)³⁷, the holiday home Rock City (1967), although it only opens for tourists in 1973³⁸ Institutionalised contacts between hosts and guests Initial stage of the commercialisation of culture</p>	Development
1991-1999	<p>Critical juncture (General context: collapse of the Soviet Union) Addition Rapid transition to market economy Home accommodation, sale of handicraft products, etc. become significant sources of supplementary income</p>	<p>Blurry transition Alterations Sightseers outnumber community tourists Commodification of culture intensifies</p>	<p>Blurry transition Alterations Sightseers outnumber local residents periodically Front stage develops (signs, tourist booklets, provision of tourist information on the ferry) Sharp increase in the level of institutionalised tourism, fewer natural interactions between hosts and guests</p>	Consolidation

³⁶ The information is obtained from a phone conversation with Johannes Leas, ferry captain and former Chairman of Kihnu Council Executive Board (30 March 2011).

³⁷ The information is obtained from the subdivision Ajaloost üldiselt (Of history in general) in the homepage of the Kihnu municipality (http://www.kihnu.ee/ajalugu_pikalt.html, accessed on 2 February 2011).

³⁸ The information is obtained from a phone conversation with Johannes Leas, ferry captain and former Chairman of Kihnu Council Executive Board (30 March 2011).

1999-2006	Blurry transition Earlier trends continue stable	Consolidation	Blurry transition Earlier trends continue stable	Stagnation	Blurry transition Alterations Number of visits stabilises The portion of local population capable of working in the tourism sector is fully engaged in providing tourism services UNESCO proclaims Kihnu's cultural space 'intangible heritage of humanity' in 2003	Stagnation
1999-2006		Consolidation		Stagnation	Infrastructure upgrades continue (e.g. new community centre is opened in 2001; modernisation of Kihnu harbour 2005-2006) Additions Anti-tourist sentiment makes its first appearances Constant discussion about changing the island's tourism policy Cessation Few natural interactions between hosts and guests	Stagnation
2006-...	Blurry transition Earlier trends continue stable	Rejuvenation/Reorientation?	Blurry transition Earlier trends continue stable	Stagnation	Blurry transition Alterations Infrastructure upgrades continue (e.g., renovation of Kihnu museum in 2009; construction of new harbor building with modern amenities for visitors in 2014) Manuscript of the general plan of Kihnu municipality is completed, indicating a need for reorientation in tourism management. Its adoption in the municipality council falls through. Professionalisation and institutionalisation of culture and tourism proceeds	Rejuvenation/Reorientation?

5.2.3. The dynamics of Kihnu TALC

On the basis of empirical data (Hurt *et al.* 2003), as well as interviews conducted during fieldwork and an analysis of literature (Parts *et al.* 2004) it is possible to sketch two principal customer prototypes and corresponding TA products: **sightseers** and **cultural tourists**. Sightseers constitute the lion's share of visitors. Their purchases are often limited to essential provisions – if possible, they will leave the island by the evening or camp out in tents, preferring to avoid contact with locals. Cultural tourists, on the other hand, enjoy the spontaneous, quasi-spontaneous or mediated contact with the local community (folklore performances, museum visits, etc.). Even where they do not use accommodation services offered by local residents, the possibility of potential contact with locals still remains important to them.

The above classification is intended to be value-neutral – it does not include an implicit preference for one or the other group, as both entail their own set of positive and negative consequences for the island's economy, culture and environment. For example, sightseers or 'mass tourists', whose financial contribution to the island's economy is minimal, still have an indirect supporting influence on maintaining the ferry connection to the mainland. The contribution of 'elite' culture tourists to keeping the ferries going is by far not as significant, since they are fewer in number and frequently also use private means of transport (yachts, planes, etc.). At the same time, their stays last longer and involve at least a moderate consumption of local services and products.

In Table 2, relying on Butler's (1980) TALC model as elaborated by Marois and Hinch (2005), I have provided an outline of the development of Kihnu as a tourist destination and the related tourism product categories. In the terminology of the elaborating authors, I propose to characterise the life cycle of tourism in terms of such turning points as 'critical junctures', 'critical events' or 'blurry transitions'. Marois and Hinch define these terms as follows:

A critical juncture is an issue that once resolved moves the destination to a new stage. Critical events are particular actions that trigger the progression from one stage to the next. Finally, blurry transitions are turning points that occur as the result of a number of smaller events that combine to bring about a shift to the next stage. Typically any of these mechanisms can manifest itself

as an addition, alteration or cessation in terms of the production or destination life cycle.

Marois and Hinch 2005, p. 261.

In the first stages of development of Kihnu as a tourism area, it is not possible to distinguish the product and destination life cycles. The exploration period was unusually long in Kihnu, which is probably due to the effects of World War II and the imposition on the island of the Soviet economic system. The latter seems to account for the fact that during the relevant period the destination itself develops faster than the corresponding products. Tourist infrastructure is developed on government initiative and with government funding, while the local population only shows a modest interest in tourism development.

In post-Soviet context, however, both cultural tourism and excursionist products began to develop rapidly. Although in the beginning both product types more or less supported and complemented each other, sightseeing products soon entered a phase of more rapid development, giving rise to the need to label and visually organise the geographic space of Kihnu, which the community tourism did not require due to its small number of clients and its easy and 'natural' guiding system. Thus, excursionist products start to compete with cultural tourism products, which becomes a hot topic in public debate ('alcohol tourism' or 'consumer tourism' versus 'well-organised cultural tourism' (Kuutma 2002)).

5.2.4. Preliminary tourism carrying capacity indicators

In our work in Kihnu (Parts *et al.* 2004; **II**) we proposed explorative micro-level indicators to help raise initial questions and formulate working hypotheses. Explorative indicators that one could use concerning the lifestyle and economy of Kihnu include whether potatoes are sold in the stores in Kihnu. At time of our fieldworks (2003–2004), potatoes were grown by almost all local households, and thus they were not for sale in stores except during the tourist season. Potato growing was one of the main topics of discussion in summer when people meet near the store. If potatoes were to be sold in the stores all year round, this could mean a reduction in the proportion of traditional means of subsistence or a change in specialisation within the community – for instance, a few local farmers have recently begun to grow more potatoes than their household requires, and they market it within the community, thereby freeing (or pushing) other families to specialise in other areas.

For instance, the fact that firewood obtained from the local forest/wooded meadow/brush has become a barter good could also be considered to be an indicator of changes in communal relations or of innovation – at present those families that do not have their own forest plot prefer to import their fuel from the mainland or use electric heating (electricity is also the main source of energy used for heat generation in local government institutions), because firewood is not a traditional barter good within the community. The latter can also be considered to be an indicator of the success of regional policy from the point of view of sustainable development, pointing to whether government policies motivate people to use more renewable resources and sustainable innovation in the practical organisation of the community's life or, on the contrary, lead them to continue existing non-sustainable environmental practices.

Both of the above-mentioned indicators can be interpreted in more than one way – practices that appear as backward from the point of view of national and global environmental policy objectives can be seen as valuable cultural heritage from the local and UNESCO point of view.

The influence of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu can also be assessed using quantitative indicators. The proportion of tourism that is considered desirable in the island's economy is partly a question of political agreement. Yet, there is also a certain 'objective' boundary that is set by the fact that the community's distinctiveness as the basis of its 'brand' that guarantees a special type of experience to the visitor constitutes a tourism resource. Conceivably, one could define a proportion of the local population that would be desirable to have involved with tourism. If this were to be accompanied by a study carried out using methods comparable to those which already exist (Hurt *et al.* 2003), one could obtain a convenient and measurable indicator of tourism carrying capacity.

5.2.5. Recommendations for the organisation of monitoring of cultural and natural environment

Article II provides a short overview of the recommendations I was asked to prepare and provide for developing the concept of tourism development in Kihnu (Parts *et al.* 2004), as well as for functional zoning of the island in consideration of the needs of its cultural environment and IBA (Important Bird Area) and NATURA areas. I will now present a formal

Table 3. Logical framework matrix for monitoring the condition of cultural and natural environment and activities designed to safeguard that environment (elaborated on the basis of recommendations provided by Mikkelsen [2005, pp. 51–52] and the BDA Estonia [2007, pp. 47–48]).

Description	Indicators	Sources of verification information	External factors (assumptions and risks: important events, conditions or decisions)
<p>Advancing diversity / vitality <i>etc.</i> of the object / phenomenon <i>n</i>. Target group <i>g</i> has acquired the asset / capability <i>s</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Higher level objective towards which the project is expected to contribute and cannot be achieved by completing current project only.</i> • <i>Mention target groups.</i> • <i>To be formulated as a description of the desired future situation.</i> 	<p>Object / phenomenon <i>n</i> is at the moment <i>m</i> in general condition <i>x</i> (authentic, observable, usable, in use, <i>etc.</i>) Revenues of the sector / number of (repeat) visits / number of media citations / diversity <i>etc.</i> ... has increased / has been restructured in manner <i>y</i> compared to moment / state <i>z</i> / Asset / capability <i>s</i> available to target group <i>g</i> in formation <i>f</i>.</p>	<p>Survey by a monitoring body <i>n</i> (e.g. statistics, interviews, reports, study). Self-analysis (usually measured against specified indicators).</p>	<p>General political / environmental conditions can be described as <i>n</i> (e.g. major political / social / economic concerning subject matter <i>m</i> remain stable; risk <i>x</i> does not materialize).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Important events, conditions or decisions necessary for sustaining objectives in the long run.</i>
<p>The object / phenomenon <i>x</i> has been conserved in / transposed into desired condition <i>n</i>. / The (monetary, utility, etc.) value of the building (and/or area) <i>x</i> has increased up to level <i>y</i>. / Target group <i>g</i> has acquired the skill / access / utility / service <i>etc.</i> <i>s</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The effect which is expected to be achieved as the result of the project.</i> • <i>The project has one, or, as an exception, two objectives.</i> • <i>Mention target groups.</i> • <i>To be formulated as a description of the desired future situation.</i> 	<p>Object / phenomenon <i>x</i> is at the moment <i>y</i> in condition <i>n</i> (diversity index, authentic, observable, usable, in use, <i>etc.</i>) in the amount / extent <i>z</i> (ha, km, trade value, <i>etc.</i>). / at the time <i>y</i> the results of surveys show contentment. / Revenues of the tourism sector / number of tourist visits / number of repeat visits / number of media citations ... has increased compared to year <i>x</i> / has been restructured in manner <i>y</i>. / Number of individuals who have received training / acquired a job is <i>m</i> at the time <i>y</i>.</p>	<p>Files of surveys, assessments and expert opinions. / Contracts completed. / Records of issued certificates. / Records of contacts (participation sheets, event records, feedback sheets, <i>etc.</i>). / Project reporting.</p>	<p>Sufficiently adequate information available regarding conditions of preservation of the biological community / artefact / cultural phenomenon <i>x</i>. / Ordinary natural conditions. / Perceptions of values of cultural environment do not undergo any major change during the observation period. / Target group remain attainable.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Important events, conditions or decisions outside the control of the project, which must prevail for the development objective to be attained.</i>

39 Standard entries regarding the respective project matrix element are in normal type, recommendations / remarks regarding methodology are in italics.

<p>Outputs</p> <p>Objects / phenomena x_1, x_2 and x_n have been renovated / improved and made available for relevant use to target group s. / A series of training courses have been provided to the target group s. / Working model(s) put into operation. / Final activities of the project have been carried out.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The result that the project management should be able to guarantee.</i> • <i>Must be achieved during the project's implementation period.</i> • <i>Mention target areas / groups!</i> <p>1. Renovation of buildings / upkeep of grounds.</p> <p>1.1 Public discussion of the project's objectives.</p> <p>1.2 Formulation of principal objectives of the project.</p> <p>1.3 Surveys.</p> <p>1.4 Carrying out public procurement procedures. / Recruitment of staff.</p> <p>1.5 Performance of project tasks.</p> <p>1.6 Acquisition and installation of equipment.</p> <p>2. Training courses</p> <p>3. Publicity activities</p>	<p>Objects / areas x_1, x_2 and x_n have been renovated and are used by target group s. / Number of certificates issued. / Experts assess project performance as positive or at least satisfactory). / Working model(s) specified in tangible form and tested in action. / Number of people obtaining their income directly or indirectly from desirable livelihoods, etc.). / Reports have been submitted in time.</p>	<p>Terms of reference. / Contracts regarding implementation of safeguard measures. / Contracts for the realisation of work have been executed. / Deeds of conveyance. / Written working model(s) descriptions, performance reports. / Job descriptions. / Copies of published materials and distribution plans. / Records of contacts (participation sheets, event records, feedback sheets, etc.). / Interim and final reports.</p>	<p>Sufficient availability of workers with required skills. / Local residents show interest in piecework jobs offered. / Partners are prepared to cooperate. / The local community approves of the objective of the project and the manner of employment offered.</p>
<p>Activities</p> <p>1. Small scale equipment for processing fish, fleece or other</p> <p>2. Farming culture</p> <p>2.1 training services required for its introduction</p> <p>2.2 n facilities/structures required for its introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Goods and services necessary to undertake the activities.</i> 		<p>Activity plans are drawn up. The number of workers / landowners / tenants who have signed the agreement. / The area (in <i>ha</i>) of agricultural or other land covered by the agreement. / Reduction of the area (in <i>ha</i>) of damaged (trodden, littered) communities. / Amount of garbage (kg, m^3, etc.) collected from the landscape / Project payments are made in time.</p>	<p>No obstacles encountered in raising funds for the project. The project's proceeds as planned (leaders, organisation and requirements of the funder). Recruitment activities proceed without obstacles. / Required expert assistance is available. / Required (local) workforce is available, sufficient in numbers and motivated. / Pertinent market prices remain in range <i>f-k</i>.</p>
<p>Inputs</p>		<p>Records of contacts (participation sheets, event records, feedback sheets, etc.). / Receipts, invoices and payment documents. / Records of contacts (participation sheets, event records, feedback sheets, etc.). / Interim and final reports.</p>	<p>Required goods and services are available and are not subject to unacceptable price hikes during the project period.</p>

list of protection measures on the basis of the Logical Framework Matrix method (table 3; inspired by Mikkelsen 1995, pp. 90–91), summarising the recommendations developed as a result of the applied studies forming the basis for papers **II** and **III**.

Logical framework approach (LFA) is a popular planning tool used by many financing bodies and development organisations. This tool provides a systematic structure for the planning and management of projects in terms of their objectives, outputs, activities, and inputs. This matrix is also quite well-known in Estonia. In creating the Table 3 below I have adapted the matrix to the form developed by the Archimedes Foundation (see, e.g., BDA Estonia 2007) and recommended by Estonian Investment Agency and Ministry of Education and Research being thus applicable in EU-funded projects. The matrix can be applied in any field of planning and development work. Its particular instance shown below presents information that is intended to illustrate probable needs of Kihnu, national parks and of Estonia's protected areas in general. In such a form it should serve as an inspiration and be easily usable for organising ideas according to the priorities of actual stakeholders and real situations in any sensitive area where a complex mix of interests of natural and cultural environment is under focus.

As with any systematic view or classification, this one too is founded on a set of hidden assumptions such as assumptions as to what constitutes cultural heritage or cultural environment, how these can be protected, what causal mechanisms are involved in its persistence and what (sufficiently) favourable external conditions are needed. At the same time, the framework also assumes (somewhat questionably) that its general objectives (such as the preservation of cultural heritage) can be approached by focusing on single objects/phenomena. One of the advantages of the LFA approach is that the moods and whims of stakeholders are subject to control to the extent stipulated in the matrix. Yet undoubtedly it is a rather complex tool and as such carries with it the danger of alienation: stakeholders may perceive it as an irrelevant, 'esoteric' practice of project experts (see also Mikkelsen 2005, pp. 55, 60).

The framework is intended for planning and monitoring development projects. However, many conservation workers regard project-based protection as an inherently flawed exercise. Be that as it may, the framework continues to be broadly applied by development agencies and acknowl-

edged by financiers and is inherently workable for institutional planning and monitoring the protection measures for objects/phenomena of cultural heritage, although its indicators would need to be modified according to the insights attained in the case at hand.

5.3. Proposed approach of cultural heritage preservation for protected areas

In paper III I discuss the concept of cultural heritage and the corresponding movement of heritage protection as cultural, political, and economic phenomenon. I define heritage as a politically motivated selection from the past. Heritage as such cannot be ‘objectively’ perceived – it draws its meaning from the community that values it. Since heritage is culturally constructed, it can also be deconstructed and reconstructed, and our notion of heritage is subject to conscious modification. Consequently, we are able to change our heritage practices by deliberate choices.

In addition to an analysis of the data, in article III I present an approach of cultural heritage preservation for protected areas which regards cultural heritage as a design project⁴⁰. The approach is figuratively summarised in its caption – ‘Countrypeople – an Endangered Breed’⁴¹. The following quote from the article sums up, ‘One of the central features of the protection of natural heritage is derived from a peculiar feature of Estonian nature conservation which means that the Estonian nature protection areas do not protect wilderness alone, but also several types of human-impacted land (various special protection zones and limited management zones) or even completely ‘cultivated’ nature (so-called ‘seminatural’ communities, etc.). Estonian nature protection areas predominantly consist of seminatural communities for which the presence of *homo sapiens* who pursues traditional livelihoods is of key importance.’

40 For recommendations derived from the approach as a statement of core values regarding measures for the protection of cultural heritage of protected areas, as well as for the process of elaborating the approach and the relevant documentation, see Parts 2003–2004.

41 It should be noted here that the reference to countrypeople as an endangered breed is a figure of speech that above all serves the purpose of harmonious integration of the protection of cultural heritage into the legal and conceptual framework of the traditional ‘protection without use’ paradigm of nature conservation. The figure should not be understood as a reference to genetics or heredity – given the political and demographic upheavals of the 20th century, the populations of protected areas can no longer be approached as clan-type communities. Interestingly, in the discussions held on the concept of cultural heritage in protected areas, the figure was never criticised for the reference to kinship that it evokes—in this regard, participants simply noted that the correct reference would be to ‘breed’ as opposed to ‘species’.

As the above discussion shows, the part of cultural heritage that is of particular relevance to a given protected area consists in the local use of the natural environment and in the outcomes of such use, and is supportive of the specifically protective aims of that area. In practical terms, this means that the protection of cultural heritage in protected areas should give priority to phenomena and natural features that are alive and continue to function. Similarly, where necessary, the local community should be granted special privileges in the use of natural resources. The determination of the particular content and preservation arrangements of protected areas should be performed individually for each area.

5.4. Men's crafts in Viljandi county in 2008: current situation and developments

In 2008, in the course of fieldwork to collect information about individuals possessing an inherited skill in Viljandi county, our research team obtained information regarding 128 artisans. 39 of these were interviewed (see Table 2 in article **IV** for more information regarding the sample). During fieldwork, we were lucky to be referred to a number of craftsmen engaged in rare trades and having highly individual styles (for more detail see Parts 2009).

Among the most important and defining insights gained in the course of our fieldwork is the realisation that none of the craftsmen we interviewed expressed a pessimistic view regarding the viability of their craft in the future. The respondents were also satisfied with the level of income they gained from the practice of their crafts. We also learned that individuals engaged in traditionally male crafts tend to forgo advertising their products or services, often shun public attention and take a cautious attitude to any cooperation projects.

As the general economic situation has drastically changed since the completion of our fieldwork, several craftsmen have been compelled to change trades. The number of those who earlier had rejected our offer to include their contacts and general information regarding their trade in the public part of the database because they considered this to amount to a form of advertising, but who now have changed their mind, has also increased.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1. Dynamic preservation: applicability and relevance

In article I, I have figuratively described dominant trends in the Estonian landscape value discourse as a discourse of *nature morte* and in contrast I have proposed an approach founded on the notion of living landscape, which is based on fundamentally life-centred values. This contrast has drawn criticism for perpetuating dualism. I argue that this conceptual development is not aimed at dualism, but diversity. A ‘living landscape’ is a highly creative framework that stimulates imagination and playfulness. Indeed, one of its primary goals is to incite landscape planners and managers to be open and creative.

I find that opting for a living landscape approach is not merely a matter of empowerment of local discourses, although this is without doubt the central message in article I. Since elements of *nature morte* can be found in various local discourses and narratives, the living landscape approach possesses the potential to enliven value discussion in respect of the latter as well.

One of the central disadvantages of the concept of living landscape with regard to landscape management is that its implications do not submit easily to scientific verification formalisation. Consequently, living landscapes pose difficulties for administration. In managing infrastructure with a high risk level, it is naturally inconceivable to permit the spontaneity characteristic of living landscape, yet the flexible perspective of living landscape allows each development case to be analysed separately in terms of whether and which sacrifices to make in the name of technological development.

6.2. Limitations of TALC model

Article II deals with questions connected to assessment of tourism carrying capacity (CC), which relies on the premise that any definite geographic area or cultural phenomenon has a capacity level in respect of tourism or some other ‘external’ factor. It can be asked, however, whether we are justified at all to regard landscapes, culture and communities as a passive and static ‘other’ vis-à-vis tourism – it is likely that they too have a ‘contribution’ to make to the development of tourism products (cf Ma-

rois and Hinch 2005, pp. 267–268). Wheeler (2005), by using Elvis as a stereotypical product, has reduced the authenticity-commodification dialectic to a mere matter of taste. Indeed, if customers remain satisfied even when the capacity level has been exceeded, then why should we complain? As far as the product's life cycle is concerned, there is nothing wrong.

Richard Butler, author of the TALC model, has emphasised that in fact already a long time before him, people knew that TAs emerge and then decline. For example, he has referred to a discussion in the press regarding the evolution of resorts (2005b), which took place in the 19th century. In the East European context, it is often appropriate to analyse the exploration stage of TAs in terms of German-inspired romantic nationalism. Viewed against this background, the exploration stage manifests itself in the ethnographers' and artists' search for the original home of their ethnic group (cf., e.g., Gellner 1994, 1995). In the cultural history of the Balto-Finnic peoples, we find movements such as Karelianism⁴², etc., whose adherents seek the origin or essence of their ethnicity. The current interest in the culture of Kihnu is of a similar kind. In Eastern Europe, however, the development of such 'forgotten' culturally distinctive regions along the TALC curve has been hindered due to political realities of the 20th century.

In Section 5.2.2, I observed that in Kihnu, the binary opposition 'good elite/cultural tourist' versus 'bad mass/alcohol tourist' is not supported by empirical data. Such an opposition can also be criticised for its ahistoricity and socio-cultural blindness – it is difficult to deny a succession of different tourist groups in TAs.

Adopting a time series rather than cross-sectional perspective, should we be looking at a youthful Elvis or the Elvis approaching middle age? Both were 'real' (...) In much the same way, to aficionados of travel, the traveller and the travel experience are held in high esteem, above reproach, whereas the tourist and mass tourism are worthy of only ridicule and scorn. But isn't the very

42 Karelianism was a historical movement in Finnish art and culture at the turn of the 20th century, which advocated searching for the cultural roots of the Finnish people in Karelia, the nation's 'original home' which was supposed to be 'unspoiled' by Western civilization. Of the most notable artists supportive of the movement, mention should be made of the composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) and the painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931). The influence of Karelianism can also be detected later in the works of artists outside Finland, e.g., the Estonian artist Kaljo Põllu (1934–2010) at the end of the 20th century.

same traveller the vanguard of the tourist, the harbinger of change/decline?

Wheeller 2005, p. 345

For the same reason, we should acknowledge the role of Estonia's cultural vanguard in shaping Kihnu as a tourist destination and in influencing the island's subsequent development, which corresponds to the cultural production model outlined in article III (Table 3).

6.2.1. The position and prospects of Kihnu in TALC model

Although according to several signs the Kihnu TA currently finds itself in the stagnation phase of the TALC curve, it is not possible to predict with any certainty whether and how soon this will also result in the degeneration of the island's tourism industry. Several authors have preferred to call the 'stagnation phase' a maturity stage, drawing attention to the fact that it is precisely in that phase that the TA acquires an unequalled measure of diversity and complexity, such as to make it possible for different stages of tourism industry to coexist in the maturity stage (Hovinen 2005). On the other hand, it has been warned that in the late stages of TALC, area of benefits becomes scattered outside the particular destination, whereas the area of costs becomes increasingly concentrated in the destination. High prices concomitant with the exclusiveness of a destination tend to turn the TA into a tourism monoculture (Russo 2005, pp. 143–144) – a tendency which is also perceptible in Kihnu.

The data available in respect of Kihnu as a TA and a cultural environment give rise to ambivalent assessments. Although sightseeing tourism sustains the ferry connection which is also of great importance to local residents, at the same time it favours day-tripping and self-catering, such that tourists spend the best part of their money on the continent, while costs (related to infrastructure, environment, advertising, etc.) are left to be borne by the island's community, including its tourism entrepreneurs. The elite-oriented cultural tourism in Kihnu also seems to require increasing investments both in tangible infrastructure and in intellectual capital (cf Malcolm-Davies 1993, p. 179). The institutionalisation of culture undermines the authenticity and 'wilderness' factor of the cultural environment as a tourist product, and reduces the community's motivation to invest in farming – for example, by traditional land cultivation, thus reducing the 'sightseeing value' of the island for cultural tourists and for excursionists as well.

In Kihnu, several tourism products compete with each other. The distinction between excursionist and cultural tourism as described above is itself a considerable generalisation whose empirical validity is easily questioned. Thus, tourists do not uniformly polarise into one or the other group, and there are more and more ‘channel surfers’ among them (cf. Malcolm-Davies 2005, p. 178) – it is with increasing frequency that tourism managers find themselves in situations where they need to provide a tourism client with wilderness, wi-fi Internet access and hot shower all at the same time. In principle, on the basis of the Kihnu TA it seems to be possible to develop entirely new tourism products in which the cultural environment of Kihnu no longer plays a central role – as the Amish culture is no longer the principal attraction in the Lancaster County in USA (Hovinen 2005, p. 75).

6.3. Women’s crafts and men’s work: implications for crafts-related institutions and policies

One of the most salient and unexpected results of the survey conducted among the artisans in Viljandi county in 2008 (see article **IV**) was the realisation that we are lacking a reasonably clear concept of the crafts in contemporary Estonia. According to a relatively widespread interpretation, the notion of crafts is identified with women’s handicrafts, which are pursued as a hobby or as an auxiliary source of income. The work, for instance, of a mason or a roofer is today described in common parlance as simply ‘men’s work’ and not a ‘craft’.

Although the association of traditional crafts with women’s work is not unique to post-Soviet countries (see e.g. Korhonen & Alitalo 2006), Soviet legacy has definitely played a role in shaping this trend. As it was, up to the very end of the Soviet period (1991) and to a lesser extent also later, there was a considerable social and economic demand for the services traditionally provided by male artisans. In a free market, artisans practising one of the building trades now have to compete with the abundant and often low-priced wares of international chains of hardware stores (such as Bauhaus and K-Rauta in Estonia). Artisans’ survival in this new environment depends on the flexibility and adaptability of their services, on informal customer relations, etc. However, in many cases traditional crafts are in the process of becoming a conscious (life)style choice for both the customer and the artisan.

In the context of the present topic, the common perception of many crafts as simply 'men's work' limits the validity of a number of crafts studies, since they deal with women's crafts and craftswomen. Our experience in collecting information about individuals possessing inherited skills in Viljandi county hopefully provides a better insight into the world of craftsmen (male artisans) with its peculiar features. As such, it should provide valuable information for involving artisans who practise woodworking and building crafts in the corresponding programmes of educational institutions, and should also have certain implications regarding the integration of craftsmen practising other crafts and of their know-how into various training activities and projects. For example, when recruiting practising male artisans into cooperative arrangements with educational institutions, care must be taken to remain sensitive to their self-image as serious, no-nonsense workmen, which might make them averse to adopting the professional cultural of educational workers. Likewise, training events involving them as instructors should be held in their everyday environment or as close to it as possible and in conditions as similar as possible – a requirement not easy to be reconciled with current institutional routines. A possible solution could lie in the offering of vocational education programmes and courses in diverse and flexible forms such as *in situ* apprenticeship training, e-learning or even in forms of remote (physical) work⁴³ – policies promising in terms of regional development, but so far constrained by the organisational and managerial difficulties involved.

43 See for instance the experience of the project PROLOG (Log construction training in the Nordic and the Baltic countries: PROLOG final report. Seinäjoen ammattikorkeakoulun julkaisusarjat [51], <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-5863-71-0>).

7. CONCLUSIONS

European landscapes and the communities that inhabit those landscapes are currently experiencing a situation in which production-intensive agriculture is no longer top of the political agenda and agricultural production in many rural areas has been reduced to a marginal source of income and employment. The basic elements of countryside settings – i.e. the environment, scenic landscapes, heritage, local customs and products – are now approached by the European societies in a way that pays almost no heed at all to their original productive or other practical functions and development history. The EU's support of this process is evident in the corresponding funding programmes (e.g., LEADER).

Whatever our attitude to this 'post-productivist transition', it is clear that countryside landscapes, local knowledge and skills have been placed in a novel context and that their use as a new resource is reshaping rural life and cultural heritage. Against this background it becomes important to rethink the meaning of the elements of rurality and of the corresponding policies. It is to this rethinking effort that the present thesis has tried to make its contribution.

The main conclusions of the present thesis are:

- Estonian landscape value discourse prioritises the academic and touristic/commodifiable properties of landscapes over properties relevant for immobile social groups (I).
- There exists a shared rhetorical space in Estonian landscape value discourse that appears to be flexible enough to express contradictory aims and values. Thus, it is doubtful whether a common stock of rhetorical devices can constitute a valid basis for formulating a body of guidelines for environmental planning (I).
- The interpretive analysis of official planning texts and interviews with different local actors indicate that issues concerning tourism are perceived as highly sensitive, often resulting in euphemistic definitions of problems and of development priorities in the field. The fundamental concepts and oppositions of the current development discourse, such as, for instance, “cultural tourism” versus “mass tourism”, proved to be constructed on implicitly ideological or other deliberate grounds, and empirically unjustifiable (II).
- Currently available information is insufficient for validly assessing

the influence of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu. At the moment, only preliminary evaluations can be fielded concerning the influence of tourism on the cultural environment of the island. These evaluations, involving certain exploratory indicators, have been published in order to raise initial questions and facilitate the formulation of working hypotheses (II).

- Heritage as such cannot be ‘objectively’ perceived – its definition is shaped by the local community (III).
- People are not passive recipients or carriers of heritage – instead, they should be regarded as active managers motivated by their contemporary goals (III).
- Heritage is a symbol of a social value system that is in constant transformation due to changes in the tangible and intangible fabric of society – as such, heritage is a politically motivated selection from the past (III).
- Admitting the socially constructed nature of cultural heritage allows us to start a rational discussion on the subject and thus gives us an opportunity to let our heritage practices be guided by our best knowledge regarding their probable outcomes (III).
- Individuals engaged in traditionally male crafts tend to forgo advertising their products or services, often shun public attention and take a cautious attitude to any cooperative projects. However, recent economic downturn has had an encouraging effect on cooperation between the relevant institutions as well as between the artisans themselves (IV).
- Craftsmen’s identity usually includes a strong component of self-image as a skilled workman as opposed to cultural, educational and other strongly institutionalised professional cultures (IV).
- Many of the crafts addressed in the current study as well as and the artisans as individuals define themselves to a large extent through their proximate environment (family, home, regular customers, personal tools, local knowledge, etc.) (IV).
- Many rare trades and skills can never be transmitted through conventional forms of study for technical reasons or because of their incompatibility with the life situation of the potential student or trainer or both (age, job, household and family members who need to be supported, etc.) (IV).
- Traditional crafts appear to hold considerable potential for creating added value and offering real alternatives to conventional options of rural production (IV).

- In the current socio-economic and demographic conditions the present conservation management practices in limited management zones in Estonia's protected areas do not guarantee the sustainability of cultural landscapes, as human activity there is rapidly declining (V).
- According to the proposed methodology for assessing the viability of settlements, protection restrictions could be relieved around approximately 20% of settlements situated in Estonia's protected areas, altogether 46 villages and hamlets (V).

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

The main recommendations of the present thesis are:

- Landscape evaluation and management should be based on values that are fundamentally life- and sustainability-centred. The corresponding shift of perspective could be achieved by adopting a conceptual framework of living landscapes characterised by features such as self-containment, multi-functionality, integrity, continuity, dynamism, and customary use (I).
- As environmental impact can only be assessed in relation to certain socially defined objectives, further discussion is needed with respect to the development objectives, priorities and general development discourse concerning the cultural environment of Kihnu (e.g., the desirable proportion of tourism in the island economy, measurable indicators of TACP) (II).
- To carry out repeat research and monitoring on a regular basis using methodology comparable to the already existing studies concerning the impact of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu (II).
- The part of cultural heritage of special relevance to Estonia's protected areas consists in local use of the natural environment—and the outcomes of such use—in ways that support the specifically protective aims of the particular area (III).
- The protection of cultural heritage in protected areas should prioritise phenomena and features that are alive and functioning (i.e., in continual use) (III).
- Where necessary, local communities in protected areas should be granted special privileges in the use of natural resources (III, V).
- The determination of heritage features and preservation arrangements should be performed individually for each protected area (III).
- When involving craftsmen in the work of educational institutions, care must be taken to remain sensitive to their self-image and allow them to maintain it (IV).
- Any training events involving artisans as instructors should be held in their own environment or in an environment closely resembling their own (IV).
- Relevant institutions should give official recognition to informal crafts training (such as *in situ* apprenticeships, etc.) (IV).
- In order to guarantee permanent human settlement, and to preserve valuable rural landscapes at least partially, legal and practical restrictions imposed on human activity in the limited management zones of Estonia's protected areas should be relieved (V).

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⁴⁴ In this section, square brackets are used to present English translations of foreign-language titles or notes of the translator (e.g. [in Estonian], [in Finnish], etc.), except for dates of accessing Internet sources.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Kestlik kogukonnakorraldus: kultuuripärandiga seostuvate arendustegevuste peegeldusi Kihnu saarelt, Viljandi maakonnast ja Eesti kaitsealadelt

Eestis nagu mujalgi arenenud maailmas on põllumajandus taandumas järjest kõrvalisemaks maaelanike sissetuleku ja tööhõive allikaks. Euroopas, kus sajandite vältel kujunenud inimõjulised kooslused hõlmavad valdava osa maismaast, asetab see asjaolu loodus- ja muinsuskaitse pidevasse reformiseisundisse. Sel taustal on möödapääsmatu mõtestada kultuurimaastike ja laiemalt maaliste väärtuste kaitse kontseptuaalseid aluseid ning võtta kriitilise vaatluse alla vastava poliitika sisu, haldusala ja maht.

Käesolevas väitekirjas analüüsib autor Eesti loodus- ja muinsuskaitse kontseptuaalseid aluseid ja korralduslikke praktikaid. Käibivate ideoloogiate kriitilise analüüsi toel sünteesib autor maastikukorralduse jaoks alternatiivseid mõtlemisraamistikke, mis tugineksid elu- ja kestlikkuskesksetele väärtustele. Uute mõtlemisraamistike põhjal töötas autor välja praktilises maastikukorralduseks rakendatavaid juhtnõore, meetmeid ja protseduurikirjeldusi.

Eesti kaasaegse loodus- ja muinsuskaitse ideoloogilised lähtealused toetuvad paljuski „klassikalise“ antropoloogia ja etnograafia mõtteviisile, mille järgi oli etnograafilise uurimise olulisemaid ülesandeid tormiliste kultuurimuutuste ohvriks langenud „primitiivsete“ rahvaste ja kultuuride „pärandi“ dokumenteerimine ja talletamine eeldusel, et ilma sekumiseteta nood kaovad (nn päästmisideoloogia). Nii seisneb muinsus- ja looduskaitse tegevus oluliseks peetavate objektide, esemete, maastike, elupaikade jms kandmises pikkadesse kaitsealadeks. Niisugune „registreerimise paradigma“ näitab kasvutendentse kogu maailmas. Registreeringute ohtrus jätab osa keskkonnast normatiivse tähelepanu alt välja; lisab kulusid nii haldajaile (järelevalve) kui kasutajaile (nt ranged nõuded teevad hoolduse omanikele raskesti kättesaadavaks); soodustab majandustegevuse ja looduskaitse vastandamist; edendab kinnisvarahindade, sümbolväärtuse teisenemise ja regulatsioonide kaudu pigem kaitse- ja miljööalade suvilastumist kui kasutust traditsioonilises mõttes kultuurimaastikena. Väitekirja autor soovib läheneda loodus- ja kultuuripärandile dünaamilisemalt ja komplekssemalt ning asendada „päästmisideoloogia“ selliste (kaitse)tegevustega, mis keskenduvad kestlike majanduspraktikate arendamisele.

Käesolev väitekirjandus võtab vaatluse alla Karula rahvusparki ja teised Eesti kaitsealad, Kihnu saare ja Viljandi maakonna. Väitekirja esmaseks tõukepunktiks oli tellimustöö Karula rahvusparki ehituslike piirangute ja kaldakaitsevööndite määramiseks (2002), mis innustas analüüsima, millistest väärtustest, kontseptsioonidest ja põhimõtetest peaks lähtuma maa-arhitektuuri kaitsmisel, restaureerimisel ja uusehitustegevuse välja töötamisel. Kihnu saare osas uuris autor koos meeskonnaga saare kui UNESCO maailmapärandinimekirjas tunnustatud eripärase kultuuriruumi ja selle maastike turismitaluvust. Viljandi maakonnas uurisid autor ja tema meeskond laiema kogukonnaarendusprojekti raames meeskäsitööoskusi kui näidet alternatiivsest maamajanduslikust elatisest ja vaimsest kultuuripärandist. Eesti kaitsealade tarvis töötas autor välja kultuuripärandi kaitse aluspõhimõtted ning koos meeskonnaga metoodika kaitsealadel paikneva asustuse elujõulisuse hindamiseks. Autor tutvus asjakohaste regulatiivtekstidega, rakendas kaasavaid meetodeid, sooritas erinevates vormides välitöid (vaatlused, küsitlused, sihtrühmarutelud jms) ning töötas kogutud andmete põhjal välja vastavate alade kaitsekorraldusettepanekuid.

Metodoloogiliselt lähtub autor väitekirjas diskursuseanalüütilisest hoiakust, mille järgi et keel ei esita kunagi asju “nii, nagu need on”, vaid on aktiivne meedium, mille abil konstrueeritakse – ja mõjutatakse – reaalsust. Nii ei võeta uurimuses “Karula pärandmaastikke” või “Karula ehitustraditsioone” ainukehtiva “tõediskursusena”, vaid neid nähakse sotsiaalselt toodetud ja pidevalt uuendatavate määratlustena. Tõediskursuse konstrueerituse teadvustamine avab võimaluse tegelikkusekonstruktsioonide lammutamiseks ja ümberehitamiseks ning aitab teadvustada meid mõjutavaid „nähtamatuid“ ja harjumuspäraseid ideoloogiaid. Diskursuseanalüütilise hoiaku puhul ei käsitleta ka uurimistööd ennast järjest “õigemate” tegelikkuse kirjelduste tootmisena, vaid osalemisena sotsiaalses praktikas.

Samamoodi ei viita väitekirja läbiv mõiste *pärand* millelegi etteantule või muutumatule. See väga avara tähendusväljaga ja sõnatuletuslikult produktiivne mõiste tähistab käesoleva väitekirja raames minevikuainese kaasaegset kasutamist oleviku ja tuleviku huvides. Mingi nähtuse määramine kultuuripärandina sõltub konkreetsest vaatelejast, tema ümbrusest ja taotlustest. Käesoleva töö kontekstis tõstatisid olulisena küsimused pärandiga kaasnevate võimusuhte kohta (nt kellel peaks olema autoriteet määratleda maastike ja pärandi arendusprioriteete? Kuidas sedalaadi otsused suhestuvad maastike ja kultuuripärandi praktilise korraldustööga?) ning pärandi

konstrueerituse kohta (kuivõrd objektiivse iseloomuga on maastike ja kultuuripärandi väärtus? Kuivõrd on mõeldav ja mida tähendab maastiku autentse iseloomu kaitsemine? Milliseid maastike ja kultuuripärandi aspekte üldse saab korralduslikult mõjutada ja kuidas seda peaks tegema? Kuidas peaks tõlgendama kestlikkuse mõistet maastiku- ja pärandikorralduse puhul?). Kultuuripärandi ühiskondliku konstrueerituse teadvustamine avab võimalused ratsionaalseks aruteluks pärandipraktikate üle vastavalt paremale äratundmisele selle praktika tõenäoliste tagajärgede üle.

Käesoleva doktoritöö tulemusel selgus, et Eestis puudub üksmeel kultuurimaastike ja paljude teiste maaliste väärtuste väärtuskriteeriumite osas. Ehkki kasutusel on ühesugune retoorika, täidetakse seda erineva sisuga ning kasutatakse väga erinevate eesmärkide saavutamiseks. Maastiku ja arhitektuuri hindamisel kaldutakse vastandama loodust ja kultuuri ning kaitset ja majandust. Kanooniline retoorika kaldub eelistama mobiilsete (turistid, akadeemilised eksperdid) rühmade huve ja vaatenurka paiksete ees, esitledes maastikke kui ihaldusväärseid ja haruldasi vaatamisväärsusi. Autor pakub uue väärtustamiskonstruktsioonina välja elava maastiku kontseptsiooni, mis põhineb teoloog Uku Masingu (1909–1985) mõistel *elusamus*. Selle kohaselt on maastik kui elupaik seda väärtuslikum, mida parem on seal on elada ja mida rohkem elurikkust on sellesse võimalik lõimida. Hetkel valdav muinsus- ja looduskaitsekursus kujutab endast pigem selle vastandit, *nature morte*'i, mida iseloomustab lähenemine maastikele kui isoleeritud elementide jadale või esteetilisele kompositsioonile. Kõrvutust iseloomustab allolev tabel.

Elav maastik ja *nature morte*

ELAV MAASTIK	NATURE MORTE
eneseküllane – väärtus määratletakse paigapeal, “kohal” olemise kaudu	väärtus määratletakse väljastpoolt, külastamise kaudu
polüfunktsionaalne	funktsionaalsus valikuline (esteetiline vms valik), kompositsioon
kompleksne	komplitseeritud
pidev (ajas ja ruumis)	katkestatud (koosneb vaatamisväärsetest “objektidest”, “vaadetest” jms, esindab teatud ajaloo perioodi, maastiku “tüüpi” vms)
iseloomulikud tegevused: olemine, toimimine, minemine	iseloomulikud tegevused: peatumine, vaatamine, (ära) käimine
protsess	seisund
tava	traditsioon

Käesoleva väitekirja autor töötas välja Eesti kaitsealade kultuuripärandi hoiu kontseptsiooni, mille järgi maaelanikkonda kaitsealade kultuurimaastikel tuleb vaadelda ohustatud tõuna. Kontseptsioonis pole kultuuripärandit piiritletud väliste karakteristikute ja nimistute (nt arhitektuurimälestised, lubjaahjud, kiviaiad) või universaliseerivate tunnuste (nt tüüpiline, haruldane) kaudu, vaid süsteemse väärtuspõhise vaatena. Kontseptsiooni kohaselt tuleb kultuuripärandina mõista kaitsealadel territooriumiga otseselt seotud kohalikku looduskasutust, viimasega tunnetatavalt seotud konkreetset kohalikku elulaadi ja selle tulemusi. Traditsioonilise elatusviisi ja kohaliku kogukonna konfliktis muude majandusharude huvide ning arendustegevusega tuleb üldpõhimõttena eelistada esimesi.

Soovides lõimida vaimse kultuuripärandi kaitset konventsionaalsete maamajandusharude arendamisega püüdis autor välja töötada arendusplatvorme, mis sobitaksid kokku praktilised hariduskorralduslikud ja kogukondade majanduslikud vajadused. Väitekirja selgitab Viljandimaa meeskäsitöölise näitel, et paljusid kutseoskusi ei saa edasi kanda konventsionaalsete õpivormide kaudu, kuna meeskäsitöölised määratlevad end olulisel määral oma vahetu keskkonna kaudu (perekond, kodu, tavakliendid, isiklikud töövahendid, kohalik teadmus jms).

Kaitsealade demograafilise ja asustusanalüüsi ning küsitluste tulemusel selgus, et käesolev kaitsekorralduspraktika Eesti kaitsealadel ei taga antud sotsiaalmajanduslikes ja demograafilistes tingimustes kultuurimaastike kestlikkust, kuna inimtegevus on seal praktiliselt hääbumas. Inimtegevuse kui kultuurimaastike säilimise võtmeteguri kestva kohalolu tagamiseks on otstarbekas leevendada inimtegevuse õiguslikke ja praktilisi piiranguid kaitsealade piiranguvõõndeis. Väitekirja raames välja töötatud külade elujõulisuse hindamise meetoodika kohaselt on otstarbekas looduskaitselisi piiranguid leevendada kokku ca 20 % kaitsealadel paiknevaist asulaist.

Doktoritöö peamised ettepanekud:

- Maastike hindamine ja maastikukorraldus peaks põhinema fundamentaalsel elu- ja kestlikkuse kesksel väärtusel. Vastava hoiakumuutuse aluseks on soovitatav võtta elava maastiku kontseptsioon, mida iseloomustavad tunnused on eneseküllasus, multifunktsionaalsus, komplekssus, pidevus, tegevuslikkus ja tavapõhisus.
- Kuna keskkonnamõju saab hinnata ainult sotsiaalselt määratletud eesmärkide suhtes, siis on Kihnu kultuurikeskkonna osas vajalik jät-

kata diskussiooni arengueesmärkide ja prioriteetide üle ning edendada üldist arengudiskursust (nt turismi soovitatava osakaalu üle Kihnu majandusest, Kihnu kui turismisihtkoha seire indikaatorite kohta jms).

- Korraldada Kihnu kultuurikeskkonna turismitaluvuse hindamiseks regulaarselt olemasolevatega võrreldava metoodikaga kordusuuringuid ja seiret.
- Käsitleda Eesti kaitsealadesse puutuva kultuuripärandina kohaliku looduskasutuse ja selle tulemustega seotud kultuuripärandit, mis toetab konkreetse kaitseala kaitse-eesmärke.
- Toetada kaitsealadel kultuuripärandina esmajärjekorras nähtusi ja objekte, mis on elavas kasutuses.
- Anda kaitsealadel kohalikule kogukonnale loodusressursside kasutamisel vajadusel eelisõigusi.
- Määratleda kultuuripärandnähtused ja -objektid ning vastavad hoiu-meetmed iga kaitseala puhul eraldi vastavalt kohalikele eripäradele.
- Käsitöölise kaasamisel haridus- ja asutuste töösse arvestada hoolega nende enesekuvandiga, võimaldades neil sellest kinni pidada.
- Käsitöölise instruktoritena institutsioonide töösse kaasamisel korraldada kursused nende endi kodukeskkonnas või sellele lähedases keskkonnas.
- Asjakohased haridusasutused peaksid otsima viise mitteametliku (käsitöö)kutseõppe ametlikuks tunnustamiseks (nt õpipoisiõpi, tööko-hapõhine õpe jne).
- Püüasustuse kindlustamiseks ja väärtuslike maaliste kultuurmaastike kaitseks leevendada õiguslikke ja praktilisi looduskaitsepiiranguid Eesti kaitsealade piiranguvööndeis. Selleks võib rakendada mõnd järgnevat meetet või kombinatsioone neist: leevendada piiranguid olemasolevates piiranguvööndites; leevendada piiranguid olemasolevais piiranguvööndeis ohustatud asustusega külade kaupa; sekkuda maastikukorraldusse jõuliselt ülalt-alla (sihipäraselt valikulised toetused ja piirangud); rakendada toimi-toimimata-lähenemist (soovi-tava tegevuse vaikiv kontrolli alt välja jätmine).

Parts, P.-K. 2015

EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE:
NATURE MORTE OR LIVING LANDSCAPE?

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EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE: *NATURE MORTE* OR LIVING LANDSCAPE?

Priit-Kalev Parts

*If a country is governed wisely,
its inhabitants will be content.*

[...]

*And even though the next country is so close
that people can hear its roosters crowing and its dogs barking,
they are content to die of old age
without ever having gone to see it.*

Lao-tzu. Tao Te Ching, Chapter 80

Abstract

This paper examines the environmental values in Estonian landscape value discourse through the text of Estonian environmental legislation and the authorities' landscape management files. While sharing a common rhetorical space, these reflect a variety of conservation visions and are, consequently, employed towards different ends. One might say that Estonian conservation texts presuppose an impenetrable divide between culture and nature. It has become customary to reproduce certain currently predominant landscape values (e.g., sightseeing and historical value). The author argues that the dominant discourse of landscape value represents the views of mobile social groups in a way that marginalises the interests of the local community.

The paper also sketches an alternative conceptual framework for evaluating landscapes, using the metaphor *nature morte* to illustrate the predominant approach to landscape evaluation and proposing to counter-balance that approach with one based on the notion of *living landscape*. The features that characterise a living landscape are self-containment, multi-functionality, integrity, continuity, dynamism, and customary use, while *nature morte* is defined from the outside, being characterised by limited functionality, complicatedness, discontinuity, stasis and tradition.

Keywords: landscape evaluation; landscape planning; discourse analysis; living landscape; values

Introduction

In 2002 I was asked to prepare a set of recommendations regarding the protection regime of the Karula National Park¹ concerning, in particular, the extent of the waterfront protection zone and building restrictions in the park's territory (Parts 2002). As part of the background research, I visited all known farmsteads² (165 in total) on the territory of the park in order to assess their landscape value and natural environment value, the degree to which they reflected local building traditions, the conservation needs of water bodies located in or adjacent to their land, etc. When I was familiarising myself with the general situation in the area and learning about the building practices and previous management experience in Karula National Park, I noticed that new buildings in the park's territory, allegedly constructed 'in accordance with local traditions', actually differed significantly from the old ones that were still there (see Figures 1–6 for an instance of the contrast).



Fig. 1. A smoke sauna at Püssa farmstead, probably built in the beginning of the 20th century. Saunas in Estonia started to be equipped with chimneys at the end of the 19th century. The original smoke sauna tradition has persisted mainly in the outlying regions, including the territory of the Karula National Park. Because of the fire hazard they represented, saunas were usually constructed at a distance to other buildings. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)



Fig. 2. The smoke sauna at Pirrupuusaare was built in the 1990s and represents an example of the ‘second wave’ of smoke saunas and log home construction in Estonia. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)

The discrepancy aroused my curiosity. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the relevant context, I studied a number of texts dealing with protection of Estonian rural architecture and landscape. I discovered that there existed no consistent methodology or abiding agreement regarding the determination of the value of historical buildings and landscapes in the park. I realised that in order to do justice to the task I was entrusted with I would have to start by sketching a framework of values, beliefs and attitudes, upon which the building rules in Karula could be based. This framework would then serve as a foundation of value-based guidelines for future planners, decision-makers and other stakeholders.

Theory and methods

The values which underlie planners’ work often remain effectively disguised by the language they use. It is widely accepted in theoretical literature (for instance, Jones 2003, pp. 21–52) that language has a role in ‘making places’ (Tuan 1991) and that there is no “universal language’ of space [...] independent of practical activities and historically situated actors’ (Harvey 1994, p. 216) or a language that is ‘morally neutral’ (Tuan 1991, p. 694). Still, these realisations are very rarely taken seriously in practice. Yet, spatial concepts and the corresponding linguistic expressions certainly have an impact on social, political and economic realities



Fig. 3. The combined sauna/summerhouse at Pihlemäe (still in the process of construction in 2002 when this picture was taken) fits harmoniously into the discourse on the building traditions in Karula. Old smoke saunas in general tend to have a slim look – built of hewn logs, the height of their gable-end, as a rule, slightly exceeds their width (see Figure 1). They are usually located in a low spot, away from other structures, and evoke a parallel to a poor relation shunned by the main family. The ‘traditional saunas’ constructed at the turn of the millennium tend to be built of unhewn logs, using the (allegedly) ancient round-notch corner and leaving the overhangs to jut out at varying lengths. This is no longer a poor relation – we are looking at an architectural showpiece. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)

(Harvey 1994; Jones 2003). Thus, linguistic and other representations of space are not something innocent or indifferent, but ‘have the potential [...] to act as a material productive force’³ (Harvey 1994, p. 219).

The paper at hand focuses on how our understanding of concepts such as ‘heritage landscape’, ‘traditional architecture’, etc. and of the corresponding spatial practices is produced by their treatment in expert opinions, administrative and statutory texts which were relevant to my work for the Karula National Park. I chose discourse analysis as the method to investigate the production of space in the relevant Estonian context of landscape planning and conservation.

Discourse analysis is founded on the understanding that linguistic expressions do not represent things ‘as they are’ and that language is an active medium used to construct reality (Laclau & Mouffe 1999) or at



Fig. 4. There is little doubt that the dwelling house at Mäe-Mähkli (built in 1928) represents an instance of traditional architecture of Karula, although it does not belong to the oldest period from which specimens have been preserved – that of the 19th century barn-dwellings. The barn-dwelling is a type of farm dwelling unique to Estonia and North Latvia. Its particular feature is the fact that it had a double function – barn-dwellings were used both as a residence and as an agricultural production facility (for crop drying, threshing, etc.). The corresponding structural peculiarity of preserved barn dwellings is in most cases difficult to recognise because of repeated remodelling and various subsequent extensions, the aim of which was to give the barn-dwelling the appearance of more modern dwelling houses. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)

least a ‘detached commentary on reality’ (Burningham 1995, p. 96). In the analytical study of discourse, instead of searching for ‘absolute and objective truth’, one concentrates on how reality is constructed in social practices, including in scientific research (Foucault 1989). Research itself is understood not so much as *finding* some already existing social regularity but rather as the *making* of understanding in a rhetorical process of negotiation of meanings (Shotter 1990, pp. 157–160, emphasis in the original). Discourse analysis represents an active and creative approach to the subject matter of one’s research: it gives the researcher an opportunity to propose new ways of categorising and conceptualising social reality (Jokinen & Juhila 1991, p. 63).

A case study: analysis of the Estonian discourse of the value of landscapes

My choice of texts for the analysis stemmed from purely practical consid-



Fig. 5. The structural logs of the residential building at the farmstead of Sibula 2 originate from a log structure in the farm of the mother of the current owner of the Sibula 2 farmstead. They were brought to Sibula 2 in 1956, where they were reassembled and sided with silicate bricks, a highly popular construction material of the Soviet period. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)



Fig. 6. The cabin at Soesaare was built in the 1990s on a surge of euphoria that characterised the period when Estonia regained its independence and many family farms were re-established. It is somewhat difficult to situate this structure in the discourse on ‘the building traditions in Karula’. Yet, at the time this photograph was taken (2002) it served as the dwelling house / milk cooling facility for Karula’s last dairy cattle farmer who kept a considerable tract of land clear as pasture and, in so doing, effectively contributed to maintaining semi-open semi-natural ‘national landscapes’ – a priority protection goal of the Karula National Park. The structure served its residents for ten years, effectively functioning as an initial foothold that made it possible to maintain traditional land use and eventually to construct a ‘more sophisticated’ dwelling. (Photo: P.-K. Parts)

erations. These dictated the selection of those expert, administrative and statutory texts which were of direct relevance to my work for the Karula National Park (Parts 2002). The texts include legislation, management plans of various levels (plans for specific nature protection areas, county-wide protection plans, etc.), as well as expert opinions and inventories of cultural and natural heritage (see Table 1). In view of limitations on the length of this paper, discussion of the results of the analysis outlined here has been limited to a selection of illustrative examples (for additional details, see Parts 2003, 2004).

Table 1. Texts used in the present analysis of Estonian discourse of the value of landscapes.

1. <i>Kaitstavate loodusobjektide seadus</i> [Protected Objects of Nature Act] ⁴ .
2. <i>Muinsuskaitseadus</i> [Heritage Conservation Act]
3. <i>Planeerimiseadus</i> [Planning Act]
4. <i>Ehitusseadus</i> [Building Act]
5. <i>Säästva arengu seadus</i> [Sustainable Development Act]
6. <i>Väärtuslike maastike määramine. Metoodika ja kogemused Viljandi maakonnas</i> [Identifying Valuable Landscapes. Methodology and Experience in Viljandi County] (Methodology)
7. <i>Lahemaa rahvusparki maastike planeerimine ja arhitektuurinõuded rahvusparki kaitsekorralduskava väljatöötamiseks</i> [Landscape planning and architectural requirements for developing the protection management plan of Lahemaa National Park] (Merila 2002)
8. <i>Kultuuripärandi ja traditsioonilise elulaadi kaitse. – Kaitseala kaitsekorralduskava koostamise juhised.</i> [Protection of cultural heritage and traditional lifestyle, in <i>Guidelines for drafting protection management plans for protected areas</i>] (Eller & Tomson 2002)
9. <i>Koguva muinsuskaitseala ekspertiis</i> [Expert Assessment of Koguva Heritage Protection Area]
10. <i>Karula Rahvusparki piires asuva arhitektuuri, ajaloo- ja kultuuripärandi inventeerimise aruanne</i> [Inventory Report on the Architectural, Historical and Cultural Heritage of Karula National Park] (Eller 1999)
11. <i>Karula Rahvusparki kaitsekorralduskava aastateks 2001–2005</i> [Protection Management Plan of Karula National Park 2001–2005]

The texts studied revealed an abiding rhetorical core in the Estonian landscape value discourse, i.e. certain words and views that appear in nearly all relevant texts. Henceforth I will refer to them as ‘canonical vocabulary’ (see Table 2). This core vocabulary mostly stems from the environmental legislation enacted in Estonia. The wording in current legislation is often very general, offering endless possibilities for interpre-

tation and, to a certain extent, for manipulation. From a general point of view, one might say that environmental law in Estonia presupposes a fundamental divide between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’. The rules established to govern the interaction of humans with ecosystems, species, habitats and natural landscapes pay almost no attention to cultural aspects of landscapes. Since, in respect of the majority of protection areas, the law lays down a general prohibition of commercial activities, the agricultural activities required to maintain semi-natural ecosystems have had to be redefined as non-commercial (cf s. 3 of the *Kaitstavate loodusobjektide seadus*, subsequently s. 7 of the *Looduskaitse seadus*, see endnote 4 for details). This creates a system of meanings in which commercial activities are seen as inherently harmful to ‘nature’. If it remains unquestioned, such a belief will continue to reinforce commercial activities that are harmful to the environment – by cultivating the assumption that commercial activities cannot but harm the environment, it begs the (somewhat cynical) conclusion that, in practical terms, sustainable economy is utter nonsense.

The applied texts of Estonian spatial discourse that I analysed follow the rhetorical framework of official environmental policy with remarkable regularity, occasionally making use of interpretation possibilities created by the ambivalence inherent in the terminology and the semantics of the canonical vocabulary. While performing evaluations of objects of nature and natural landscapes during fieldwork, it has become customary for experts and civil servants with responsibilities in the field to reproduce and reinforce the dominant values stemming from heritage texts that foreground *sight-seeing*, *viewing*, *open spaces* and *historical value* (see Merila 2002, Methodology; for a more detailed analysis, see Parts 2004, pp. 244–256).

Estonian policy-makers seem to agree on the importance of preserving symbolic connections that possess a historical value and represent links to the country’s past, although they have been unable to agree on an exact definition of a ‘Golden Age’ to which our understanding of ‘traditional’ could then be anchored. At the same time, focusing on the historical value of artefacts and landscapes creates the need to invent convoluted phrases such as ‘a landscape reminiscent of traditional landscapes’ (Methodology, section 1.2.1.).

The general ideology of research surveys and of the conservation criteria used in these surveys tends to marginalise the interests of local communities. For instance, let us briefly analyse the powerful model text 'Identifying Valuable Landscapes. Methodology and Experience in Viljandi County'⁵ (hereinafter, the Methodology), a brief outline of which has also been published in English (Alumäe *et al.* 2003, see also Palang *et al.* 2011). The authors of the Methodology used the following five values to identify valuable landscapes: natural value, aesthetic value, identity value, cultural history value, and recreational value (Alumäe *et al.* 2003, p. 130). As set out in the full text of the Methodology, the overall value of a landscape increases with the number of specific values it can be associated with. Landscapes which exemplify only one or two values are assigned the inferior status of 'reserve areas' (Methodology, section 2.2). As a matter of fact, only the identity value can be regarded as reflecting the interests of the local community⁶. This makes it quantifiably evident that, under the Methodology, in practical terms the interests of local communities are excluded from consideration in the process of compiling lists of valuable landscapes (for further details, see Parts 2004).

Furthermore, in their background research preceding the formulation of the Methodology, its authors have clearly been selective in their choice of interviewees⁷. At the same time they appear to have experienced considerable difficulties to obtain any usable information from the survey conducted among schoolchildren and casually chosen local people. Their frustration is reflected in their criticism of what to this author appears to be adequately summed up as 'ignorant local inhabitants'⁸ (Methodology, section 1.6.2). Yet what the authors seem to have failed to consider is the likely possibility that, for a lay person, the language employed in the questionnaires used for the survey, including the concept of 'landscape', is simply far too abstract and devoid of any practical meaning⁹.

Academisation and commodification of landscapes: two general trends in landscape planning and conservation in Estonia

At this stage, it is appropriate to continue with the interpretation of Estonian landscape discourse by considering what kinds of landscape are produced by employment of the canonical vocabulary referred to above. For this purpose, I have presented the vocabulary used in the texts I studied in a structured manner (see Table 2).

Table 2. Canonical vocabulary used in the production of landscapes in Estonia.

The product of the particular representation of space	Academic landscape	Landscape for mobile social groups (tourists, including academics, etc.)	Landscape for sedentary social groups (local community, etc.)	Other possible landscapes
Vocabulary used to represent space	<i>historical, archaeological, ethnographic, urban, architectural, artistic, scientific, religious</i>	<i>typical, rare, unique</i> (terms used to market landscapes)	(not represented)	(not represented)
Socio-economic model supported by the particular representation of space	Academisation (transformation of landscape into an object of research)	Commodification (transformation of landscape into a commodity)	N/A	N/A

Such ubiquitously used terms as *historical, archaeological, ethnographic, urban, architectural, artistic, scientific, religious* can be regarded as representing the views of academics, while *typical, rare, unique* suggest the interests of mobile social groups, which includes academics, tourists and the tourist industry. These terms, however, are largely meaningless and confusing to the local communities, who, although they cannot be approached as homogeneous groups, in most cases, are neither interested nor used to, or perhaps have never had a chance to compare, for example, how *rare* their native places are by reference to others¹⁰.

Relying on the work of Asworth (1991), Graham *et al.* (2000) have described commodification (in their case, of heritage) as

... simply the creation of tradable commodities from resources, in this case selected elements from the past, which previously were not traded. ... Such a model has three main components – resources, products and markets; three processes – resource activation and maintenance, product assembly and marketing; and three main groups of actors – resource caretakers, product

assemblers and consumers of the experience. [...] The assembly process by which resources are converted into products is one of interpretation and packaging. [...] The end product, in this case various heritage packages, has a specific meaning which is not synonymous with the existing built environment, or even an aggregated set of buildings, spaces and cityscapes.

(Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 143–144)

As a result of uninformed acceptance of the canonical vocabulary listed above in Table 2, social debate on the value and use of landscapes has effectively become restricted to identifying the sector of the tourism market (e.g. domestic or international tourism, mass tourism or eco-tourism, etc.) in which a particular landscape can best be marketed (see also Hall & Richards 2000).

The workings of this mechanism can be exposed by the following analysis. In referring to the country's sights, expert opinions in Estonia tend to use attributes such as *typical*, *unique*, *rare*, etc. These adjectives are implicitly (or sometimes explicitly¹¹ (Merila 2002, p. 11)) expected to work as an effective marketing vocabulary. For example, the values these adjectives represent can easily be opposed to *material values* because of the claim they have to moral superiority. Their use conveys a suggestion that enjoyment of the beauty of nature and of historical sights is a refined cultural pursuit which ranks above simple consumption of tangible/material goods (Merila 2002, p. 5). The creation of such a contrast, in its turn, tacitly elevates landscapes to the status of a rarefied, superior and desirable commodity.

In addition to commodification, I propose to distinguish a parallel process which I have dubbed *academisation* (see Table 2). The description of landscapes as *historical*, *archaeological*, etc., stakes out new research areas for the academic community or protects the existing ones. Academisation in this context means that, from a broad range of researchable objects or phenomena, one or several are selected as (potential) subject matter of research. In the case of landscapes, the range of researchable objects encompasses various features of the upper physical layer of the surface of the Earth, or the mental constructs associated with particular geographical locations. In most cases, academisation functions as a preparatory stage for commodification and is, therefore, a necessary part of the tourism industries¹².

Thus, one should note a shared rhetorical space in Estonian landscape value discourse. Even if participants of that discourse champion widely different aims and interests, and even though some of them can safely be said to resist dominant views¹³ – for example, for different actors, the referent of the ‘Golden Age’ may be one or the other historical period, the market sectors that are targeted by the envisaged activity might differ, as does their readiness to market/package and ‘sell’ landscapes – they still use the same core vocabulary to argue their point. Hence, this rhetorical space appears to be flexible, although we may assume that it makes access to the process of production and legitimisation of cultural values and norms easier for certain social groups. Thus, it is questionable whether a common stock of rhetorical devices can constitute a valid basis for formulating a body of guidelines for Estonian planners and environmental managers, or whether formulating such guidelines in such a situation should be regarded as a meaningful aim at all.

Constructing an alternative approach to landscape evaluation: living landscape

Alongside the intensifying ‘heritage crusade’¹⁴, conventional ways of conservation seem to stir growing uneasiness both in the professional audience and the general public. New types of heritage, habitats, landscapes, etc. are declared worthy of protection and preservation, and the general trend in conservation policy seems to be one of increasing democratic involvement and inclusiveness. Heritage now includes anything from Mesozoic monsters to Marilyn Monroe (Lowenthal 1996, p. 21), yet such a proliferation of protectable objects/practices¹⁵ cannot go on unchecked, since even mere designating, labelling and archiving requires resources, which, as we know, are inevitably limited.

In recognition of the unsustainability of a ‘heritage crusade’ type of policy in the long term, several new approaches have been proposed. A shared feature of all these approaches is that they endeavour to integrate change into landscape management and development models. Graham Fairclough, for example, describes one of the most successful of such models, Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC), as accepting that ‘... change should not be stopped [...], but it should whenever possible [...] be guided into sustainable and historically sensitive directions’ (Fairclough 2003, p. 300)¹⁶.

The sustainability of conservationism itself is another widely discussed topic (see, for example, Gustafsson and Peterson 2003). A growing trend is to search for more place-bounded, endogenous, non-universalistic ways for thinking about and managing landscapes, as well as to strike a balance between regional, national and international interests (Jackson 1984; Virtanen 2000; Jauhiainen 2003; van Mansvelt & Pedroli 2003).

Still, the paradigm that encourages the proliferation of protectables, and implicitly or explicitly divorces culture from nature by prioritising physical appearances and exclusively ecological purposes remains widespread, if not dominant. Actually, the notion of 'traditional landscape' (see, e.g., Antrop 2005), a fundamental concept for most of landscape research, derives, as Kenneth Olwig puts it, from the declensionist narrative of traditional society:

The paradise myth [...] is built, firstly, on the surprisingly pervasive assumption that there is a natural parallel between the childhood and youth of society and the childhood and youth of the individual. And, secondly, it is built on the related assumption that in the natural state of childhood, or of primitive existence, we behave spontaneously according to natural principles. In the state of adulthood, and social maturity, we must consciously learn the natural laws that once governed our behaviour without reflection. [...] By defining traditional society both as idyllic, unchanging and harmonious, and as the sadly outmoded and passive prisoner of a lost time, the way is paved for the purveyors of change to promote new and modern rationalities and sciences by which to organise the world and achieve power. [...] This idea, however, contains something of a self-fulfilling prophecy because it means that by destroying traditional society one proves that it is not viable and that it, therefore, necessarily must be replaced by a modern society [...]. The point is made even stronger if one is able to preserve remnants of this traditional society as musealised heritage, in order to illustrate the nostalgic contrast to the modern in all its inevitability.

(Olwig 2001, p. 345).

Kimmo Lapintie (1995) has proposed to use the term *nature morte* (still life) as an illustration of approaches based on visions of a musealised heritage landscape (in his case, of city-scape). Lapintie defines the term as 'aesthetically pleasant composition of elements detached from nature and history' (*id.*, p. 20). For the purposes of the present paper, other highly reductionist and static spatial concepts and models (e.g. purely educational, ecological, or other) are also included under the term.

Olwig warns us that ‘the very separation between research and interpretation, and between different disciplines [...], blinds us to the way in which scientific research, itself, is driven by interpretive narratives’ (Olwig 2001, p. 353), e.g., to a view that postulates the ineluctable decline of traditional societies and respective spatial practices. However, mere *ex post* deconstruction of problematic concepts, discourses or narratives is not enough because of the proactive nature of landscape and other types of planning. New spatial concepts need to be developed in order, as Jack Ahern expresses it, ‘to bridge the gap between the present and the desired future situation’ (Ahern 1999, p. 22). Ahern has also noted that ‘there is an essential element of creativity in the design of spatial concepts. They represent an interface of empirical and intuitive knowledge. If human intellectual and spiritual activities are accepted as valid ecological elements, clearly spatial concepts are legitimate part of the planning process’ (Ahern 1999, p. 22).

The fact that an organism and its environment are inseparable is widely accepted in ecology (see, for instance, Vos & Opdam 1993) and ecophilosophy¹⁷ (Kvaløy 1993; Naess 1995; Arntzen 2002). This creates the need for a descriptive and prescriptive spatial language that would allow us to talk about culture, human society and the physical environment as a continuum. As for landscapes, the number of those that are not ‘cultural’ – at least to a certain degree – is probably very small (Keisteri 1990; Jones 1991; Arntzen 2002). By accepting the fact of human involvement in any landscape, the notion of ‘cultural landscape’ becomes a continuous space exhibiting an uninterrupted fabric of cultural meanings and norms, instead of scattered constellations of objects and locations designated as worthy of protection.

In light of the above arguments, I propose an alternative approach for evaluating cultural landscapes. In fact, the approach applies to any environment incorporating a human impact. It is based on the notion of **living landscape** (the term is borrowed from the Norwegian philosopher Sigmund Kvaløy (Arntzen 2002)). In Table 3, I present and elaborate a series of terms and notions that underlie the concept of ‘living landscape’ and that hopefully will provide landscape planners with practical clues as to how the ‘livingness’ of a landscape may be determined, and how the norms and values of the next, instrumental level, may be derived from it. Yet, before I proceed to deal with these terms and notions, we need to postulate, as Arne Naess (1995, p. 68–86) suggests, the basic value on which the concept of living landscape is founded.

The concept of living landscape is based on the notion and ethical imperative of *elusamus* (a loose English translation of which would be ‘heightened sense of alive-ness’¹⁸) used by the Estonian theologian, philosopher, linguist and writer Uku Masing (Masing 1998, p. 134). *Elusamus* means being more alive, both in the sense of having alert senses and an inquisitive mind, and of using these to broaden the human world to include the worlds of other sentient beings in order to realise the full capacity of a human being to live within a place. Uku Masing writes that ‘... the purpose of life lies in the quality of life itself and not in the quantitative augmentation of any particular manifestation of life’ (Masing 1998, p. 134, translation by P.–K. Parts).

In my work in the Karula National Park, I used the notion of *elupai-gaväärtus* [habitat value] as the basis of my evaluation of farmsteads (Parts 2002). The higher a farm’s potential for sustaining a high quality of life for its inhabitants, the greater the farm’s habitat value. The notion contains a reference to the ecological term ‘habitat’ and should thus help to place the conservation of nature and human culture on a common footing¹⁹.

In order to elucidate the concept of living landscape, I have contrasted it with *nature morte* in Table 3²⁰.

Table 3. ‘Living landscape’ contrasted with *nature morte*¹

LIVING LANDSCAPE	NATURE MORTE
process	state
complex illustrative sentence: <i>The sawmill is such a calm place at weekends that young folk often use it to sunbathe and just to hang out.</i>	complicated illustrative sentences: <i>In the course of creating additions to parks at the end of the 19th century, many new forms of small architecture appeared. [...] The landscape park of Palmse is especially rich in such features. (Brafmann 1980, p. 23)</i>
<i>eneseküllane</i> [self-sufficient] – the value of a place is assigned locally, by living in it illustrative sentences: <i>It’s a good fishing place. My grandfather used to have a hay-shed here once. (Expressed with certain nostalgia and warmth.)</i>	value is assigned from outside, during visits illustrative sentences: <i>What we are observing here is a natural monument of European importance. X is unique in the whole county.</i>

1 The illustrative sentences presented in Table 3 without a reference are constructed on the basis of my personal experience, i.e. they are not actually recorded utterances.

<p>multifunctional illustrative sentences: <i>Yeah, it's the forest that sustains me during winter-time. I get my firewood from the forest, and the children like to build their cabins there.</i></p>	<p>selective functionality (aesthetic and other preferences), composition illustrative sentences: <i>This building here is one of the finest specimens of art nouveau manor architecture in Estonia. From a dendrological perspective, this park is a most interesting specimen because of its exceptionally rich and rare composition of species.</i> (Brafmann 1980, p. 25)</p>
<p>continuous (in time and space) illustrative sentences: <i>Look over there, you know the spot where we got all those delicious woolly milk caps, the quarry is right across there ... they're building a summer-house there now. The manor-house is now a school and they've also built a new gym there.</i></p>	<p>discontinuous, fragmentary space (consisting of discreet sightseeing objects, views, scenery, etc., representing landscapes of a preferred historical period) illustrative sentences: <i>The most spectacular sights of our county include... X is one of the finest specimens of the Baroque period...</i></p>
<p>characteristic activities: being, doing everyday chores, working, moving in familiar neighbourhood illustrative sentence: <i>I usually walk to work through the old castle ruins.</i></p>	<p>characteristic activities: making a trip, taking a tour, spending a holiday; stopping, viewing, enjoying beautiful scenery illustrative sentence: <i>We visited an old castle on a school trip.</i></p>
<p>custom (acceptance of change, decay, and obsolescence as natural phenomena) illustrative sentence: <i>Village boys are now playing football where in the old days people used to dry their fishing nets.</i></p>	<p>tradition (accumulation of artifacts and knowledge, resistance to change, freeze-frame aesthetics) illustrative sentence: <i>No off-hand or unauthorised work or repairs may be performed upon ancient structures or sites that have resisted Father Time...</i> (Merila 2002, p. 11)</p>

Sven Arntzen, relying on Kvaløy, has described a living landscape ‘as a manifestation of a way of life that coheres with the land itself’ (Arntzen 2002, p. 36). That definition is unfortunately too vague and overly general – it leaves too many possibilities for interpretation and is thus of little practical use. Kvaløy’s concepts of **complexity** and **complication** – which I will use here in their original sense – appear much more useful. Complexity is ‘dynamic, irreversible, self-steering, goal-directed, conflict-fertilised manifoldness of nature...’ Complication is ‘the static, reversible, externally steered, standardising structure-intricacy of the machine’²¹ (Kvaløy 1993, pp. 122–123). For Kvaløy, complexity is holistic, whereas complication is atomic. Sven Arntzen has proposed the following

elucidation of Kvaløy's concepts:

Complication is division and specialization of lives and functions: working life and leisure or play are essentially distinct; work itself is specialized in its procedure and goal ... [T]o preserve complexity [of a cultural landscape – P.-K. Parts] is to maintain the integration and dynamic reciprocal relationship of humans and land, of culture and nature.

(Arntzen 2002, p. 37).

Self-sufficiency²² refers here to cultural and economic autonomy of a local community, which relies on its own local natural, social and technical (e.g. infrastructure) resources. Such concepts as local identity, viability, meaningful work²³ and economic well-being are integral components of the notion of self-sufficiency. By contrast, landscapes that are largely dependent on subsidies, whose public image (and whose inhabitants' self-esteem) depends on the external appreciation of one or another of their characteristics – which are often irrelevant from the point of view of local life – are definitely less self-sufficient and hence less valuable²⁴.

The economic subsistence aspect of self-sufficiency can be operationalised by means of the concept of sustainable livelihood. Chambers & Conway (1991) have defined livelihood as follows:

... a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living; a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.

(Chambers & Conway 1991, p. 6)

Multifunctionality refers to multiple possible uses of a landscape, site or artefact. It means that aesthetical or strictly ecological aspects are not the only ones that determine the value of a landscape. For example, historical buildings need to be considered in their full functional and social context. Aesthetic, historical, and other similar values are not alien to such a consideration – they simply play a relatively minor role in it. The full value of a building will not be realised if it does not preserve its organic social function in the context of the surrounding community. In

this perspective, buildings and structures need to be a functional part of the surrounding landscape, whether they are traditional or modern.

For the purposes of the present discussion, the term ‘**continuity**’ serves to provide an insight into the inhabitants’ perception of space. It suggests that the inhabitants do not experience their environment as a string of sights, objects and monuments, but as a spatial continuum in which they move, work and function.

There are also other aspects of continuity. Above, I have already discussed the need to conceive of space as a continuous fabric of cultural meanings and norms. The notion of continuity, as I have used it here, also includes a temporal aspect. In practical terms, it means that a landscape or an artefact is not evaluated as a ‘typical representative’ of some isolated era or event, but as part of a continuing process²⁵. In the realm of aesthetics, it means acceptance of decay and death as preconditions for continuation of life.

In order to avoid the trap of declensionism, Kenneth Olwig has made a useful conceptual distinction which allows us to include change in our interpretive models. This is the distinction between tradition and custom:

Custom gives community possession of its past because it is based upon the idea of ‘time out of mind’ which, in practice, means that aspects of the past can be conveniently forgotten and reinterpreted according to the contemporary situation. Tradition, by contrast, creates a situation in which people become, as it were, possessed by a given past.²⁶

(Olwig 2001, p. 346)

Hence, in a living landscape, the changes required by life are made out of respect for custom.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have described what I see as the dominant trends of the Estonian landscape value discourse. I have summarised these figuratively as a discourse of *nature morte* – a metaphor which is likely to have a relevance that extends beyond the Estonian context. In contrast to *nature morte*, I have proposed the approach founded on the notion of living landscape, which is based on fundamentally life-centered values. Despite

their logical antitheticality, I do not suggest that, in practical landscape management, these two concepts should be intractably opposed to each other. Living landscape and *nature morte*, as I see it, instead, are connected by a continuum of differing degrees of livingness²⁷. In practice, the relationship between the two could be characterised as one of continuous competition and negotiation²⁸. In some cases or areas of planning, the arguments of living landscape will prevail, in other cases, the scales will tip in favour of *nature morte* (in traffic planning, for example). In any event, searching for ways of implementing, in the field of landscape management often dominated by *nature morte* type of approaches, the concept of *elusamus* elaborated by the Estonian theologian Uku Masing (as well as similar ideas of many other writers and theorists referred to above) remains an aim that is both beautiful and inspirational.

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Explanatory notes

- 1 To display an English-language version of the homepage of the Karula National Park, direct your browser to <http://www.keskkonnaamet.ee/karula-eng> (accessed 21 June 2011).
- 2 To be precise, not every single built-on plot that was on the assessment list would automatically qualify as a farm – there was also a clubhouse of farm workers, a manor complex, a school, a viewing tower, a church, a livestock barn of the local collective farm, several summer cottages, a shop, etc. Many of the buildings and building complexes had had a variety of functions and their original or proper function is debatable or at least very difficult to identify (for instance, because of later remodelling or subsequently constructed annexes, or because of the fact that only ruins remained of the original structure, etc.). For the purposes of the present discussion, the designation ‘farmstead’ still appears justified, since the proportion of buildings that did not qualify as typical farmsteads was approximately 10%.
- 3 David Harvey describes the production of space by distinguishing between three kinds of spatial practices:
 - 1 *Material spatial practice refers to the physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions that occur in and across the space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction.*
 - 2 *Representations of space encompass all of the signs and significations, codes and knowledge, that allow such material practices to be talked about and understood, no matter whether in terms of everyday common-sense or through the sometimes arcane jargon of the academic disciplines that deal with spatial practices (engineering, architecture, geography, planning, social ecology, and the like).*
 - 3 *Spaces of representation are mental inventions (codes, signs, ‘spatial discourses,’ utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments, paintings, museums, and the like) that imagine new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices.* (Harvey 1994, pp. 218–219)
- 4 The Act was in force at the time that the Karula study (Parts 2002) was conducted. Its material provisions have since then been re-enacted as the *Looduskaitseadus* (Nature Protection Act, adopted 21 April 2004), which, however, does not embody any rules that require a special mention for the purposes of the present article.
- 5 The text derives its authority from the fact that it is presented on the homepage of the Estonian Ministry of the Environment as a model methodology for drawing up county-wide spatial plans.
- 6 Identity value is in part interpreted as a *genius loci*, which means that the extent to which it actually represents the point of view of the locals is open to question. For instance, it could be asked, whose *genius loci* is denoted by the value, because there can be several *genii locorum* (see, for example, Jauhiainen 2003, p. 398), or more faithfully, *genii loci*. John Jackson, for example, has made a distinction between political identity and the inhabitants’ identity (Jackson 1984, pp. 11–12). Although they may partly overlap, the Methodology is clearly biased in favour of the political one.

- 7 The Methodology is quite explicit in that regard, stating that the 25 interviews in the Viljandi county were conducted with 'municipality governors and other local officials, members of wildlife protection societies, community elders, farmers, other local activists and community patriots' (section 1.6.6, translation by P.-K. Parts).
- 8 The researchers' attitude to the local population is reflected in the patronising tenor of the summary of their research report: '[...] scant knowledge of their home municipality, as well as a lack of interest in it' (translation by P.-K. Parts) (Methodology, chapter 1.6.2).
- 9 Several years later, in an article summarising their efforts, the authors of the Methodology admitted that 'lay people ... didn't think of it [landscape, home municipality, their surroundings – P.-K. Parts] in terms of a holistic landscape with multiple values' (Alumäe et al. 2003, p. 134; see also Palang et al 2011, p. 23).
- 10 For a detailed discussion of local communities' experience of and preferences in relation to space, see, for example, Relph 1976; Mikkelsen 1995. For a comparison of direct relevance to the topic of this paper and the Estonian context, see Alumäe et al. 2003; Kaur et al. 2004; Palang et al. 2011; for a discussion of relations between residents and the administration of the Karula National Park, see Rattus and Jääts 2004, pp. 127–128).
- 11 An expert, for example, has suggested that areas in which the presence of Soviet army stations caused considerable damage to the Estonian environment should be regarded as an opportunity and designated as landscapes of outstanding value (Merila 2002, p. 9). This can be interpreted as an explicit attempt to activate the tourism resource by means of formal landscape management.
- 12 According to the definition of World Tourism Organisation, 'The tourism industries designate the set of enterprises, establishments and other organizations one of whose principal activities is to provide goods and/or services to tourists' (Frechling 2001, p. 4).
- 13 There have been attempts in the Estonian landscape value discourse to reconcile conventional heritage values with the continuing changing of landscapes, and to protect local sustainable practices by more dynamic models of regulation. For example, it has been insisted that in protected areas, policy makers should also bear in mind synchronic considerations while assigning conservation value to traditional family farms (Eller and Tomson 1998).
- 14 The metaphor 'heritage crusade' is borrowed from the title of David Lowenthal's famous book *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Lowenthal 1996).
- 15 Gustafsson and Peterson have referred to this paradigm as an 'object-habitat perspective' (2003, p. 335). David Lowenthal (1996, 2004) has described the dangers of the paradigm if it is accompanied with endless accumulation: 'The glut causes chaos; reduced publication and maintenance funds make their expanded stocks ever less accessible' (2004, p. 38). And, 'The sheer magnitude of tangible mementos and documentary inhibits creative action. Worship of a bloated heritage invites passive reliance on received authority, stifles rational inquiry, replaces unpleasant reality with feel-good history, and saps creative innovation. And all too often it ignores the needs of local inhabitants whose involvement is essential' (2004, p. 39).

- 16 Similarly to HLC, the cultural environment programmes (*kulttuuriympäristöohjelma* in Finnish), where proactive aims are also made explicit, are implemented in Finland (e.g. Siis-tonen 1997; Kokkonen 1999) and other Nordic countries (Kulttuuriympäristö ... 2002).
- 17 Arne Naess has tried to find conceptual tools that would allow the limits of one's notion of 'self' to be extended to his/her environment, and even to the whole planet (Naess 1995). Sigmund Kvaløy illustrates a similar idea by modelling an individual as a 'bundle of diversely talented personalities, separated from themselves and from other individuals [and the envi-ronment – P.–K. Parts] only by a semipermeable membrane' (1993, p. 115).
- 18 There is no succinct equivalent of *elusamus* in English. The word was coined by U. Masing to convey a specific idea and literally means 'more-aliveness'.
- 19 When I first proposed the term I was not yet acquainted with Jay Appleton's habitat theory, which actually fits very well with my own observations. According to the habitat theory, 'the relationship between the human observer and the perceived environment is basically the same as the relationship of a creature to its habitat. It [the theory – P.-K. Parts] asserts further that the satisfaction which we derive from contemplation of this environment, and which we call 'aesthetic', arises from spontaneous reaction to that environment as a habitat, that is to say as a place which affords the opportunity for achieving our simple biological needs' (Appleton 1996, pp. 62–63).
- 20 The concepts used to elucidate the approach termed 'living landscape' in Table 3 partly overlap in their content, yet emphasise different aspects of the notion.
- 21 To be precise, in his analysis of modern Western society Kvaløy also employs a third term – pseudocomplexity – which he figuratively describes as 'Amusement Park Diversity' and 'Disneyland Effect'. 'Pseudocomplexity [...] *mimics* [complexity – P.-K. Parts] [...]; it is the human invention of various arrangements and activities designed to keep people occupied in a diverse manner, through mass media, hobbies, tourism, schools, and so on [...] without of-fering training or development that equips them better for creative interaction with nature or with human society' (Kvaløy 1993, pp. 123–124). In the article at hand, I will, for the sake of simplicity and brevity, confine myself to using the pair of complexity and complication. Part of the reason for this simplification is that I see pseudocomplexity rather as a sub-category of complication, which (at least for the purposes of the present discussion) deprives it of much of its analytical value. In fact, Kvaløy himself only discusses it in a single paragraph and never refers back to it again.
- 22 The term 'self-sufficiency' is akin to Sigmund Kvaløy's notion of *self-steering* (Kvaløy 1993, p. 122).
- 23 The notion of 'meaningful work' in Sigmund Kvaløy's thinking partly springs from Marxist philosophy (according to Reed and Rothenberg 1993. p. 114), partly from Buddhism, both in a direct and an indirect fashion (Kvaløy refers to the chapter on Buddhist economy in E.F. Schumacher's famous 1973 treatise *Small Is Beautiful*). Kvaløy's notion of *mean-ingful work* largely overlaps with Chambers and Conway's (1991) concept of sustainable livelihood, differing from the latter by placing greater emphasis on the intrinsic value of

work and stressing the role of work as a catalyst for spiritual development: “It (meaningful work – P.-K. Parts) poses such challenges that the potential complexity of talents and capabilities in the human individual and her/his group are brought to bloom” (Kvaløy 1993, p. 125).

- 24 To belabour the distinction between the inhabitants’ own or genuine values and those imported from the outside is to become ensnared in a logical and genealogical chicken and egg type paradox. It is clear that values of both types have developed historically as counterweights to one another and will continue to evolve in the same manner (cf. Alumäe *et al* 2003, Palang *et al* 2011). In the context of this article, ‘self-sufficiency’ refers to value independence as an ideological platform that is immune to genealogical argument.
- 25 See Gustavsson and Peterson 2003, pp. 334–336 for a discussion of whether landscape conservation should focus on objects, processes, intentions or ideas.
- 26 Eric Hobsbawn has explained the distinction as follows: ‘The object and characteristic of ‘traditions’, including invented ones, is invariance. [...] ‘Custom’ cannot afford to be invariant, because even in ‘traditional societies’ life is not so. Customary or common law still shows this combination of flexibility and substance and formal adherence to precedent. [...] ‘Custom’ is what judges do; ‘tradition’ (in this instance, invented tradition) is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualised practices surrounding their substantive action. [...] Inventing traditions, it is assumed here, is essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.’ (Quoted in Olwig 2001, pp. 346–347)
- 27 The word *elusamus* contains a suffix of comparative degree (*elusa-m-us*), expressed in the literal translation into English by the adverb of degree ‘more’ (more-aliveness).
- 28 Sigmund Kvaløy, on the other hand, regards the conflict between the advocates of Complex Life Growth Society and Complicated Industrial Growth Society as inevitable and necessary (Kvaløy 1993, p. 137).

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ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF TOURISM: INTELLECTUAL
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CHANGES ON KIHNU ISLAND

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Assessing the impact of tourism: intellectual and economic struggles and landscape changes on Kihnu island

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Abstract

Issues of the assessment of the impact of tourism on the cultural environment will be discussed using the example of Kihnu island (Estonia), which has been included in the list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO as the Kihnu Cultural Space. Kihnu is a small island (16.9 km²) near the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, and has a population of about 530 residents. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, traditional economic activities like fishery and agriculture have undergone a severe decline; instead, new economic activities such as tourism, the sale of traditional delicacies, handicrafts etc., have become an important source of income on Kihnu. These changes have had a great influence on the cultural and natural landscapes of the island, as well as on social and political relationships, and have brought together manifold conflicts between the interests of tourism and the traditional economy, the different agendas of local interest groups and the cultural and economic elite, national policies etc. The interpretive analysis of official planning texts and interviews with different local actors indicated the remarkable sensitivity of the issues concerning tourism, resulting often in a euphemistic way of defining problems and development priorities in the field. As environmental impacts can only be assessed in relation to certain socially defined objectives, the described situation makes it very complicated to assess the impact of tourism or to offer up-to-date recommendations concerning tourism for the protection of both the natural and cultural environment. Nevertheless, in order to advance a further discussion on the assessment of the impact of tourism, initial explorative indicators will be set out, relying on the example of Kihnu.

Keywords: tourism impact assessment, cultural environment, participatory methods, indicators.



1 Introduction

This article is based on a study commissioned by the Ministry of the Environment of the Republic of Estonia [1], the objective of which was to assess the tourism carrying capacity of the cultural environment of the island of Kihnu from the point of view of cultural, landscape and natural values (Parts et al). Since an environment's carrying capacity can only be assessed in relation to particular objectives that have been established in a society, we were faced with the need to ascertain those objectives. Unfortunately, however, development plans, legislation and international laws concerning the relations between tourism and the natural and cultural environment are worded in an extremely declarative form and do not contain sufficiently clear and explicit development goals. There is also a lack of corresponding research and political precedents in Estonia. In this situation, our research could only be a mapping of possible dangers and areas of conflicting interests. We set ourselves the primary objective of defining explorative indicators in order to evaluate the tourism carrying capacity of the cultural environment of Kihnu.

The cultural environment is a political concept that is difficult to define, since its meaning depends on the corresponding context of its use and objectives in each case, which often are not clear-cut. In this case we define the cultural environment as all manner of human activities and the preconditions for those activities, which are connected in a broad sense to the welfare and cultural heritage of the cultural landscapes of Kihnu, to the extent that these concepts are comprehensible through corresponding plans [2–8], research [9–11], political documents [12], legislation [13, 14] and the opinions of stakeholders (newspaper articles, interviews and observations made during field work).

Since tourism is by nature an international phenomenon and there was an absence of Estonian precedents, we had to seek data from international experiences and agreements. In developing our recommendations, we took into consideration the experiences and recommendations of the relevant international organisations (e.g. WTO [*World Tourist Organisation*], UNEP [*United Nations Environment Program*] [15], VASAB [*Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea 2010*][16], UNESCO [17]) for the organisation of tourism, spatial planning and the protection of the cultural environment. Since a Sustainable Development Act [18] has been passed in Estonia, we considered it appropriate to base our research on the EUROPARC Federation's position, which defines sustainable tourism as "all forms of tourism development, management and activity, which maintain the environmental, social and economic integrity and well-being of natural, built and cultural resources in perpetuity" Shipp and Kreisel [19].

2 Historical background: culture and economy

Kihnu is a small Estonian island (16.9 km²) with about 530 inhabitants off the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, in the Gulf of Riga. The island has been entered in the UNESCO List of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity as the Kihnu Cultural Space [12]. The justification for entering the



island in the list was the island's extraordinary ethnic uniqueness resulting from the island community's geographic isolation: this was expressed in language, customs and material culture, for instance in the fact that the locals to this day wear folk costume in everyday situations [12]. Historically, the central sources of subsistence have been fishing, seal hunting and seafaring, while farming, herding and homemaking have mainly been women's work [20, 21].

This way of life continued largely unchanged until the collapse of the Soviet Union, although in a semi-industrial form Levald [22, 23], and the corresponding moral attitudes are deeply rooted in the value system of the Kihnu community. Of traditional sources of subsistence, fishing has largely retained its position in the island's economy, although the poor condition of the Baltic Sea's fish stocks and EU directives are continually reducing its position Vetemaa et al [24]. It is very common for people to work both at sea and on mainland, and since the 1990s also abroad, particularly in Finland. Working abroad is in itself a phenomenon with long traditions, although the fact that it increasingly involves women is a new aspect.

The island's scarce natural resources and weak economy by contemporary standards were already noted in the 1980s [22, 23], although the Soviet period has gone down in the popular memory as an era of prosperity and stability due to the state subsidies and the special status of the fisheries. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the accompanying gradual diminishing of the fishing industry, as well as Estonia's transition to a market economy have led to a reduction in state subsidies, although several indicators show that Kihnu remains one of the most subsidised regions of Estonia Servinski [25]. As an example of the inefficiency of the island's infrastructure, the 1994 general plan mentions that "the consumption of electricity surpasses that of many European [i.e. Western European] countries" Kerge et al [3], and the statistics also note the island's excessive motorisation Kerge et al [4]; subsequent state policies have favoured the increasing of ferries' capacity to transport automobiles to and from the island [6, 7]; Alop [26], which further increases pressure on natural environment and the island's roads, which are already in a poor condition.

After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, the number of tourists visiting the island increased dramatically. In 1995 the general plan for Kihnu Parish does, indeed, specify that "a maximum of 100-125 tourists may visit the island at one time, (...) 5000 tourists on 2.5 days [per year], without mentioning how the decision would be implemented [4]. This figure has long ago been surpassed. According to Anneli Akkermann, manager of tourism and the ferry line, which is the island's leading tourism-related company, and now parish mayor, the number of tourists visiting Kihnu exceeded 10,000 since at least 1998 [27], and remained stable since 1999 [28]). Reliable sources, however, are in short supply; for instance, Johannes Leas, the owner of the competing ferry company and parish mayor at the time we interviewed him, stated that the number of visitors was approximately 30,000 [29].

According to a 2002 study, 25% of Kihnu residents estimated that their work depended to a great extent on tourism, while 28% answered 'occasionally' Hurt et al [11]. This points to the island economy's significant dependence on



tourism. The fact that this dependence is not only seen as a positive thing is highlighted for instance by the fact that the 1995 general plan set an upper limit for the number of visitors [4]. The following entry in the Kihnu parish electronic guestbook from 27 May 2004 is apparently also indicative: "Attention all tourists. We would be glad if you would NOT COME HERE!" [30]

3 Methodology and data gathering

The methodological models that we have used for this study are the critical approaches that have developed in international development aid practice, which are best known under the names 'participatory methods' or RRA and PRA (Rapid/Relaxed and Participatory Rural Appraisal) methods. These methods are characterised by an emphasis on practice, agency, interdisciplinarity, a holistic approach and the serious consideration of popular/indigenous knowledge Mikkelsen [31]. As seen by these approaches, the researcher is an agent of social change, and the research is a mutual learning process between researcher and the objects of the research. From the researcher's point of view, this approach means an economical learning opportunity, which is particularly important in this case, where there was an almost complete absence of earlier research and reliable statistics. In the case of RRA and PRA, we base our deductions on the principle of the optimal ignorance, according to which the researcher must know what and how much is worth knowing [31]. Documented data, direct observations, possible future and scenario workshops, *etc.* are given equal weight. In the analysis, different types of data and methods in different forms and from different disciplines will be cross-checked (triangulation).

In this study we have used direct observation and analysis of existing research alongside the so-called informal conversational interview type of semi-structured interviews in order to assess the social carrying capacity of the Kihnu community [31]. The advantage of this approach is the creation of a casual atmosphere in the interview situation, in order to achieve as trusting an atmosphere as possible in a short time, and obtain access to information and views that informants otherwise would not disclose to the interviewer. In order to create a trusting atmosphere, recordings were not made during the interviews (although some informants suspected us of this despite our assurances to the contrary), and the results of the interviews were entered in the research diary at the end of the observation day. Excerpts from the fieldwork diary were used to illustrate the analysis. All names and other references that could permit identification have been left out, and personal reference is only made to those informants who explicitly did not wish to conceal their identity.

In total, about thirty residents of Kihnu were thoroughly interviewed (for a quarter of an hour or more), both individually and in groups, depending on the situation. Although the delimiting of a community is a broad topic in itself (see for instance Cohen [32]; Richards & Hall [33]) and also the content of the concept "*kihnlane*" [resident of Kihnu] depends to a certain extent on the person using the word, in this case we considered the broad definition of community through indigenouness to be sufficient. The fieldwork consisted of visiting



Kihnu as a passive observer in the role of a tourist (2.08–7.08.2004) and an interviewing session (20.11–27.11.2004). In addition, we performed longer interviews (an hour or longer) with certain key persons whose main connection with Kihnu was of a business nature.

In interpreting the interviews and written documents, we as researchers considered it important to avoid the naïve presumption that the individual or collective accounts, whether oral or written, of the persons we studied would give a pure and reliable view of their mental state, attitudes and values. Our research is based on the discourse analytical approach, which stems from the belief that language does not represent things “as they are”, but considers it an active medium used to construct reality Laclau and Mouffe [34] or at least a “detached commentary on reality” Burningham [35]. Discourses can be defined as “the broad systems of thought, which inform how we conceive of the world and gain practical expression in regulative institutions; they are vehicles of social power and serve as strategies of moral manipulation” Livingstone [36], cited from Jones [37].

In discourse analytical study, instead of searching for “absolute and objective truth”, one concentrates on how reality is constructed in social practices, including scientific research Foucault [38]. Research itself is understood more as *making* in a rhetorical process of negotiations than *finding* some already existing social regularity Shotter [39]. Discourse analysis is an interpretative analysis. Interpretative analysis of this kind is an active and creative way to read the research material, while in constructing the discourses new ways for categorizing and conceptualising social reality are constructed at the same time Jokinen and Juhila [40].

4 Tourism carrying capacity: an elusive concept

In their joint publication, the WTO (*World Tourist Organisation*) and UNEP (*United Nations Environment Program*) have defined tourism carrying capacity as follows: “‘Carrying capacity’ is the level of visitor use an area can accommodate with high levels of satisfaction for visitors and few impacts on resources. Carrying capacity estimates are determined by many factors; in the end, they depend on administrative decisions about approximate sustainable levels of use. The major factors in estimating carrying capacity are (a) environmental, (b) social, and (c) managerial.” McNeely et al [41]

Boullón [42], cited from McNeely et al [41] offers a quantitative formula for the assessment of tourism carrying capacity (see Table 1).

The “individual standard” is, however, very difficult to define and measure (as acknowledged by McNeely et al [41]), and the area used by tourists cannot generally be determined unequivocally, at least not in the case of Kihnu. A considerable proportion of tourists move around independently on the island, and tourism use is difficult to distinguish from the activities of the local inhabitants, and moreover, in the case of community tourism, the community and thus also the land it uses is part of the tourism product (see Richards and Hall [43]).



Table 1: A formula to estimate tourism carrying capacity by Boullón [42].

<p>Carrying capacity = Area used by tourists/Average individual standard</p> <p>The total number of allowed daily visits is obtained as follows: Total of daily visits=Carrying capacity*Rotation coefficient Where the rotation coefficient is determined thus:</p> <p>Rotation coefficient=N of daily hours open for tourists/Average duration of visits</p>
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Although the above-mentioned formula appears objective, it therefore contains variables that by nature are purely conventional. Until a political agreement has been reached concerning the content of these variables, it is neither legitimate nor practicable. Due to the above-mentioned difficulties, the authors of this research initially limited themselves to qualitative assessments. We prefer to assess/describe Kihnu's tourism carrying capacity through tourists' behavioural patterns and against the background of Kihnu residents' wishes and preferences and requirements established by law or international agreements. We define behavioural patterns as tourists' manners of movement and routes, time use (time and duration of visit during the year, the timing of activities by days and weeks and by days of the week or holidays), consumption preferences, their conduct, *etc.*

5 Analysis of the thinking about the development of tourism on Kihnu Island: critical comments

Since the objective of the research on which this article is based was to offer recommendations for the organisation of tourism, one cannot avoid taking a position vis-à-vis the established understandings and vocabulary about tourism that already function in this discourse. Concepts such as “mass tourism” [3], “elite tourism” [3–5], “ecotourism” [44], alcohol tourism [12], “cultural tourism”, “quality tourism” [5] are presently in use.

The concept “elite tourism” is explained in Kihnu's general plan as follows: “In order to restrain mass tourism, we must orient ourselves towards elite tourism, *i.e.* tourists who arrive via yacht or plane.” [3] The above-mentioned general plan's penchant for elite tourism can apparently be explained by the objective of thoroughly reconstructing the yacht harbour. The plan recommends a harbour with a capacity that exceeds the real visitation (223 yachts per season) of that which existed at the moment the plan was prepared (1994) almost tenfold (2000 yachts!), and predicts that the payback period for the reconstruction will be eight years. In actual fact, the number of visitors on yachts has remained stable [45]. A later consumption profile study performed in 2002 noted that almost all yacht tourists sleep on their yachts [11], thus only leaving an insignificant amount of money on the island, while requiring notable investments

in infrastructure. In the situation in which even now Kihnu Parish receives the most state budget subsidies per capita of almost all local governments in Estonia [25], such elite tourism that is oriented mainly towards the foreign market would reduce the Estonian government's economic motivation to make expenditures on infrastructure, especially in the area of ferry traffic, which is of vital importance to the island's residents as well as "mass tourists".

The parish's development plan for the years 2003-2008 [5] formulates the objective of quality and not quantity of tourism. In the application for inclusion on the UNESCO List of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, the applicants set the objective of replacing "alcohol tourism" and "consumer tourism" with "well-organised cultural tourism" [12]. The meaningfulness of these concepts is nevertheless discredited when compared with the empirical data. According to the visitor study performed in 2002, 32% of visitors to Kihnu are campers, and over one half of visitors do not spend money on purchases (65%) or entertainment (62%), but the main expenditures are the ferry ticket, food and drink (in precisely that order!) [11]. The local handicraft artists also confirmed in the interviews that Kihnu handicrafts are mostly too expensive for Estonians. Against that background, it appears to be suitable to speak of "consumer tourism" precisely in the case of the so-called cultural tourists, since the former need accommodation, purchase handicraft products, order folklore performances, *etc.*

This conception of cultural tourism would, however, require a revolutionary reorientation of the Kihnu tourism business towards elitist, mainly foreign consumers, as well as a special service infrastructure and specially trained assistants, which differs drastically from classical community tourism with its bed and breakfasts, catering, *etc.* The present actual "mass" of the tourist contingent (middle-aged Estonians (45%) with higher education (41%), and also often backpackers with children) [11] does not correspond very well with the popular profile of the mass tourist (an alcohol-loving yahoo with a big car and a poor education). The contrast with the "bad" mass tourist, who personifies all of the side effects of tourism that are seen as negative, creates a binary opposition and thus confirms the "good" image of the cultural and elite tourist.

Upon closer examination, the concepts and interpretations of tourism policy thus often prove to be constructed on an implicit ideological or other basis and are empirically unjustified, and hence do not make much of a contribution towards the understanding of tourism as a local environmental and development problem or towards the elaboration of an informed tourism policy. Despite the analytical shortcomings, these are nevertheless concepts that actually function in the political arena of Kihnu, and give an impression of the political and economic tensions and debates that surround tourism on Kihnu.

The cognitive value of the development discourse reconstructed above is also limited by the fact that its fundamental concepts and oppositions are based largely on written sources, and it is questionable how representative they are as reflections of the island community's attitudes and wishes for the future. On the basis of the interviews, at least, it appears that not all inhabitants of the island characterise tourists and tourism problems in the same way. The corresponding



“official” terms are indeed used, but with hesitation and often a little “incorrectly”. The island’s residents generally have an extremely poor knowledge of state and local government regulations, view them with distrust or even consider them to be utterly irrelevant to their lives. These observations allow one to evaluate that this discourse on “the protection of the cultural heritage of Kihnu”, “cultural tourism” and also “mass tourism”, *etc.*, having been imported and articulated by the intellectual elite, may not adequately and sufficiently cover local agendas. This, however, calls into question the sustainability of tourism on Kihnu, one of the preconditions of which is that as many members of the community as possible have equal access to information connected with environmental and tourism organisation (Richards and Hall [33], particularly Goodall and Stabler [46]).

6 Assessment of the influence of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu

Academic, artistic and media interest and the accompanying (and often indistinguishable) tourism over a long period have not been without their influence on the attitudes and behaviour of Kihnu residents. The making of handicraft goods for sale, the singing of folk songs as a folklore ensemble, *etc.* is not quite the same as making everyday utensils and singing when one feels the need and for one’s one pleasure. “...There exists the danger of transforming the Kihnu culture into an exoticised display window culture”, it is stated in the UNESCO application [12]. Many craftspeople indeed feel exploited by academic researchers.

Z (an older woman) says that no one from the mainland has helped us, everyone just comes here to earn from the centuries of work and toil of our women – *i.e.* scientifically researching, doing business, *etc.*, and we must see for ourselves how we manage.

Excerpt from fieldwork diary 20.10.2004

At the same time, external attention has for many clearly been beneficial, even if that is not admitted, including financially. Participation in folklore festivals and exhibitions has become an important part of many people’s lives. There are undoubtedly also cases of mutually enriching and truly pleasant interaction with tourists, and many bed and breakfast owners have even developed friendships with tourists, especially return visitors.

In the summer I had students here, and they asked whether they could shout. I said of course, go ahead. They stood on the roof of their car and shouted out of pure joy. I was also glad they were able to let out their pent-up energy. (*Older woman, owner of bed and breakfast.*)

Excerpt from fieldwork diary 23.10.2004

Although there are few people on Kihnu who have a completely negative attitude towards tourism (according to a survey, 3% of inhabitants are of the opinion that tourists seriously interfere with everyday work; Hurt et al: [11]; in our fieldwork we met only a couple fervent opponents of tourism), one cannot deduce from this that there is no influence. The islanders see benefits in tourism,



for which they are willing to accept the accompanying unpleasantness. The initial reaction of almost all of the islanders is to claim that tourists do not disturb them at all, and it is only after a longer and more private discussion that one hears comments that range from mild accusations to repressed bitterness. Surveys performed during fieldwork showed that the attitude towards tourists is ambiguous even among those who earn money from tourism.

He (*a middle-aged man, tourism entrepreneur*) repeated that the number of tourists should definitely not be limited, or else he and many others would have to sell their houses and move the mainland. (...) At the same time, he sighed that he would not be working in tourism if there were something else to do. Z (*an older woman*) also alluded that she also felt something similar – winter knitting work is also done for sale to tourists in the summer, and the same is the case with vegetables and [home-made] bread and meat and fish...

Conversation in a store. Excerpt from fieldwork diary 20.10.2004

The conversations showed that the beaches of Kihnu are one area of conflict. Here the tourists to some extent disrupt the local inhabitants' daily rhythms, sense of security and livelihood, disturb datings between residents, playing with and using the residents' fishing boats and nets. The corresponding exhortations in the tourism brochures have an insufficient or even opposite effect – picking of the Sea Holly (*Eryngium maritimum*), an otherwise little-known but protected dune plant has apparently become more common precisely due to the corresponding “advertisement” in the tourism brochures.

Since Kihnu is an IBA (*Important Bird Area*) and an IPA (*Important Plant Area*) area, the influence of tourism on the natural environment should be examined from the point of view of the protection of birds and plants characteristic of this habitat type [47]. In this sense coastal areas are of critical importance, as they are home to some extremely sensitive habitat types, for instance Boreal Baltic sandy beaches with perennial vegetation, fixed coastal dunes with herbaceous vegetation (“grey dunes”) (2130), shifting dunes along the shoreline with *Ammophila arenaria* (“white dunes”) (2120) and wooded dunes, which at the same time are most attractive to tourists. As a result of extensive trampling, many protected plant species may disappear, and water erosion and the danger of drifting sand increase, so that the influence may be cumulative. Many habitat types are also threatened by camping, campfires and motor vehicle use (2130 grey dunes). The latter danger is indeed presently greater from the tractors and motorcycles of the local inhabitants.

It appears that the reduction in the agricultural use of land that has taken place in Estonia in the last decade has paradoxically raised Kihnu's tourism resistance –the greater volume of undergrowth conceals those moving in the landscape and vehicles, yards are better concealed from strangers, and also garbage is less visible on unmown and ungrazed land, and tourists do not have to compete with locals for wood for their campfires. At the same time, the overgrowing of the last Boreal Baltic coastal meadows, Fennoscandian wooded meadows, Fennoscandian wooded pastures would mean the end of a significant tourist resource (traditional open coastal landscapes) and the need to reproduce



the tourism resource from other sources with the accompanying intellectual and financial expenditures (advertising, interpretation, training of services sector personnel).

It has been estimated that Kihnu has reached the maturity stage in the tourist area cycle Meeras [48]. Anneli Akkermann, leading tourism entrepreneur on Kihnu, confirms that the increase in the number of tourists paused in 1999, and no further growth is expected, although she does not predict a reduction in the number of tourists either [28]. These signals raise questions about the sustainability of Kihnu's tourism resource, exhaustion and reproduction, as well as the limits of use. The most important achievement for the reproduction of the tourism resource has until now been the acquisition of UNESCO recognition, which is at the same time also a part of the tourism problem.

Based on the above, it can be estimated that although the level of tolerance of Kihnu's cultural environment has not yet been surpassed, and the tourism resource has not yet been exhausted, it would be worthwhile diversifying and regulating the methods of exploitation of the resource, in order to ensure its sustainability. The present quantity of tourists is probably not the most expedient, because although mass tourism (in the neutral sense implying an abundance of tourists) has an indirect supporting influence on infrastructure and several other branches of the economy, other socially and economically desirable objectives have begun to suffer, and against this background the further development of tourism should be considered. For instance, all islanders who are capable and willing to serve tourists are already all employed in such work [27]. Any expansion would thus lead to an influx of labour, which would clearly significantly destabilise relations within this historically relatively closed community.

7 Initial tourism carrying capacity indicators

Indicators are used for the handy simplification of the real world in the research and planning process Mikkelsen [31]. Indicators arise from values (we measure what is important to us), but at the same time they create values (we value what we measure). Regardless of the subjectivity and ambiguity of the indicators, the use of indicators as a means of cognition is apparently inevitable.

In this work we offer explorative micro-level indicators that have the objective of raising initial questions and working hypotheses. These may not be easily measurable or even provable, but they are easy to use and their grounds are more transparent than several ostensibly more trustworthy and quantitative indicators that nonetheless are founded on disputable assumptions *cf.* Mikkelsen [31]. On the basis of the Pärnu County plan data, for instance, according to which 46% of the population of Kihnu is involved in hobby activities (in Pärnu County an average of 18%) [6, 7], the condition of Kihnu's cultural environment could be considered quite exemplary. Such an indicator is indeed easy to use and compare, but is uncritical – in the case of the relatively unmodernised culture of Kihnu, involvement in professionally led cultural activity may just as well be interpreted as an indicator of the degree of cultural colonisation and levelling.



Explorative indicators that one could use concerning the lifestyle and economy of Kihnu include whether potatoes are sold in the stores on Kihnu. Potatoes are presently grown by almost all indigenous families on the island, and thus they are not for sale in stores apart from during the tourist season. It transpired from the interviews that growing potatoes on plots that are too tiny and inefficient to use a tractor (these plots are evidently relics from the horse era), are an important identity-bearing feature on Kihnu. Potato growing is one of the main topics of discussion in summer when people meet near the store, and giving up potato growing would almost lead to ostracism from the community, although in confidential discussions, residents have conceded its economic inexpediency.

If potatoes began to be sold in the stores year-round, this would point to a significant change in the way of life and mutual relations within the community. This could mean a reduction in the proportion of traditional means of subsistence or changes in specialisation within the community – for instance, a few farmers have now begun to grow more potatoes than their household requires, and they market it within the community, thereby freeing (or pushing) other families to specialise in other areas. In comparison, milk packaged in plastic bottles is already sold in the stores year-round, since the tradition of keeping one cow has almost come to an end.

Whether, for instance, firewood obtained from the local forest/wooded meadow/brush has become an object for bartering could also be considered to be an indicator of changes in communal relations or innovation – at present those families that do not have their own forest prefer to import their fuel from the mainland or use electric heating (electricity is also the main source of warmth in local government institutions), because firewood is not a traditional object for bartering within the community. The latter can also be considered to be an indicator of the success of regional policy from the point of view of sustainable development, pointing to whether government policies motivate people to use more renewable resources and sustainable innovation in the organisation of the community or, on the contrary, lead them to continue with existing non-sustainable environmental practices. Both of the above-mentioned indicators can be interpreted in more than one way – backwards practices from the point of view of national and global environmental policy objectives can be seen as valuable cultural heritage from the local and UNESCO points of view.

The influence of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu can also be assessed using quantitative indicators. Pursuant to a study performed in 2002, 44% of Kihnu residents estimated that tourists have no influence on their work, whereas 28% found that their work sometimes depended on tourism, while 25% depended on tourism to a great extent [11]. Apparently that 25% is a group that is lost to other (presumably traditional) branches of activity. The latter percentage definitely includes many for whom tourism is not their primary activity, *i.e.* craftspeople producing for sale, *etc.* Tourism's desirable proportion of the economy is partly a question of political agreement, but there is also some kind of more objective boundary here that is set by the fact that the community's distinctiveness as the basis of the brand constitutes the tourism resource *cf.*



Richards and Hall [33]. If, however, one were to define this boundary and begins to carry out repeat research using a comparable methodology to that which already exists Hurt et al [11], one could obtain a convenient and measurable indicator of tourism carrying capacity.

8 Conclusions

The article deals with questions connected with the assessment of the tourism carrying capacity, using the example of the cultural environment of Kihnu. In the research, we used semi-structured interviews alongside direct observation and the analysis of existing research and planning documents. Moreover, we attempted to avoid the naïve presumption that the accounts provided in the sources would give a pure and reliable view of things “as they are”, and we instead took a careful attitude to them as a discursive manner of producing reality.

The fundamental concepts and oppositions of the current development discourse, such as, for instance, “cultural tourism” versus “mass tourism”, proved to be constructed on concealed ideological or other deliberate grounds, and empirically unjustifiable. The cognitive value of the above-mentioned development discourse is also limited by the fact that it has been reconstructed mostly on the basis of written sources. Interviews with local activists, officials and local inhabitants gave reason to estimate that this may not adequately and sufficiently cover local agendas, although it gives an impression of the tourism-related political and economic tensions.

The present level of knowledge and the position of the social debate on tourism do not make it possible to assess the influence of tourism on the cultural environment of Kihnu with satisfactory validity. Thus we restricted ourselves to initial evaluations, and have offered some explorative indicators, with the aim of raising initial questions and formulating working hypotheses, while also referring to problems connected with the interpretation of the indicators. In the case of Kihnu, one explorative indicator could, for instance, be whether or not potatoes are sold in stores year-round, since that would make it possible to conveniently identify a whole complex of culturally significant changes.

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Parts, P.-K. 2007.

KULTUURILISE TOOTMISE TEHNOLOOGIA POOLE:
KULTUURIPÄRANDI NÄIDE
[TOWARDS A TECHNOLOGY OF CULTURAL
PRODUCTION: THE EXAMPLE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE].

Akadeemia, (2), 227–271.

KULTUURILISE TOOTMISE TEHNOLOOGIA POOLE

Kultuuripärandi näide

Priit-Kalev Parts

“Pärand” on sõna, mida kohtab avalikus kasutuses üha sagedamini väga mitmekesistes seostes ja sõnaühendites. See võib tähistada kõikvõimalikke asju “mesosoikumi monstrumeist Marilyn Monroeni, Egiptuse püramiididest Elvis Presleyni” (Lowenthal 1996: 21). Seda sõna pruugivad niihästi avaliku elu tegelased, seaduseandjad, teadlased, planeerijad, omavalitsustegelased kui ka kutse- lised projektikirjutajad, see tekitab tugevaid, üldjuhul positiivseid tundeid — see on sõna, mis pühitseb abinõu.

Käesolevas artiklis püüan heita kriitilise pilgu pärandi olemusele ja tagamaadele ning ühtlasi testida sellega seotud eestikeelset terminoloogiat. Üldmõistete ja kontseptsioonidega tegeleva osaga soovin juhatada lugeja ühe kultuuripärandi valdkonna konkreetse rakenduse juurde — nimelt Karula Hoiu Ühingu tellitud kaitsealade kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsiooni koosteprotsessi ja kontseptsiooni projekti enda juurde.

KULTUURIPÄRANDI MÕISTE

Sõna “pärand” kasutamine nüüdisaegses tähenduses ei ole kuigi vana, põhiliselt on tegu 20. sajandi teise poole nähtusega. Algselt oli sel ainult üks, juriidiline tähendus: s.o miski, mis on päritud, saadud pärimise teel, näiteks testamendiga. Alles hiljem on see sõna omandanud kõrvaltähenduse, mis viitab mingitele ühiskonna või kogukonna minevikul põhinevatele väärtusele (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 1–3).

Sõna “pärand” esineb väga mitmesugustes seostes ja on kogu läänemaailmas, sealhulgas eesti keeles sõnatuletuslikult väga produktiivne: tunneme ju selliseid väljendeid nagu *pärandkooslused*, *pärimusmuusika*, *kultuuripärand*, *looduspärand*, *ajaloopärand*, *tööstuspärand*, *esivanemate pärand* jmt. Samas tähenduses võidakse kasutada ka muid sõnu, näiteks “minevik” ja “ajalugu”. Kuigi praktikas on ilmselt lootusetu võidelda sellise keelekasutuse vastu, oleks akadeemilises pruugis siiski soovitatav siin vahet teha, jättes mineviku tähistama kõike olnut, ajaloo aga mitmesuguste ajalooliste distsipliinide huvivaldkonda. Kui see huvi keskendub mineviku nüüdisaegsele kasutamisele või nüüdisaegsetele püüdlustele enese omadusi kujuteldavasse tulevikku projitseerida, siis on tegemist pärandiga. Pärand on vaade olevikust (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 2).

Kultuuripärandobjekti või -nähtuse tuvastamine sõltub vaatelehest ega ole tingimata korratav. Selle väite tõestamine toimub tavaliselt poliitiliste vahenditega, kuid on tehtud ka mõningaid ilmselt demonstratiivselt positivistlikke eksperimente. Näiteks jagati ühel juhul “inimestele tänavalt” odavaid fotoaparaate, et nad jäädvustaksid seda, mida peavad oma elukeskkonnas kultuuripärandiks. Fotode analüüs näitas, et “nad” hindasid asju kardinaalselt teisiti kui selleks kutsutud ja seatud ametkonnad (Howard 2003: 75).

Pärand pole seega tunnetatav “objektiivselt”, vaid ainult seda mõtestavasse kogukonda kuulumise, sellega samastumise kaudu. Või ka sellele vastandumise kaudu — mõelgem või Tõnismäe ja Li-hula sõdureile, mis võivad olla nii pärand kui “antipärand”. Pärand on ühiskondlikus materiaalses ja mittemateriaalses tegevuses pidevalt kujundatava väärtussüsteemi sümboolne kandja. Siinse kirjatöö autori arusaama pärandist iseloomustab kõige lühemalt järgmine definitsioon: **pärand on poliitiline valik minevikust.**¹

¹Ma pole enam päris kindel selle definitsiooni päritolus — on võimalik, et just säärases sõnastuses kuulub selle autorsus mulle. Üsna kindlasti on mind selle sõnastamisel aga inspireerinud käesolevas artiklis korduvalt viidatud raamat *Geography of Heritage* (Pärandigeograafia), kus seletatakse pärandi mõistet lahti kui valitud minevikutahkude nüüdisaegset kasutamist, kui teatud ressursi, kusjuures tänapäeva ini-

Siinkohal on ilmselt vaja rõhutada, et “poliitilise” all ei pea ma silmas midagi professionaalsetele poliitikutele omast, vaid kasutan seda sõna tema algses, antiikkreekalikus tähenduses: linnriigi, polise asjadesse puutuva, kõige ühiselulise mõttes. Kui näiteks kümme külainimest tuleb kokku arutama, kuhu ehitada kiik või kelle kamandada anda avalike ressursside eest hangitud mägiveised, on see siinses tähenduses poliitiline arutelu — vaidlus väärtuste ja prioriteetide üle, väärtustav valimine.

KULTUURIPÄRAND KUI KULTUURINÄHTUS

Miks on minevikupärand äkki nii populaarseks muutunud? Konkreetset põhjust on eri paigus muidugi erinevad, kuid ilmselt võib välja tuua mõndagi üldist. David Lowenthal on nimetanud näiteks elanikkonna vananemist ja pikenevat eluiga, massimigratsiooni, linnastumist, kasvavat hirmu tehnoloogia ja selle kaasatoodud kiirenevate muutuste ees. Selle kõige tulemusel on muutunud ühiskondlikud hoiakud, “sotsiaalselt aktsepteeritud nostalgia” sanktsioneerib kaeblemist kõige kaduva pärast rohkem kui kunagi varem (Lowenthal 1996: 23–26). Oma osa mängib ka akadeemiliste ringkondade osatähtsuse tõus: suurenenud on nende inimeste hulk, keda ülikoolides on harjutatud kultuuripärandile tähelepanu pöörama, ja need omakorda rõhutavad seda oma ringkonnas ja koolis õpetajana (Howard 2003: 140).

Mineviku sümbolid näivad kõikjal ilmutavat kalduvust tõusta iseäranis kõrgesse hinda just siis, kui kogukond on muutuste surve all. Näib, et kuigi “kogukonna taasenesekehtestamise” (*re-assertion*) teevad vajalikuks nüüdisaegsed olud, toimub see enesekehtestus tihtipeale just nende väljendusviiside kaudu, mille need olud ähvardavad ülearuseks muuta (Cohen 1993: 99). Cohen juhib tähelepanu sellele, et niisugune reaktsioon muutustele pole mingi “traditsionalism”, minevikku takerdumine ega võimetus ko-

mesed ei ole pärandi passiivsed vastuvõtjad ja edasikandjad, vaid aktiivsed korraldajad vastavalt oma tänapäevastele eesmärkidele. Raamatus kasutatakse ka väljendit “minevikupoliitika”, seega võib minu definitiooni pidada mainitud raamatu arusaama muganduseks või edasiarenduseks (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 1–7).

haneda olevikuga, sest minevikku kasutatakse ressursina. Minevikule viitamine võib toimida tänapäevase tegevuse legitimeerijana, mida võib eriti sageli märgata poliitikas (Cohen 1993: 98–103) — mõelgem kas või 1980. aastate teisel poolel Eestis vallandunud ajaloobuumi ilmsetele seostele iseseisvusliikumisega või hiljutistele Lihula, Narva ja Tõnismäe “monumendisõdadele”.

Mineviku kasutamine ressursina olevikulistes huvides pole puhtalt õhtumaine ega modernismijärgne nähtus. Antropoloogid on rõhutanud selle tegevuse müütilist iseloomu. Müüt väljendab antud vaates seda, kuidas inimesed modelleerivad minevikku, olevikku ja tulevikku (Cohen 1993: 99). Ilma selliste mudeliteta tunduks maailm hirmuäratav ning seletamatu. Tavaliselt aga tulevad nii üksikisikud kui kogukonnad võimalike kriisidega toime, kuna on võimelised kriise neutraliseerima oma tervemõistuslike ehk argitarkade (*common sense*) reaalsusmodelite abil, nagu näiteks on asja tõlgendanud Clifford Geertz. Sellise kriisi reguleerimise näiteks toob Geertz Kesk-Aafrikas elavate asandede viisi selgitada ootamatuid seiku nõidusega (Geertz 2003: 105–108). Meie kultuurile lähemalt võiks näiteks tuua väljendi “erand kinnitab reeglit”, mille abil on võimalik vasturääkiva fakti ees turvaliselt säilitada oma varasem maailmapilt, ilma et sealjuures kannataks “ratsionaalne” või koguni “teaduslik” mina- või meie-pilt.

Pärandi teema juurde tagasi tulles võiks näiteks tuua — jällegi Geertzi argitarkuse analüüsile tuginedes (Geertz 2003: 121–122) — vastandlike vanasõnade kasutamise mineviku turvaliseks kirjeldamiseks: “kes minevikku ei mäleta, elab tulevikuta” ja “kes vana asja meelde tuletab, sel silm peast välja”. Sellised vanasõnad, muistendid, ajalooliste sündmuste või artefaktide tõlgendused, kombetalitused, ajaloolised narratiivid “moodustavad just oma ebatäpsuses mehhanismi, mille abil saab sümboolselt väljendada mineviku ja oleviku järjepidevust, kinnitada kogukonna kultuurilist terviklikkust seda õõnestavate jõudude ees” (Cohen 1993: 103).

KULTUURIPÄRAND, TRADITSIOON
JA PIKAD NIMEKIRJAD

Näib niisiis, et kuigi mõistena on kultuuripärand uus nähtus, on minevikku ressursina kasutatud ajast aega — see paistab olevat inimkogukondadele lausa igiomane. Mineviku kasutamise viisid, sotsiaalsed, majanduslikud ja poliitilised eesmärgid ning arusaam minevikust on siiski pidevas muutumises.

Tänapäeval valitsev arusaam kultuuripärandist tuleneb paljuski “klassikalise” antropoloogia ja etnograafia suundadest, näiteks 19. sajandi evolutsionistliku antropoloogia eeldusest, et kultuur areneb primitiivsusest üle barbaarsuse tsivilisatsiooni suunas. Primitiivsena määratleti kõiki Euroopa-väliseid või ka Euroopa-siseseid tööstuse-eelseid kultuurivorme. Kuigi nimetatud uurimistraditsiooni varjatud või varjamatu taotlust õigustada Euroopa imperialismi ja kolonialismi on rohkemal või vähemal määral kritiseeritud sadakond aastat, on mitmed selle eeldused siiski kandunud ka 20. sajandi antropoloogiasse ja etnograafiasse (Söderholm 1996). Noid teadusi ja nende kaudu ka tänapäevast pärandimõtlemist on omakorda tugevasti mõjutanud rahvuslus (vt nt Gellner 1994, 1995), mis teaduses on ilmselt kõige jõulisema väljenduse leidnud 19. ja 20. sajandi vahetuse antropoloogilise ja etnograafilise uurimise “päästmisideoloogias” (Söderholm 1996). Selle ideoloogia järgi oli antropoloogilise ja etnograafilise uurimise olulisimaid ülesandeid tormiliste kultuurimuutuste ohvriks langenud “suguharude”, rahvaste ja kultuuride “pärandi” dokumenteerimine ja talletamine muuseumide klaasvitriinides (samas, lk 125–126). Ideoloogial on olnud ja on siiani suur mõju paljudele distsipliinidele, näiteks folkloristikale, keeleteadusele, mitmele ajaloolisele uurimissuunale. “Päästmisideoloogia” on omas vormis omane ka 1920. aastail tekkinud ja 1960. aastateni Euroopa kultuuriantropoloogias valitsenud funktsionalistlikule suunale, mis vaatles nn traditsioonilisi kultuure, kus eluviis on staatiliselt olemas ja oletatavalt stabiilne. Püsis eeldus, et “primitiivsed” või “traditsioonilised” kultuurid kaovad niikuinii ja antropoloogi ülesanne on enne lõplikku hävimist neid võimalikult palju dokumenteerida (samas, lk 131–133).

Kui antropoloogias, etnograafias ja etnoloogias on hiljemalt alates 1960. aastatest sääraseid arusaamu radikaalselt revideeritud, siis mitmetes teistes distsipliinides, planeerimises, kultuuriväärtuste halduses ning argiarusaamades on endiselt valitsev harmooniahüpootees,² narratiiv “ajatust traditsioonilisest ühiskonnast, mis on stabiilses harmoonilises suhtes oma keskkonnaga, kuni progressiivselt muutuv moodne ühiskond ta purustab” (Olwig 2001: 345).

Nagu öeldud, elab oletatavalt peatselt hävinevate või juba hävinud kultuurivormide dokumenteerimise traditsioon oma meetoditega edasi ka planeerimises ja kultuurikorralduses. Muinsus- või ka looduskaitseolulistest objektidest ja esemetest, maastikest, elupaikadest jms väärtuslikest ja kaitsealustest asjadest pikkade loetelude koostamine ilmutab kõikjal maailmas kasvutendentsi (vt nt Lowenthal 1996). Toetudes tavale ja seadustele (nt looduskaitseseadus, muinsuskaitseadus), on ulatuslikud, n-ö teosekesksed või temaatilised, ette määratletud objektide inventeerimised argipäevaks ka Eestis (vt nt Tarang 2003).

Kui algselt on pärandi registreerimine³ peaaegu kõikjal olnud ühiskondliku eliidi ettevõtmine ning hõlmanud eeskätt vägevaid losse ja peeni esemeid (s.o sageli eliidi enda pärandit), siis rah-

²“Traditsioonilise maastiku”, “traditsioonilise arhitektuuri” jms mõistete leviku ja kasutuse kohta Eesti planeerimispraktikas vt nt Parts 2004a ja 2004b. Oma osa “traditsioonilise” elujõus Eesti kultuuriruumis on ilmselt mänginud ka vajadus vastanduda nõukogude võimu kehastavale linnastumisele ja industrialiseerumisele; ka eesti etnograafias püsis “traditsiooniline külaühiskond” peamise uurimisobjektina kauem kui mujal läänemaailmas.

³Siin ja edaspidi kasutan sõna “registreerimine” ingliskeelse mõiste *designation* vastena — registreerimine ses mõttes tähendab millegi ajaloolise, maastikulise jne ametlikku tunnustamist vastavasse väärtuslike asjade nimekirja kandmise teel (nt Kultuurimälestiste Riiklik Register); sellega võib, aga ei tarvitse kaasneda õiguslik kaitse. See sõna ei ole ingliskeelsele terminile just kõige parem vaste, kuna ta ei eristu eesti keeles selgelt inventeerimisest, mis üldjuhul eelneb väärtuslike asjade nimekirja kandmisele. Mingis mõttes on inventeerimine ja “designeerimine” sünonüümid, kuna ka inventeerides langetatakse pidevalt otsuseid, mida kirja panna ja mida mitte (Howard 2003: 196–197).

vapäraste, mittersuurejooneliste, tööstuslike, popkultuuriliste jms esemete ning hoonete massiline muinsuskaitse registreerimine on üldjuhul vastsem nähtus (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 42; Howard 2003: 74–75). Tõsi, mitmed suurejoonelise ja aadelliku ajaloota rahvused, sealhulgas eestlased, on oma rahvusliku identiteedi ehitamisel suuremat rõhku pannud talupojakultuurile kui iseseisvate (väike)talude kultuurile (vt nt Kruus 1920: 53–56; Karjahärm 1995), pöörates kasinamalt tähelepanu “maata maa-rahva” või linnatöölise olukorrale ja pärandile. Siiski on ka Eesti muinsuskaitse registreerimispraktikale omane suurejoonelise, nt mõisakultuuri vähemalt kümnekordne eelistamine isegi talupojakultuurile,⁴ kõnelemata sellest, et ka 19. sajandi eestikeelse elanikkonna seas oli eri kihistusi, mis on erineval määral tunnustamist leidnud.

Samaaegselt demokratiseerumisega nihkub muinsuskaitse tähelepanu üha lähemale olevikule — Eestiski on juba hakatud kaitse alla võtma nt 1980. aastate arhitektuuri. Väärtuslike nähtuste nimekirjadesse jm kogudesse kuhjub aina enam nn tavaliisi maastikke, seni teisejärguliseks peetud olmeesemeid, vähemuste pärandit — tõepoolest kõikvõimalikke asju “mesosoikumi monstumeist Marilyn Monroeni” (Lowenthal 1996). Viitan sellele

⁴Muinsuskaitseameti maaehitiste peainspektori Jaan Vali sõnul on Eestis kaitse all 39 talu, muid maaehitisi mõnevõrra rohkem, nt 60 tuuleveskit. Samas mõisahooned on kaitse all üle 2000 umbes 400 mõisakompleksist. (Andmed pärinevad Jaan Vali ettekandest seminaril “Arhitektuuripärand kaitsealadel” 3. XII 2002 Karula Rahvusparki Ähijärve õppekeskuses.) Nüüdseks on need andmed mõnevõrra vananenud: Muinsuskaitseameti peadirektori kohusetäitja Riin Alatalu sõnul on praeguseks muinsuskaitse all 49 talu (“s.t kompleksi, kus on rohkem kui üks hoone kaitse all”) ja “256 objekti, mille nimetuses leidub sõna ‘talu’ (sealhulgas 6 talukalmistut)” (e-kirja põhjal 30. I 2006). Samas on suurenenud ka kaitsealuste mõisaobjektide arv, nii et suhe on jäänud endiseks. Sümpomaatilisel on mure valiku ebaesinduslikkuse pärast viinud registreeritud objektide koguarvu suurendamiseni, mitte näiteks proportsioonide ümbermängimiseni, mis tähendaks niihästi mingi valdkonna registreerimise tempo muutmist kui ka võimalikku registrist kustutamist.

lähene misviisile edaspidi üldistatult kui registreerimise paradigmat.⁵

Nende tendentsidega kõrvuti on aga hakanud kasvama rahutus, et säärane kuhjamine ei saa jätkuda lõpmatult (Gustavsson, Peterson 2003; Lowenthal 1996, 2004). Praegu kaheksakümendais eluaastais inglise inimgeograaf David Lowenthal, kes on ise oma pika akadeemilise karjääri jooksul palju kultuuripärandi ning muuseumidega tegelnud, kirjutab muuseumitöötajate erialaajakirjas mäletamisest kui koormast ja teadliku valikulise unustamise vajalikkusest (Lowenthal 1993). Teisal tõdeb ta: “Ohtrus tekitab kaost; kahanenud publitseerimis- ja hoolduskassa teeb rohenenud põhivara veelgi kättesaamatumaks. [...] Materiaalsete mälestiste ja dokumentatsiooni tohutu küllus pärsib loomingulist tegutsemist. Ülespuhutud pärandi kummardamine viib passiivse autoriteetidesse uskumiseni, lammatab terve kriitikameele, asendab ebameeldiva tegelikkuse mugava ajalookäsitusega [*feel-good history*] ja kurnab loovat innovatiivsust. Ja liiga sageli eirab see kohalikke elanikke, kelle kaasamine on olemuslikult tähtis” (Lowenthal 2004: 38–39.)

Üht osa keskkonnast väärtuslikuna esile tuues antakse automaatselt mõista, et muud osad seda pole — need jäetakse normatiivse tähelepanu alt välja, valla suvalisele ümberkäimisele. Olen sellele probleemile viidanud näiteks looduskaitse valdkonnas. Suhtudes majandustegevusse looduskaitsealadel läbinisti eitavalt kui millessegi paratamatult “loodust” kahjustavasse, võetakse isenesestmõistetavana, et majandustegevus on keskkonda kahjustav, mida siis väljaspool väärtuslikuks nimetatud alasid kõigiti õigustatakse (lähemalt vt Parts 2004a: 243–244). Muu hulgas on inventeerimise paradigmat ette heidetud, et see ei arvesta muutuste paratamatusega (Fairclough 2003), pole sageli jätkusuutlik ning keskendub liigselt füüsilisele välimusele, mitte protsessidele ega ideedele (Gustavsson, Peterson 2003). Üha enam otsitakse viise kontseptualiseerida ja korraldada kultuurikeskkonda koha-

⁵Inglise keeles olen kasutanud väljendit *paradigm of designation* (designeerimise paradigma). Loodus- ja maastikukaitse vallas on samale nähtusele viidatud kui objekti-habitaadi perspektiivile (*object-habitat perspective*; Gustavsson, Peterson 2003: 335), mis väljendub nt väärtuslike elupaikade inventuuridena.

sidusamal, mitte-universalistlikul moel (vt nt Jackson 1984; Virtanen 2000; Jauhiainen 2003; van Mansvelt, Pedroli 2003).

Lõplike ja selgelt defineeritud nimekirjade asemel on püütud kultuurikeskkonna korraldust reguleerides kirjeldada hoopis näiteks maastike väärtuslikku eripära, iseloomu (nt Fairclough 2003: 300), koostada mingite alade kohta üldisi kujundusjuhtnõure (nt Siistonen 1997; Kokkonen 1999; *Kulttuuriympäristö...* 2002). Planeerimisvahendina on need seni siiski osutunud halvasti toimivaks — juristidel ja planeerijatel on selgete nimekirjadega hõlpsam töötada; ka arendajad näivad soovivat, et neile öeldaks lihtsalt ja selgelt, kus nad tohivad ehitada ja kus mitte (Howard 2003: 69).

Kui muuseumide fondid kasvavad kiiremini nende haldamiseks vajalikest ressursidest (Lowenthal 2004) ja kaitsealused hooned hävivad just nimelt seetõttu, et nende hooldamiseks kehtestatud ranged nõuded teevad igasuguse hoolduse nende omanikele ülejõukäivaks (Olwig 2001: 347–349) või senised elanikud on sunnitud oma kodust lahkuma (aadeldamine — sellest vt allpool), siis on põhjust kriitiliselt üle vaadata nii registreerimise paradigma teoreetilised alused kui ka selle põhjal harrastatava praktika tagajärgede vastavus deklareeritud eesmärkidele.

Kenneth Olwig on hoiatanud traditsioonilise ühiskonna narratiiviga kaasneva “paradiisi/progressi dialektilise lõksu” eest. Lõks seisneb selles, et kuna harmoonilist, idüllilist, muutumatut “traditsioonilist ühiskonda” nähakse millegi armsana, aga haletsusväärsest vanamoodsa ning eluvõimetuna, teostab see vaateviis prohvetlikult iseennast: kui kõik “traditsiooniline” (paradiis, lapsepõlv jms) on “ajast maas”, siis mis muud jääb üle kui asuda “paratamatu” moderniseerimise (progressi, täisea) teele (Olwig 2001: 342–345).

Et äsja mainitud “paradiisi/progressi dialektilist lõksu” vältida, on Kenneth Olwig eristanud **tava** ja **traditsiooni**. Ta leiab, et tava annab mineviku kogukonna valdusse, mis tähendab seda, et “mineviku tahke on võimalik mugavalt unustada ja ümber tõlgendada vastavalt olukorrale” (Olwig 2001: 346). Ajaloolane Eric Hobsbawn, kellele Olwig omakorda viitab, on asja seletanud järgmiselt: ““Traditsioonide”, kaasa arvatud leiutatud “traditsioonide” objekt ja omadus on invariantne. [---] “Tava” ei saa seda endale

lubada, sest isegi “traditsioonilistes ühiskondades” ei ole elu seline. Tavaõigusele [*customary law, common law*] on siiani omane paindlikkuse ja olemuslikkuse [*substance*] kombineerimine ning vormiline toetumine pretsedendile. [---] “Tava” on see, mida kohunikud teevad; “traditsioon” (antud juhul leiutatud traditsioon) on parukad, talaarid ja kogu see vormiline atribuutika ning kogu see rituaalne kombestik, mis ümbritseb nende sisulist tööd. [---] Väidan, et traditsioonide leiutamine on olemuselt formaliseerimise ja ritualiseerimise protsess, mida iseloomustab viitamine minevikule, kuigi ainult kordamise pealesundimise kaudu” (Hobsbawn 1983, tsit. Olwig 2001: 346–347 järgi).

Mitmesuguste “paratamatuse” lõksude vältimiseks on ilmselt võimalik kasutada muidki mõttekäike ja mõisteid. Peaasi on aga kuidagi leida tee, mis võimaldaks minevikupärandit käsitleda nii, et oleviku ja tuleviku kavandamine muutuks võimalikuks vastavalt käesolevale parimale äranägemisele.

KULTUURIPÄRAND JA MAJANDUS

Kultuuripärandit käsitledes ei tohi unustada, et asjal on ka majanduslik ja majanduspoliitiline tahk. Kultuuripärand nõuab raha, järelikult maksab selle eest keegi ja kellelegi toob see sisse (kuigi arvepidamine tulude ja kulude üle on ses vallas enamasti väga keerukas). Veelgi enam, kultuuripärandi registreerimisel ja korraldamisel on alati mingid majanduslikud tagajärjed: see tähendab majanduslike ressursside ja privileegide jaotamist ühiskonnas ning on vahetult seotud mitme suure äriaga, muu hulgas praeguseks tõenäoliselt maailma suurima tööstusharu, turismiga.⁶ On raske eitada, et nn pärandi- ehk kultuuriturist kulutab raha peale muuseumipileti ja kunstiteoste ka hotellidele, restoranidele, bensiinile jne jne.

⁶WTO (*World Tourism Organisation* — Maailma Turismiorganisatsioon) 1990. a andmeil kasvas see majandusharu 1960. kuni 1990. aastani 600%, moodustades 5–6% kogu maailma majanduslikust koguproduktist ja andes tööd 7%-le kogu maakera tööjõust (Kupiainen, Sihvo 1996). Need andmed vajaksid värskendamist, kuid turismi käive on vahepeal tõenäoliselt kasvanud sünkroonis nafta tarbimise kasvuga.

Turismiuuriija John Urry (1999) on juhtinud tähelepanu tendentsile, et muuseumide külastamine ja ostlemine omandavad vastastikku teineteise jooni: kaubanduskeskuste, hotellide jne, aga ka “päris” muuseumide “temaatiline” autentsusele pretendeeriv disain moodustab tausta sisseostude tegemisele ning samal ajal leidub poodide vaateaknaile esemeid, mis pole mõeldud müügiks, vaid “temaatilise” meeleolu loomiseks, kohaliku eripära rõhutamiseks vms: näiteks kohaliku kunstniku või käsitöömeistri töö, paiga või poepidaja enda identiteedile viitavad sümbolid, olgu selleks siis rist, vankriratas või poptähe plakat.

Pärandpaikade, -kogemuste ja -esemete majanduslik väärtus on enamasti palju komplekssem kui muudel kaupadel ja teenustel ning seda ei saa vaadelda lahus kultuuriinstitutsioonide, majanduse ja tehnoloogia üldistest arengusuundumustest. Mitmed teoreetikud on rõhutanud, et 20. sajandi kapitalismi iseloomustas kasvav vajadus turustada kaupu pigem nende sümboolsele kui kasutusväärtusele tuginedes. Seda tendentsi on oluliselt süvendanud massiteabevahendite areng. Päranditööstuse tõusu kultuuritööstuse ühe osana võib vaadelda kui reaktsiooni Fordi-järgse majanduse kapitali akumulatsiooni probleemidele, näiteks raskusele teha standardseid masstooteid, ketistunud ettevõtteid, kohti jms üksikest eristatavaks ja seega müüdavaks (Harvey 1994).

Üheks suurepäraseks võimaluseks tootmise ja turunduse sünergiat parendada on teemakeskkondade loomine (Harvey 1994: 155–156). Teemakeskkondade eesmärgiks on alati tarbima õhutada (Fotsch 2004: 783); ka pärandpaigad ja -rajatised on alati muu hulgas tarbimiskohad, “tarbimismaastikud” ja luksuskaubad: nad on mõeldud ja korraldatud tarbima õhutamiseks (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 20). Strateegiat, mille algselt töötas välja Walt Disney oma lõbustusparkide jaoks, rakendatakse nüüdseks paljude kaupade, restoranide jms müügistrateegia osana, reklaami tahuna (Fotsch 2004: 781) — juba ammu pole Disney kompanii peamiseks tegevus- ja tuluvaldkonnaks enam filmindus, vaid “temaatiline” kinnisvaraarendus, hotellindus ja turism, mis siiski ilmselgelt põhinevad filmiäris loodud kultuurilisel kapitalil (Zukin 1990: 44). Teemakeskkondade ehitamisest on saanud ka regionaalsete tootemarkide (“brändide”) kujundamise tunnustatud osa (Ahponen 1996: 111–115), mis väljendub nt hiigelstaadio-

nide ja -muuseumide rajamises (vt nt Fotsch 2004); ka meie Kumu “suure mängu” osana (vt nt Soomre 2004) esindab sama strateegiat, sellest on omal vähenõudlikumal moel läbi põimunud ka valdade ja väikelinnade planeeringud, mille keskseid motiive on regionaalse “identiteedi” otsingud kultuuri ning loodus- ja kultuuripärandi kaudu (pikemat käsitlust vt nt Parts 2003, 2004a, 2004b), kusjuures identiteedi mõiste on planeerimiskeeles muutunud eristamatuks kaubanduslikust tootemargist, imagost või kohalikust “märgist” (vt nt Hansar 2002).

Niisugused märgid viitavad sellele, et enam ei saa mitmesuguseid kuvandeid, “miljöösid” ja nende loomisel osalevat kultuurilist kapitali taandada passiivsesse või kõrvalisse, “puhtsümboolsesse” rolli. Turumajandust käsitledes on vaja lõimida majanduslik ja kultuuriline analüüs. Just seda teeb Sharon Zukin, seletades teemakeskkondade populaarsust uue, Fordi-järgse tarbimisorganisatsiooni tekkega, kus üha olulisemat rolli mängib “tegelik kultuuriline kapital”:

Kultuuriline kapital mängib tegelikku, s.o materiaalselt rolli finantskapitali liigutamisel nii majanduslikes kui kultuurilistes tsüklites. Ta on põimitud tegelikku investeerimisse ja tootmisse. Ta loob tegelikku majanduslikku väärtust. Kultuuriline kapital avaldab mõju ka füüsilisele infrastruktuurile aadeldamisest [*gentrification*] “kontekstuaalse” linnaplaneerimiseni, filmidekoratsioonidest ulmearhitektuuri ja planeeritud asumiteni. Ning ta kujundab uusi töövorme ja elukutseid (Zukin 1990: 53).

Uuele tarbimisorganisatsioonile on omane, et tarbimiskogemus on ülimal määral vahendatud uut tüüpi, tehniliselt äärmiselt professionaalsete kultuuriliste tootjate poolt. Asjaolu, et nad on tõesti tootjad, on maskeeritud näiteks sellega, et nad on sageli alatasustatud, pealegi pole nad “sotsiaalselt ega kultuuriliselt distantseeritud jõukatest tarbijatest, keda nad teenindavad. Sellest hoolimata vormivad nad turupõhise kultuurilise kapitali tõlgendajate ja loojatena tegelikult kõrgemate sotsiaalsete kihtide maitset” (Zukin 1990: 45).

Selle mõtte võtab kujundlikult kokku Sharon Zukini raamatu pealkiri *Elu põõningul* (Loft Living, 1988). Raamat kõneleb sellest, kuidas kesklinna põõningutel, mis algselt on seostunud vaesuse ja boheemlusega, on maagiline võime moondada end eksclu-

siivseks luksuskaubaks, saada osaks kõige ihaldatumast ja glamuursemast elustiilist, mis loomulikult leiab väljenduse ka kinistu hinnas.

Ei ole juhuslik, et näiteks muinsuskaitse normatiivne sõnavara kipub universaalselt olema analüüsimatut ning tugevalt retooriline (“ajalooline väärtus”, “traditsioonilisus”, “sobivus”, “harmoonia” jms). Jonas Frykman (1999) on praktilist ja konkreetset laadi, sõnaliselt raskesti kirjeldatavatele oskustele viitamiseks kasutanud väljendeid “kultuuriline kompetentsus” ja “sõnatu teadmine”. Sõnatu teadmine, Bourdieu sõnutsi *habitus*, pole midagi pärismaalastele ega industrialiseerimiselsetele elanikkonnakihtidele ainuomast, vaid see on olemas ka õpetlastel: “Olla õpetlaseks kasvatatav laps ei tähenda üksnes Homerose *luge-mist*, integraalvõrrandite lahendamist või riigiparaadi struktuuri tundmaõppimist. See tähendab *osata* neid asju samamoodi, nagu kaluri poeg oskab paadiga sõita või taluniku naine süüa valmistada. See on oma teadmiste tundmise küsimus — füüsiline võime valitseda nii oma teadmisi kui ka olukordi, kus neid teadmisi rakendatakse“ (Frykman 1999: 77).

Ka tarbimiskoodide omandamine nõuab vahetut kogemust ja õppimist, nende valdamine on kultuurilise kompetentsi küsimus. Miski ei asenda “vahetut kogemust — nt iga-aastast talvepuhkust Sankt Moritzis, emapiimaga sisse imetud kallist *eau de parfum*’i — on [---] selge, et ülikoolidiplom ei anna eksimatut võimet valida veini aastakäiku” (Zukin 1990: 45–46). Perekondlik taust tuleb seega kasuks, kuid kultuurilist kapitali on võimalik omandada ka teadliku ja juhendatud õppimise teel, tarbides kultuurilise eliidi vahendatud, tähendustatud ja tihti vahetult “signeeritud” kaupu ja teenuseid, nt kunsti, avangardset disaini, käsitöösemeid, külastades teemaparke või “eksootilisi” restorane jne.

Pärandi majanduslikul küljel peatumine ei tähenda, et ma alaväärtustaksin kultuuripärandi muid külgi, positiivset identiteeti loovaid ja hoidvaid, usulisi, moraalseid jt tahke. Ka ei väida ma, et sinne analüüs on täielik ja lõplik. Rõhutan vaid, et n-ö “kõrgemad” valdkonnad toimivad sotsiaalmajanduslikus keskkonnas alati seda mõjutades ja selle mõju all olles. Materiaalse mõõtme rõhutamist õigustab igati asjaolu, et kultuuripärandiliikumise ja majanduse seoste mõtestamisele on seni

ühiskonna planeerimisel pööratud skandaalselt vähe tähelepanu — on aga tohutu vahe, kas käsitleda mingit tegevust ilu- ja esindus- asjade rubriigis või materiaalse tootliku jõuna (Harvey 1994: 219; Zukin 1990). Viimasel juhul muutub asjakohaseks põhjapanevate poliitiliste ja eetiliste küsimuste esitamine: kelle huve kultuuri- korralduses eelistada? Millised on näiteks muinsuskaitseobjek- tiks registreerimise sotsiaalsed, ökoloogilised ja majanduslikud tagajärjed? Võib-olla vajame põhimõtteliselt uut laadi kultuuripo- liitilist arutelu kultuurilise kapitali jagamise ja kasutamise viiside üle, kus oluliseks muutub näiteks loodus- ja muinsuskaitseliste piirkondade registreerimine või registreerimata jätmise asustus- poliitilistel kaalutlustel? Kui mõõname sellist vajadust, missugu- sed peaksid siis olema kultuurilise kapitali ringlust reguleerivad õiguslikud ja administratiivsed institutsioonid? Kas me vajame Kultuurilise Kapitali Keskpanga või vastavat ministeeriumi, kul- tuurikrediidiühistuid ja kultuurilise kapitali põhist maksu- ning sotsiaalabisüsteemi?

Paljud uuringud ja vaatlused kinnitavad nende küsimuste as- jakohasust. Et kultuuritegevustesse investeerimisel on märki- misväärne vahetu majanduslik mõju, eriti toitlustus- ja majutus- valdkonnale ning liiklusele, peaks olema juba niigi selge (vt nt Myerscough 1988). Ent on ka kaudsemaid mõjusid. Näiteks mingi koha esitamine iseäranis väärtuslikuna muudab majandus- likke suhteid sellel alal või ka laiemalt. Üle maailma võib leida küllalt näiteid, et nii konstrueeritakse tahes-tahtmata jõukamatele elanikkonnakihtidele “ihaldusväärset” elu- ja tarbimiskeskonda, mille universaalseks kaasnähtuseks paistab olevat üldine üüri- ja kinnisvarahindade tõus — selle kohta võib leida näiteid Kana- dast (Figuroa 1995), Aafrikast (Marks 1996) ja USAst (Fotsch 2004) Inglismaa (Phillips 2005) ja Iisraelini (Amit-Cohen 2004; Gonen 2002). Hinnatõusu kaasnähtena mureneb olemasolev ko- gukonnastruktuur, toimub aadeldamine, kuna senised elanikud ei saa endale seal enam elu- ega tootmispindu lubada või ei sobi neile piirkonnas rakendatavad reeglid, muutunud olme, sotsiaalne ja tehniline infrastruktuur — näiteks lõpetab atraktiivses turismi- piirkonnas tegevuse viimane toidupood (Fotsch 2004: 784–785).

Uute vaatamisväärsuste registreerimine võib üle koormata näiteks kohaliku kanalisatsiooni- või transpordisüsteemi (Howard

2003: 222; Shipp, Kreisel 2001: 16). Kasvav turistidehulk võib laastavalt mõjuda traditsioonilisele eluviisile, looduskeskkonnale tekitatud kahju heastamisega seotud kulutused jäävad aga sageli kohaliku kogukonna kanda (Shipp, Kreisel 2001: 16). Tuleb küsida, kas need tagajärjed on meile vastuvõetavad, ja kui, siis mil määral.

Neile ja paljudele muudele küsimustele vastuse otsimisel on välja kujunemas omaette pärandiuuringute distsipliin (*heritage studies*); suuremate turismiarendusprojektide puhul on tasapisi hakatud nõudma turismi keskkonnamõtjude hindamist jne (turismi keskkonnamõtjude hindamise kohta vt nt McNeely, Thorsell, Ceballos-Lascurain 1992; Shipp, Kreisel 2001). Sellesisuliste valdkondade metodoloogiline ja terminoloogiline alus on siiski alles varases kujunemisjärgus ning puudub peaaegu täiesti eesti keele- ja kultuuriruumis — seda lünka püüab ka sinne kirjutis täita.

PÄRANDIMAJANDUS: SÜMBOLILINE TOOTMINE, AKADEEMIA⁷ JA KULTUUR

Järgnevad mõttekäigud on saanud esialgse tõuke eesti maastikuväärtusdiskursuse analüüsist (vt Parts 2003, 2004a, 2004b), kuid mulle näib, et need sobivad ka üldisemalt kultuurikeskkonna⁸ korralduse ja konstrueerimise vaatluseks. Minu analüüsi lähtekohtaks on diskursuseanalüütiline hoiak, mida võiks kirjeldada kui filosoofilis-teoreetilist orientatsiooni, mille puhul loobutakse absoluutse ja objektiivse tõe otsingutest ning keskendutakse sellele, kuidas tegelikkust ehitatakse ühiskondlikus praktikas, muu hulgas teadusliku uurimise teel. Eeldatakse, et “tõed” toodetakse alati informatsiooni ja võimu vahelises liidus vastavais ajaloolistes praktikates (Foucault 1989). Uurimist vaadeldakse pigem “retoorilises läbirääkimisprotsessis toimuva tegemisena [*making*]” kui mingi

⁷“Akadeemia” all ei pea ma siin silmas ajakirja ega mõnd konkreetset õppe- või uurimisasutust, vaid ühiskondlikku institutsiooni, “akadeemilist vennaskonda” ehk õpetlasi kõige laiemas mõttes — ülikoole, haritlaskonda oma spetsiifilise solidaarsusega, “akadeemilist kultuuri”.

⁸Planeerimiskeeles samastub see enamasti pärandkeskkonnaga.

olemasoleva sotsiaalse korrapära leidmisena [*finding*]” (Shotter 1990: 157–160). Pean ruumi konstrueerimise analüüsi oluliseks, kuna see võib “toimida materiaalse tootliku jõuna” (Harvey 1994: 219). Kuna olen seda lähenemisnurka *Akadeemia* veergudel varem tutvustanud (vt Parts 2004a), siis ei peatu ma sellel siinkohal pikemalt.

Kultuurikeskkonna all pean ma järgnevalt silmas nii ainelist kui vaimset tähenduslikku ruumi ja selles valitsevaid suhteid. Kuigi kultuur ja kultuurikeskkond on äärmiselt lai ja peaaegu määratlematu mõiste, koosnedes põhimõtteliselt kõikvõimalikest inimtegevustest ning nende tegevuste eeldustest, tulemustest jne, piirdun peamiselt sellega, mida argikasutuses enamasti kultuuriga seostatakse: s.o kaunid kunstid, mälestised, rahvakultuur — n-ö “kultuuriministeeriumi haldusala”. Ennekõike aga huvitab mind antud kirjutises kultuurikeskkonna kujundamine minevikuressursi abil, ühiskondlikud tavad (ingl. k *social practices*), mis kesken-duvad mineviku nüüdisaegsele kasutamisele kultuurikeskkonna kujundamisel.

Eesti maastikuväärtusdiskursust käsitlevas artiklis olen väitnud (Parts 2004a; vt ka Parts 2003), et Eestis kehtivad seadused annavad planeerijale ette teatava kanoonilise sõnavara. Samas olukorras on ka spetsiifilisem planeerija — muinsus- või looduskaitaja vm pärandikorraldaja. Vaadeldgem seda sõnavara mõne seaduselõigu näitel (tabel 1; minu rõhutused).

Kanooniline sõnavara põhineb väljakujunenud akadeemiliste distsipliinide jaotusel. Seega defineeritakse kultuuripärandit peamiselt akadeemilisel põhjal. Muinsuskaitaja nagu ka maastiku-planeerija või looduskaitaja sõnavaras on kesksel kohal sellised mõisted nagu “tüüpilisus” ja “haruldus”. Need esindavad liikuva, maastikust väljas seisva inimese, sh turisti vaatenurka ja huve; väheliikva inimese, Edward Relphi (1976: 52–54) väljendit kasutades “eksistentsiaalse kohaliku” jaoks ei ole neil tähendust, ta ei saa näiteks kuidagi võrrelda, kui “haruldane” on tema õues kasvav puu — temale on see ilmselt väga tavaline või on sel hoopis muu, väljasseisja taustsüsteemiga ühismõõdutu tähendus (samal teemal vt nt Mikkelsen 1995; Virtanen 2000). Kanoonilised hindamiskriteeriumid ei hõlma seega neid väärtusi, mida kohalik kogukond võib oma elukeskkonnale omistada, vaid esindavad pro-

Tabel 1. Muinsus- ja looduskaitse kanooniline sõnavara

Mälestis on riigi kaitse all olev kinnis- või vallasasi või selle osa või asjade kogum või terviklik ehitiste rühm, millel on **ajalooline, arheoloogiline, etnograafiline, linnaehituslik, arhitektuuriline, kunstiline, teaduslik, usundilooline või muu kultuuriväärtus**, mille tõttu see on käesolevas seaduses sätestatud korras tunnistatud mälestiseks.

Muinsuskaitse seadus, § 2

Muinsuskaitseala käesoleva seaduse tähenduses võib koosneda kinnismälestistest või kinnismälestistest ja teistest asjadest, mis koos maa-ala ja loodusobjektidega ning **tänavatevõrgu, hoonestuskvar- talite ja kruntide (kinnistute) struktuuriga moodustavad kul- tuuriväärtusliku terviku.**

Muinsuskaitse seadus, § 4

Loodusobjekti käesoleva seaduse alusel kaitse alla võtmise eeldus on selle **ohustatus, haruldus, tüüpilisus, teaduslik, ajaloolis- kultuuriline või esteetiline väärtus** või rahvusvahelisest lepingust tulenev kohustus.

Looduskaitse seadus, § 7

fessionaalide väärtushinnanguid ja ideoloogiaid (vrd Turnpenny 2004: 297–298). Seevastu näiteks turisti huvitab, et info oleks pakendatud nii, et ta saaks lühikese ajaga kogeda paikkonnaga tutvumise illusiooni — selle juures aitabki teda “tüüpiliste”, “haruldaste” vms objektide nimistu. Maastiku hindaja, kes neisse ja teistesse sõnadesse maastikke ja hooneid pakendab, on seega üheks lüliks turismitööstuse tootmisahelas: ta aktiveerib turismi- ressurssi ja pakendab seda tooteks laiema või kitsama tarbijas- konna sektori jaoks (teadlane, kultuuri- vm turist jne). Ruumi tootmist kanoonilise sõnavara abil selgitab tabel 2.

Kuigi see tabel oli põhimõtteliselt valmis juba varem, avanes mulle endalegi selle sisu ilmutusliku selgusega alles ülemöödunud kevadel ühel rahvusvahelisel maastiku-uurijate seminaril Hollan- dis. Osalistele korraldati ekskursioon looduskaitsealale, mis asus ülikoolile kuuluvast konverentsikeskusest sõna otseses mõttes ki- viviske kaugusel. Pärast ajaloolise külatee, šoti mägiveiste jms

Tabel 2. Ruumi tootmine kanoonilise sõnavara abil

Ruumiesituse toode	Akadeemiline ruum	Mobiilsete sotsiaalsete rühmade ruum (sh turistid, haritlased jne)	Kohalike inimeste ruum	Teiste võimalike huvigruppide ruum
Ruumi esitamiseks/tootmiseks kasutatav sõnavara	ajalooline, arheoloogiline, etnograafiline, linnaehituslik, arhitektuuriline, kunstiline, teaduslik, usundilooline jne	tüüpiline, haruldane, vaateline, puu, rändrahn, juga, pank, astang, koobas, paljand ja karst	?	?
Tootmisprotsess/töö	teadustamine ehk saientifikatsioon — ruumi pakendamine uurimiskõlblikuks	kaubastamine ehk kommodifikatsioon — ruumi pakendamine müügikõlblikuks	?	?

imetlemist jõudsimme väikese rohtunud kühmukese juurde, mille kohta kaitseala väraval oli põhjalik infotahvel ja millest meile oli kõnelema kutsutud kohalik giid. Veel paari aasta eest polnud keegi kühmukesele erilist tähelepanu pööranud, see oli lihtsalt üks rohtunud kivihunnik. Siis avastati, et tegemist on muistse kalmega — ja kõik muutus. See avati, kaardistati ja pildistati, dokumentatsioon arhiveeriti, uurimistulemused publitseeriti, pärast hauakünka igakülgselt dokumenteerimist kungas restaureeriti talletatud piltide ja jooniste põhjal. Kogu juhtumist kujunes väike meediasündmus, asjast huvitus kohalik kodu-uurijate selts, mis püstitas kaitseala sissepääsu juurde põhjaliku infotahvli ning kooridioneerib sestpeale juhendatud külastuskäike künka juurde.

Raske on eitada selle juhtumi rituaalset kudet. Rohtunud kivihunnikust, millele keegi peale lehmade ja mõne karjapoisi polnud aastatuhandeid tähelepanu pööranud, sai üleöö tähtis teaduslik objekt. Nimetan sellist mitmesuguste rituaalsete toimingu ahelast koosnevat nähtuse, objekti või koha ühiskondliku tähenduse muundamist **teadustamiseks** (III välde) ehk **saienti-**

fitseerimiseks. Kirjeldades (ja järgmise sammuna seadustades) midagi *ajalooliselt, arheoloogiliselt* jne väärtusliku või huvitava, aktiveeritakse või reserveeritakse ressursse teaduslikuks või muuks, üldjuhul siiski teadlaskonna poolt edaspidigi kontrollitavaks otstarbeks. Teadustamist võib seega määratleda kui uurimiskõlblike objektide ja nähtuste loomist ressurssidest, mida varem pole uuritud ega uurimisväärseks peetud.

Alati ei võeta ressursse teadustamise käigus kohe kasutusele, s.t ei asuta aktiivselt uurima ja populariseerima, vaid reserveeritakse nt “tulevastele põlvedele”, mis sageli tähendab ressursi kõrvalepanemist oma distsipliini tulevastes huvides. Sageli järgneb teadustamisele või kaasneb sellega **kaubastamine** — näiteks jõudis nimetatud küngas vaatamisväärsuste kaardile, turismifirmad täiendasid sellega pakutavaid turismimarsruute ning kohalik koduloouuriija kutsutakse nüüdsest külastajaile selle “arheoloogilisest väärtusest” kõnelema. Pole vahest ka päris alusetu näha seost kõnealuse kalme asukoha ning selle teadusliku huvi orbiiti sattumise vahel — nagu öeldud, asub see kiviviske kaugusel konverentsikeskusest kõigi sellega kaasnevate majutus-, toitlustus- ja seltskondlike võimalustega, kõnelemata hilisemate külastuste korralduslikust hõlpsusest, kalme majanduslikust lisaväärtusest konverentsikeskusele jne.

Mõiste **kaubastamine** siinses tähenduses pärineb Brian Grahami, Gregory J. Ashworthi ja John E. Tunbridge'i raamatust *Pärandigeograafia* (2000), kus seda kirjeldatakse järgmiselt:

Kaubastamine [*commodification*] on lihtsalt turustatavate tarbeesemete [*commodities*] loomine ressurssidest [---], mida varem ei turustatud. [---] Sellel mudelil on kolm põhikomponenti: ressursid, tooted ja turg; kolm menetlemisviisi: ressursside aktiveerimine ja hooldus [*maintenance*], toote montaaž [*assembly*] ja turustamine; ning kolm põhiliste toimijate rühma: ressursi eest hoolitsejad, toote monteerijad ja kogemuse tarbijad. [---] Koosteprotsess, mille käigus ressursid muudetakse toodeteks, seisneb tõlgendamises ja pakendamises (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 143–144).

Ruumi kirjeldamine “tüüpilisuse”, “harulduse” jms kaudu kujutab endast *Pärandigeograafia* terminoloogias eeskätt tõlgendamist ja pakendamist, s.o aktiveerimist, samas kui inventeerimine ja väärtuslikuna registreerimine on osalt kooste-, osalt aga res-

sursi aktiveerimistegevus. Teadustamine seisneb enamasti nii ressursside aktiveerimises ja hoolduses kui ka monteerimises. Teadustamise käigus konstrueeritakse arheoloogilisi, etnograafilisi jm väärtusi, kaubanduslikult väljendudes vaatamisväärsusi; monteerimine kipub sageli olema akadeemilises mõttes “madalama” astme töötajate, nagu harrastusuurijate või ametnike tööpõld, kuhu “kõrgemas” seisundis akadeemilised isikud sekkuvad aeg-ajalt nõustajate, ekspertide vms rollis (ekspertide kaastöö kohta pärandi tekitamises ja “konkurentsivõimeliseks” muutmises vt nt Svensson 2000; Howard 2003).

Saientifitseerimine ei hõlma ainuüksi neid valdkondi ja distsipliine, mida enamasti kultuuripärandiga seostatakse (nagu arheoloogia, kunstilugu jt ajaloolised distsipliinid), see on üldisem akadeemilistele ringkondadele omane enesekehtestamise, aga ka eneseteadvuse moodustamise tava, mille käigus uued ainevaldkonnad omandavad tähenduse kui uurimisväärsed, asjakohased jne või mille abil kinnistatakse juba aktiveeritud ressursside uurimisväärsust. Antud kontekstis keskendun siiski teadustamistavade rollile just kultuuripärandi moodustumises.

Ülikoolirahvast pole tavaks pidada huvitatud osapooleks ega üldse mainimisväärses teguriks pärandi moodustumisel. Ometi on raske eitada, et millegi pärandiks kujunemise tee alguses on enamasti vilksatanud mõni akadeemiline uuring, olgu või üliõpilase kursusetöö — õieti just seal see algus sageli ongi. Üliõpilaste välitööjõudu kasutavad nii akadeemiline personal kui mitmesugused riiklikud institutsioonid, nt kaitsealad ja muuseumid, “algandmete hankimiseks” “väärtuslike” objektide või pärimuse otsinguil. Seega on alust näha akadeemilisi ringkondi ühe põhilise ja olulisima kultuuripärandi määratlejana (vrd Howard 2003: 137–141).

Nii seadused kui tavad peegeldavad akadeemiliste ringkondade tööjaotust, omavahelisi võimusuhteid ja tegevusalade jaotust ühiskonnas ja ruumis. Tabelis 1 toodud muinsuskaitseaduse § 2 näiteks peegeldab kujukalt suhteid mälestise määratlemisel eri distsipliinide vahel, nimelt sätestatakse, et mälestisel on “ajalooline, arheoloogiline, etnograafiline, linnaehituslik, arhitektuurline, kunstiline, teaduslik, usundilooline või muu kultuuriväärtus”. Kuigi loetelu ei välista rangelt võttes ka muude kui nimetatud

akadeemiliste valdkondade esindajate või mitteakadeemiliste isikute kaasamist mälestise staatuse üle otsustavasse komisjoni või uurimiserühma, on siiski ebatõenäoline, et sinna satuks nt füüsik või agronoom (agri- või hortikultuuri esindaja), rääkimata lasteaednikust või tööstustöolisest.

Selline lähenemisviis eeldab vaikimisi, et kultuuripärandi väärtus sisaldub selle vormis või olemuses, mis eksisteerib lahus ning sõltumata kogukonnast, mille keskel ta paikneb või mis teda kannab, ning on äratuntav kitsa erialaspetsialistidest nomenklatuuri poolt; selliselt aluselt lähtudes on muinsuskaitse olemuslikult repressiivne ning sotsiaalselt välistav (Turnpenny 2004: 303). Olen varem osutanud sellele (Parts 2004a), kuidas mitmesugused avalikustamis-, küsitlemis- ja kaasamisprotseduurid toimuvad planeerimispraktikas etteantud probleemiasetuse (nt ülalesitatud kanooniline sõnavara) ja “akadeemilise maitse” raamides (akadeemilise maitse mõiste kohta vt nt Knuuttila 1996), toimides ekspertide otsustuste demokraatliku legitimeerimise vahendina. Kuna seadused piiritlevad väärtuslikke objekte ainult “ajaloolise”, “arheoloogilise” vms väärtusena, millel ei saa olla ega ole mingit “objektiivset mõõdupuud” (vrd Parts 2004a), siis on otsustava komisjoni otsused sageli mõjutatud sellest, millised sotsiaalsed rühmad arvatavalt objekti tarvivad (Zukin 1990: 42).

Pärandiurija Peter Howard on väitnud, et “akadeemilise vennaskonna” edu pärandi kontrollimisel ei põhine nende rahalisel panusel, vaid lähedusel mitmesugustele riiklikele ja nõustavatele institutsioonidele (Howard 2003: 139; nt Muinsuskaitseamet, Kultuuriväärtuste Amet jms). Nende huvi ei tarvitse olla vahetult majanduslik, vaid võib põhineda näiteks soovil hoida oma valduses mingit laadi kultuurilist kapitali, kaitsta oma distsipliini “tooraine-maardlat”. See võib väljenduda püüdeis tagada endale ainuõigus mingite nähtuste tõlgendamisel, piirata ligipääsu mingitele kohtadele vms. Akadeemilisest vaatenurgast võib olla läbinisti arukas vältida teiste rühmade ligipääsu näiteks loodusreservaadile või muuseumifondidele. Samas on selline varjamine ilmses vastuolus kultuuripärandi kui deklareeritult “rahvusliku rikkuse” olemusega, eriti kui seesama rahvus või isegi rahvusvaheline avalikkus sellesse pidevalt ressursse panustab. Vastuoluliselt mõjub seegi, et arvatav või tegelik oht nt kaljumaalingutele on sageli

akadeemiliste või muude autoriteetsete rühmade endi tekitatud, nimelt populariseerimise kaudu (vrd Howard 2003: 140–141) — enne populariseerimist on ju seesama nähtus puhuti tuhandeid aastaid puutumatuult säilinud.

Nagu teadustamisega puhul, võidakse ka kaubastamisel ressursina kasutada erinevaid objekte ning selle tulemuseks võivad olla erinevad tooted (Phillips 2005: 491). Tabelis 1 esitatud kanoonilise sõnavara omaksvõtu tulemusel suubub ühiskondlik väitlus kultuurilistest ja looduslikest väärtustest sāngi, kus põhiliseks arutlusteemaks on sobiva turismituru sektori kindlaksmääramine: näiteks sise- või välisturism, massi-, kvaliteet-, öko-, kultuuri- vms turism. Turism kui majandusharu, elustiil ja maailmavaade saavutab sel viisil privileeeritud seisundi muude ruumitavade ees.⁹

Kahtlemata ei kirjelda ega seleta kaubastamine ja teadustamine kultuurikeskkonna tootmist täielikult. Tuleb ka meeles pidada, et keelelised tavad pole ruumi kujundamisel ainumääravad ega kõikvõimsad. Isikliku suhtluskogemuse põhjal loodus- ja muinuskaitsetöötajatega, omavalitsusametnikega ning mitmesuguste “pärandiinimestega” julgen väita, et tegelikkuses langetatakse konkreetseid otsuseid kaitsemeetmete rakendamisel või kaitseeskirjade täitmisel (nt ehituslube andes) ja muude korralduslike otsuste tegemisel n-õ inimliku mõistvuse ja kaastunde printsiibil. Ka “hea maitse” osutub vajaduse korral küllalt paindlikuks kontseptsiooniks.

⁹Hulgale kogukonnapõhise turismi üksikjuhtude analüüsile tuginedes hoiatavad Derek Hall ja Greg Richards, et “võib juhtuda, et [kohalike elanike] osalus [arengu kujundamises] piirdub osatäitmisega turisti elamuse tootmises ja taastootmises võimaluseta selle tagajärgi kuigivõrd kontrollida. Selline olukord võib olla talutav neile, kes töötavad turismitööstuses, kuid ei tarvitse olla samavõrd vastuvõetav teistele kogukonna liikmetele” (Hall, Richards 2000: 304–305).

KULTUURIPÄRAND JA AAELELAMINE

Eesti maastikuväärtusdiskursuse analüüsi põhjal olen väitnud (Parts 2004a; täispikka analüüsi vt Parts 2003), et teatud sotsiaalsed rühmad on Eesti maastikuplaneerimispraktikas selgelt paremini esindatud kui teised. Seda nähtust on kirjeldatud kui sotsiaalset välistamist (muinsuskaitsekorralduse ja sotsiaalse välistamise seoste kohta vt nt Turnpenny 2004). Mark Shucksmith ja Polly Chapman (1998) on Patrick Comminsile (1993) tuginedes defineerinud sotsiaalset välistamist kui nende peamiste ühiskondlike süsteemide¹⁰ ebaõnnestumist, mis peaksid tagama üksikisikute või leibkondade sotsiaalse lõimituse. Commins ise on hiljem (2004) eristanud peale majandusliku sfääri veel empaatilist [*affective*] ja sotsiaalkultuurilist sfääri. Empaatilisse sfääri kuuluvad vastastikust abistamist, sõprust, võrgustikke jms süsteeme arendavad tegevused. Sotsiaalkultuurilise süsteemi all mõtleb Commins kultuuriliste väärtuste ja normide tootmist ning edasiandmist [*transmission*].

Eesti maastikuväärtusdiskursuse, aga küllap ka laiemalt kultuurikeskkonda tootva diskursuse puhul võib kõige ilmsemalt kõnelda sotsiaalkultuurilise sfääri puudulikkusest toimimisest, kuna osa rühmade ligipääs legitimatsiooniprotsessidele on takistatud (vrd Commins 2004; Shucksmith, Chapman 1998). Sellise tava tulemuseks on protsess, mida siinkohal nimetan üldistatult **aadeldamiseks** (*gentrification*).

Selle mõiste esmakasutus omistatakse üldiselt Ruth Glas-sile (1964) ja see hõlmab üldjuhul mingi ala kinnistute “läikima-löömist” või “värskendamist” (*refurbishment*) ning sellega kaasnevat muutusi sotsiaalses koostises; kui näiteks Kalamaja muutub tööliste, muulaste ja pensionäride “kõdurajoonist” haritlaste, erialaspetsialistide jt “sakste” (*gentry*)¹¹ renoveeritud “miljööväärtuslikuks alaks”, siis on toimunud gentrifikatsioon ehk aadeldamine.

¹⁰Shucksmith ja Chapman peavad silmas demokraatlikke, seaduslikke, heaoluriigilisi, pere- ja kogukondlikke süsteeme.

¹¹Silveti sõnaraamat (1990) annab ingliskeelse sõna *gentry* vasteks “(inglise) maa-aadel, alamaadel; peenem rahvas, saksad”.

Aadeldamine moodustub õiguslikest, poliitilistest, administratiivsetest, sotsiaalmajanduslikest jms tavadest, mille tagajärjeks on jõukamate, informeeritumate, haritumate jne elanike immigratsioon mingile alale seniste elanike asemel — nende asemel, kelle valduses on vähem kultuurilist ja enamasti ka finantskapitali.

Möödunud aastakümnete jooksul on esile kerkinud hulgaliselt aadeldamiskontseptsioone, kuigi mõiste esialgne põhisisu on püsima jäänud. Näiteks tootmisele keskenduvad teoreetikud on väitnud, et aadeldamist tuleb mõista kui tootlikku kapitaliinvesteeringut, mille eesmärgiks on ületada “rendilüngad”. “Rendilüngad tekivad siis, kui mingil alal kinnisvara hind langeb, mis viib vahe tekkeni kinnisvara kasutajatelt tegelikult laekuvate maksete ja potentsiaalse tulu vahel, mida sellelt alalt võiks loota. See tähendab suurt kasumivõimalust isikuile või asutustele, kelle võimuses on kinnisvara hinda nende alade uude kasutusse investeerides kunstlikult taas tõsta (revaloriseerida) [---]. Aadeldamine on seega [---] kapitali alainvesteeringu ja investeeringu tsükli tulemus” (Phillips 2005: 478).

Enamasti on aadeldamist vaadeldud linnaliku nähtusena, vähemal määral on see käsitlemist leidnud maa kontekstis, kus on rõhutatud pigem inimeste kui kapitali liikumist. Maa-aadeldamist on iseloomustatud kui klassipõhist rahvastiku liikumist, keskklassi immigratsiooni alamklasside asemele, aga ka klassiülese, erinevatel tarbimistavadel põhineva sisserändena (Phillips 2005: 478). Lisaksin omalt poolt, et tegu võib olla ka erineval teenimisviisil põhineva rändega — nt põllumajandusest või sõidukite remontimisest elatuva leibkonna elukeskkonna, hoonestu ja muu infrastruktuuriga seotud vajadused on hoopis teistsugused kui arvuti-graafikust kaugtöölise omad; isegi võrreldava rahalise sissetuleku juures mõjutavad nende elatist ja heaolu erinevad tegurid.

Valulise gentrifikatsiooni-mõiste asemele ongi maa-uuringutes pakutud ka väljendit *rural greentrification* (sõnast *green* — roheline), et rõhutada “sisserännanud majapidamiste nõudmist “roheline” elukeskkonna järele ja arusaama sellest” (Phillips 2005: 478). Klassimõõtme täielikku vältimist maaelanikkonna migratsiooni seletamisel eufemistlike terminite abil nagu *counter-urbanisation* (vastulinnastumine), *rural restructuring* (maapiirkondade restruktureerimine) vms nimetab Phillips siiski “piiratud

sotsiaalseks kujutlusvõimeks” (samas). Eestis võib sellise piiratud kujutlusvõime näiteks ilmselt pidada liiga innustunud jutte nn kaugtöötajate või linnas tööl käivate kõrgepalgaliste spetsialistide maaelust — üldjuhul pole tegu samade inimestega (ega nende järglastega), kes selles piirkonnas veel kümnekonna aasta eest elasid.

Ruumi aadeldamist võib jälgida näiteks mitmel kaitsealal Eesti territooriumil, kus põliselanikud ja n-ö tavaliste elualade (põllumajandus, metsandus) esindajad vahetuvad suvitajate, kunstnike, teadlaste jms vastu. Selle kohta pole küll tehtud statistikat, kuid seda kinnitavad vaatlused, siin-seal trükisõnas ilmuvad kibestunud karjed (vt nt Korge 2002), samuti kaitsealade töötajate ütlused laadis “viimase kümne aasta jooksul on kaitseala vihaseimad vastased õnneks minema kolinud”. Sama protsessiga on tegemist ka renoveerimisega rööpsete muutuste puhul vanade linnasüdame elanikkonna koosseisus.¹² Renoveerimisel näib seega olevat ka demograafiline mõõde — see ei tähenda ainult materiaalse infrastruktuuri, vaid ka elanikkonna “värskendamist”.

Aadeldamisprotsessi toimemehhanismide illustreerimiseks ruumis vaadelgem katket eksperdi soovitudest Lahemaa rahvusparki maastike planeerimiseks ja ehituskorralduseks kaitsekorralduskavas:

Uusehitust võib lubada endistele talukohtadele [---]. Nii võib kindel olla, et säilib maastikuline struktuur, mis peab olema hoonete ja rajatiste paigutuse aluseks. [---] Kui Lahemaa rahvusparki administratsioon peab siiski vajalikuks luua uusi [---] asumeid, siis võimalikud uued elamuehitusalad võiksid olla nõukogudeaegsetel söötis uudismaadel [---]. Sel juhul peab elamuehituses jääma põhiliseks ühepereelamute ehitamine. [---] Soovitav oleks arvestada vanade kinnistupiiridega (Merila 2002: 16; minu allakriipsutused).

On ilmne, et sellised piirangud komplitseerivad igasugust mõeldavat majandustegevust, üsna kindlasti välistab see aga põllumajanduse mis tahes tänapäevases mõttes. Iseloomulik on, et uusehitiste formaalsete nõuete juures mainitakse ainsa ehitise

¹²Linna-aadeldamise vallas on ka Eestis tehtud vähemalt üks uuring Tartu Supilinna kohta, mis kinnitab, et oma kohalikes avaldumisvormides toimuvad aadeldusprotsessid ka meil (Männik 2003).

tüübina ühepereelamut — nn traditsioonilise maastiku ja selle ma-
jandamise juurde kuuluvaist küünidest, lautadest jm tootmishoo-
netest, nt garaazidest, töökodadest jms ei kõnelda. Võib oletada,
et ülalesitatud ettekirjutused langetavad (või on juba langetanud)
ka Lahemaal kinnistute väärtust põllumajanduslikus funktsioonis
ning loovad eeldusi nende hinna tõstmiseks elamukasutusse in-
vesteerides (revalorisatsioon).¹³

Selline areng näib olevat globaalse levikuga (Amit-Cohen
2004; Gonen 2002; Figueroa 1995; Fotsch 2004; Ha 2004;
Marks 1996; Phillips 1993, 2005). Näiteks Phillips (2005)
tõdeb oma Inglismaa maapiirkondade aadeldamise käsitluses,
et planeerimises rakendatud mitmesugused ehituspiirangud ja
-keelud “väärtuslikel maastikel” (nt *Area of High Landscape Qua-
lity* — kõrge maastikukvaliteediga ala), põhjenduseks “esteetiline
välisilme” vms, tõstsid talu- ja põllumajandusehitiste hinda kinnis-
varaturul ning viisid kõikvõimalike kõrvalhoonete nagu küünide,
lautade, aga ka koolimajade jms hinnatõusuni ning elamuotstarbel
väljaehitamiseni, kuid mitte kohalike inimeste korteri- ja kommu-
naalehitusvajaduste rahuldamiseks, vaid sisserännanud keskklassi
tarvis, kes sai endale neid pindu lubada. Phillips väidab enda Ing-
lismaal Põhja- ja Lõuna-Norfolkis korraldatud ning ka teiste uurin-
gutele tuginedes (Parsons 1980; Cloke 1983; Spencer 1995), et just
hõredalt asustatud piirkondade väikestel aladel rakendatud piiran-
gumeetmed muudavad ala aadeldamisele ligitõmbavaks (Phillips
2005).

Tulles tagasi Eesti kaitsealade näite juurde, väärib märkimist,
et igasugust majandustegevust kaitsealadel ei välistata; nt turismile
ja teaduslikele uuringutele luuakse turul aktiivselt eelisseisundit,
kuna neid määratletakse “mittemajanduslikena”, mistõttu nende
puhul ei tarvitse samal määral rakendada muudele majandusharu-
dele kehtestatud piiranguid (vt nt Parts 2004a: 254–255). Elanik-
konna selektsioonile aitab sageli omakorda kaasa nõue järgida mit-

¹³Võib küll kindlalt väita, et rahvuspargi staatus tõstab või hoiab ala
populaarsust suvitus- ja uuselamualana, kuid kas sellega kaasnevad muu-
tused ka elanikkonna sotsiaalses struktuuris, seda ei saa siiski esialgu
empiiriliseks faktiks pidada nii küsimuse vähese uurituse, andmenap-
puse kui ka kättesaadava andmestiku ajalise lünklikkuse tõttu (Vollmer
2006).

mesuguseid “traditsioonilisi ehitusvõtteid” ning kaasata kutselisi spetsialiste ja “aadeldusarhitekte”, mis tõstab kõrgele ehitusmaksumuse (vt nt Olwig 2001) ning eeldab oskust suhelda vastava eriharidusega ametnike jt asjalistega, “head stiilitunnetust” jms (vrd eespool toodud näitega oskusest ära tunda veini aastakäik).

Aadeldamisprotsessil näib olevat hämmastavalt universaalne põhistruktuur — see eeldab esmalt kinnisvara hinna langust, millele järgneb kultuuriliselt radikaalse elemendi, tihtipeale kunstnike sisseränne ja enesekehtestamine esmalt omaenese kinnistuid läikima lüües, seejärel oma keskkonnakujutluse kanoniseerimisega laiemalt mitmesuguse meedia ja regulatsioonide abil. Sellele järgneb ulatuslik kultuuriliselt “vähem radikaalse” keskklassi (n-ö “kodanluse”), rahalise- ja ekspertkapitali sissevool (Zukin 1990; Smith 2002; Phillips 2004). Universaalsus on andnud põhjust nimetada aadeldamist keskseks üleilmseks urbanistlikuks konkurentsistrateegiaks (Smith 2002). Universaalne paistab olevat ka maa-aadeldamise põhistruktuur. Näiteks Phillips (2004) joonistab välja järgmise maa-aadeldamise arengumudeli, tuginedes Zukini (1990) samasugusele linna-aadeldamise mudelile (vt tabel 3).

Kõrvutades seda mudelit (tabel 3) näiteks Karula rahvuspargi tekke- ja arengulooga, on sarnasus ilmne. Ka siin toimis vajaliku taustana ääremaastumine ja rahvast tühjenemine nii massiliste küüditamiste kui maastiku sobimatuse tõttu intensiivpõllumajanduseks juba nõukogude ajal. 1980. aastatel tõmbas ala kõrvalisus ligi mitmeid rohkem või vähem dissidentliku taustaga, poliitiliselt, kultuuriliselt või usuliselt (maausulisus jms) suunitluselt radikaalseid isikuid, aga ka vähem “vastukultuurseid”, kuid vaieldamatult elitaarseid kultuuritegelasi, kes pole oma kinnistute välisilme ja ümbruse suhtes olnud sugugi ükskõiksed. Oma elukeskkonna kindlustamisel saavutasid nad esmalt piirkonna tunnistamise maastikukaitsealana ning iseseisvuse saabudes rahvuspargina. 1990. aastail on kinnisvara liikumine pidevalt elavnenu ja kinnistuid on hankinud ka vähem marginaalne element, kuid kultuuritegelaste elav huvi Karula kinnistute vastu väärib eraldi rõhutamist. Ilmub Karula Rahvuspargi teataja *Taropettäi*, aktiveerunud on mitmesugune seltsitegevus. Keskkonna läikimalõõmine on professionaliseerunud, väärtuslikud hooned on inventeeritud (Eller 1999; Parts 2002) ning kultuuripärandialane

Tabel 3. Maa-aadeldamine kui kapitaliringluse tarbimisruum (Philips 2004: 17)

Töö/toode	Kapitali tüübid ja vastavad aadeldustavad		Kapitaliringluse faas	Aadeldusteguri tüüp	Kultuuriline suunitlus
	Füüsiline	Rahastamine			
Põllumajandusliku tööjõu kahane mine	Langenud hindadega (devalori-seeritud) kinnistud	Kapitalioman-di tsentrali-seerumine, tootlik kapitali investeerimine põllumajandusse	Kapitali hinnalangus (devalori-satsioon)	Mitme-sugune	Kaua püsinud hegemooniliste blokkide mõranemine (devalorisatsioon)
Ümberehitused ja restaureerimised	Talupoeglike (rustikaalsete) kinnistute läikimälöömine	Investeeritud elamukinnistutesse	Otsesed kapitaliinvesteeringud	Individaalne	Tugevalt “vastukultuurilise” suunitlusega aadeldajad
Aadeldustoodete valmistamine — nt reprodukt-sioonid ja koopia-ehitised	Ansambli loomine mitmesugustest rajatistest, et luua “maamiljööd”	Kohaliku kinnisvaraturu loomine; investeeringud tarbimisteenustesse	Kapitali intensiivistamine	Individaalne, aga mõjukam	Lahjenev “vastukultuuriline” suunitlus

töö jätkub, ulatudes traditsioonilise eluviisi käsitlustest arheoloogia ja folkloorini, kõnelemata ohtratest looduspärandi uuringutest (vt Karula Rahvusparki kodulehekülge) — siin on protsessi lülitunud ka käesoleva artikli autor, kellelt on tellitud ehituspiiranguid (Parts 2002) ja kultuuripärandi kaitset (Parts 2003–2004) puudutavad ekspertarvamused. Tegevus põhineb nii rahvuslikul kui rahvusvahelisel kapitalil (Ettevõtluse Arendamise Sihtasutus, SA Keskkonnainvesteeringute Keskus, Euroopa Liit). Rahvusparki keskuses ja mujal müüvad käsitöötooteid kohalikud meistrid, ideede ja spetsialistide pideva kaasamise tagavad jooksvad

Töö/toode	Kapitali tüübid ja vastavad aadeldustavad		Kapitaliring-luse faas	Aadelduste-guri tüüp	Kultuuriline suunitus
	Füüsiline	Rahastamine			
Aadeldatud elustii-li ajakirjad; külaväljaanded	Ajalooliste ehitiste rahvapäraste majastii-lide, kaitsetsoonide tähistamine (demarkatsioon)	Ala üleskiitmine ihaldusväärase elamuja vahest ka turismi- ning väikekaubandussihtkohtana; fiktsionaalne kapital (krediit) soodustab edasist laienemist	Kapitali sümboliseerumine	Üleriigilised ja rahvusvahelised firmad	Kaubastatud kultuuriliste tekstuuride kasutamine lisandub
Ideede ja personali ringlus	Surve aadeldatud uusehituseks	Sugenevad professionaalid; liseerunud maa-aadeldusatused	Kapitali difusioon ja korporumine	Laialdane korporatiivne ja spetsialistikapital	Sugeneb uus aadeldatud hegemooniline blokk

projektid (nt projekt “Kultuuripärandi kaitse kaitsealadel”, Euroopa Liidu *Life-Nature* 2001–2004 projekt). Olulist uusehitussurvet veel ei ole, kuid see on Rahvusparki juhtkonna väitel ennustatav. Karula Rahvusparki administratsiooni, Karula Hoiu Ühingu ja mitmete nende institutsioonidega seotud spetsialistide kujutus Karula “pärandmaastikust” ja “traditsioonilisest ehitusest” on saavutamas hegemoonilist positsiooni avalikus keskustelus.

Kuigi aadeldamise mõiste on seni kasutusel olnud põhiliselt geograafias, sobib seda ilmselt kasutada ka laiemas kui ainult ruumi intellektuaalse hõlvamise tähenduses — aadeldamiseks võiks nimetada ka näiteks tehnoloogia ja oskuste kasutuse, sümbolite ja narratiivide tõlgendamise kontrolli alla võtmist. Kuna “maamiljõesse” ja “pärandelustiili” kuulub mitmeid muidki “kau-

bastatud tekstuure”, kui kasutada Phillipsi (2004) väljendit, võib oletada, et samasuunaline areng toimub ka käsitöö, rahvaluule, traditsiooniliste põllumajandustehnikate jms valdkondades, mis institutsionaliseerimise ja professionaliseerimise käigus muunduvad kõrgspetsialiseerunud elualadeks, kättesaadavaks ainult neile, kes on edukalt läbinud hegemoonilises seisundis ekspertinstitutsioonide ettekirjutatud toimingud (koolitused, näitused, publikatsioonid jms).

Siinkohal võikski artikli üldarutleva osa lõpetada tõdemusega, et teatud tingimuste koosesinemise korral on neil kalduvus “tõmmata ligi” mitmesugust tüüpi kapitali investeringuid, mis viivad aadeldamiseni. Seosed aadeldamise ja kultuuri vahel on seni siiski võrdlemisi “halvasti kaardistatud”. Võime küll üpris kindlasti tõdeda, et aadeldajat ajendab soov oma ühiskondlikku staatust kergitada või kindlustada, investeerides näiteks maamajasse, mis on “staatusekaup — kättesaadav piiratud hulgal ja selle tarbimine sõltub positsioonist ühiskonnas” (Phillips 1993: 126). Kuid vaevalt valgustab see nähtuse kultuurilist “musta kasti” (Caulfield 1989) päris pimeda põhjani. Miks ikkagi inimesed tahavad elada pööningul?

EESTI KAITSELADE KULTUURIPÄRANDI OLUKORRA- JA EESMÄRGIANALÜÜS NING KULTUURIPÄRANDI HOIU KONTSEPTSIOONI ETTEPANEK

Eelnevast arutelust peaks selguma, et kultuuripärandid pole midagi antud, vaid see on tehtud, ühiskondlikes protsessides konstrueeritud ning konstrueeritav. Seega ei takista meid miski oma pärandiharrastust teadlikult kujundamast vastavalt parimale äratundmisele ning parimale teadmisele selle tegevuse tagajärgedest.

Järgnevalt esitlengi üht sellist teadlikku “kujundusprojekti” — Karula Hoiu Ühingu tellitud Eesti kaitsealade kultuuripärandi olukorra- ja eesmärgianalüüsi ning kultuuripärandi hoiu kontseptsiooni ettepanekut. Esitan selle väheste muudatustega, kuid oluliselt kärbitult ja noppeliselt, kuna tellimustöö kogutekst lisadeta oli 51, koos lisadega tervelt 119 lehekülge pikk. Täiesti välja on jäetud

kodumaise ja rahvusvahelise praktika ja kogemuse tutvustus, et-tepanekud kaitsemeetmete kohta, tellimustöös dokumenteerimise huvides vajalikud kordused ning selles vormistuslikult või koosteprotsessi avaliku kontrollitavuse huvides vajalikuna tundunud osad (nt lähteülesanne, vastukajade terviktekstid, ankeedivorm ja täidetud ankeedid), millega on võimalik tutvuda Karula Rahvuspargi administratsiooni valduses oleva tervikkäsikirja kaudu (Parts 2003–2004).

Omaette pikemate lisadena kuulusid töö juurde kaks kitsalt spetsialiseeritud aruannet, nimelt Kärg Kama kultuuripärandi kaitse finantseerimisvõimaluste analüüs (15 lk) ja kaitsealade kultuuripärandi hoiu õigusliku konteksti analüüs Timm Kõlgilt (19 lk). Nende spetsiifilise ja/või andmebaasilaadse iseloomu tõttu pakuvad need ilmselt huvi vaid väga vahetult kultuuripärandi korraldusega tegelevatele inimestele.

Loomulikult polnud ma kontseptsiooni koostades veel läbi mõelnud käesoleva artikli eelnevate peatükkide arutluskäike ega tutvunud kogu kasutatud kirjandusega. Et end mitte tagantjäreletarkusega kaunistada, ei tee ma järgnevasse sisulisi parandusi võrreldes esialgse Karula Hoiu Ühingu üle antud kontseptsiooniga. Hoidun sisulistest parandustest ka seetõttu, et tegemist on mitmeid arutlusvoore läbi teinud, avalikustatud ja seega mingil määral demokraatlikult legitimeeritud tekstiga, mille ainuisikuline redigeerimine poleks enam kohane.

Taustast

Eestis on neli rahvusparki, mille eesmärkide hulka kuulus endise kaitstavate loodusobjektide seaduse ning kuulub praeguse looduskaitse seaduse järgi kultuuripärandi ja rahvuskultuuri kaitse. Ka teised kaitsealad on pärandmaastike ning poollooduslike koosluste kaudu kultuuripärandi teemaga mõõdapääsmatult seotud. Küsimuse muutis veelgi teravamaks ning laiemalt kui ainult kaitsealade suhtes huvipakkuvaks uus keskkonnamõtjude hindamise ja keskkonnanjuhtimissüsteemi seadus, mille kohaselt tuleb hinnata “olulise keskkonnamõtjuga” ettevõtmiste mõju ka kultuuripärandile (§ 4, 5, 20, 33, 40). Kusagil pole aga määratletud, mis on kultuuripärand, millise metoodika alusel hinnata mõjusid

sellele, kuidas selle kaitset korraldada ja vajalikke tegevusi rahastada ning millised on seejuures eri institutsioonide õigused ja vastutus.

Et seda tühikut täita, tellis Karula Hoiu Ühing katseprojekti “Kultuuripärandi kaitse kaitsealadel” raames siinkirjutajalt kaitsealade kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsiooni koos sellega kaasnevate analüüsidega. Sellise töö tegemiseks puudub selge metoodika, üldiselt heakskiidetud tavad ning vaieldamatult autoriteetset allikmaterjalid. Seetõttu seisnes minu töö suuresti tutvumises valitsevate meeoleudtega. Suuremad pingutused olid seotud avalikkuse seisukohtade väljaselgitamisega, üldsuse aktiveerimisega ning vastukajade tõlgendamise, analüüsi ja sünteesiga.

Lähtusin seisukohast, et kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsioon ei saa olla ühe inimese vaimupingutuse ega ka lihtsalt olemasolevate dokumentide tehnilise kokkukirjutamise viil, vaid arutelu tulemusel sündinud n-ö ühiskondlik kokkulepe, vähemalt looduskaitseavalikkuse mingilgi määral jagatud arvamuste fikseering. Muidu poleks kokku pandud dokumendist praktilist abi, see jääks paberiks, millel pole jõudu ja mis pole kellelegi moraalselt siduv. Seetõttu tuleb ainult osa siinsest tööst võtta põhiliselt minu autoritekstina, seevastu peatükis “Kultuuripärandi kontseptsiooni ettepanek” olen püüdnud paljudest vastukajadest ja vestlustest kogutud ettekujutusi kokku sulatada enam-vähem harmooniliseks tervikuks. Kõigest hoolimata ei saa ma eitada, et sellest kumavad läbi ka minu enda isiklikud eelistused ja arusaamad.

Kuna kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsioon on olemuselt pidevalt arenev ühiskondlik kokkulepe, mille õiguspärasus on pideva surve ja kahtluse all ning moodustub praktika käigus, siis võib kahelda, kuivõrd “ühtseks” ja “süsteemseks”, nagu lähteülesandes soovitud, käsikiri kujunes või saabki kujuneda. Kultuuripärand ning arusaamad sellest ei saa kunagi valmis. Käesolev dokument kujutab endast ainult lüli igikestvas avalikus arutluses ja toimimises. Jätkakem diskussiooni!

Töö käigu kirjeldus

Nagu eespool sedastasin, ei saa kultuuripärandi kontseptsioon demokraatlikus ühiskonnas olla ühe inimese vaimupingutuse

ega olemasolevate dokumentide tehnilise kokkukirjutamise vili, vaid arutelu tulemusel sündinud ühiskondlik kokkulepe. Samas on selge, et sellises küsimuses on võimatu korraldada rahvahääletust teema abstraktsuse ning “hääleõiguslike kodanike” ringi määramatuse tõttu. Kontseptsiooni seisukohtade tuletamine ning valminud teksti legitiimsuse tagamine on seda laadi tööde üks igavikulisi ja põhilisi metodoloogilisi probleeme.

Kuna seadsin endale sihiks, et kontseptsioon peab olema vähemalt looduskaitseavalikkuse mingilgi määral jagatud arvamuste fikseering ühel ajahetkel, alustasin diskussiooni tekitamisega. Saatsin looduskaitsega seotud listidesse (Loodusaeg, Ökoturismi ühenduse list, kaitsealade list, Sotsiaalökoloogiaklubi [Hea-uusilm]) laiali artikli “Milline peaks olema looduskaitsealade kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsioon?”, mis põhines vestlustest kogutud ja endale pähe tulnud küsimustest ning visioonikatketest ja tutvustas ka minu enda teoreetilisi või kontseptuaalseid lähtekohti. Artikkel levis paljude vastutulelike inimeste kaasabil edasi ka listidesse ja inimestele, kellest mina midagi ei teadnud. Lühendatud versiooni artiklist saatsin ka *Eesti Loodusesse* ning viimase keeldumise järel *Horisonti*: paraku ei pidanud nood teemat piisavalt huvitavaks või aktuaalseks.

Mõlemale ülalmainitud tekstile lisasin palve reageerida ning oma kontaktandmed. Veelgi lühendataval kujul saatsin paranditeemalised artiklid mõnedele ajalehtedele, kus need ka avaldati (*Roheline Värav*, *Lääne Elu*, *Hiiu Leht*). Kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsiooni teemal pidasin ka ettekandeid, nt ehituskoolitusel Karula Rahvusparki keskses, ühenduse Viljandimaa Mõisad korraldatud seminaril “Kultuuriväärtused ja külade areng” Olustveres (3. II 2004), Soomaa kogukonnale Karuskosel (2. II 2004). Lisaks ärgitasin eeldatavalt sõnakamaid inimesi isiklikult kirjade ning vestlustega; selle kõige tulemusel laekus mulle ka mõnevõrra vastukajasisid, mis ma koondasin peaaegu eranditult lõpparuande lisadesse.

Looduskaitseüldsus osutus siiski küllaltki passiivseks, nõnda et n-ö loomulikest, vahetu ärgituseta vastukajadest ei paistnud lähteseisukohtade ja kontseptsiooni mõningasegi legitiimsuse tagamiseks piisavat. Kui algfaasis olin hoidunud anketeerimisest, pidades seda vormi liigselt vastuseid suunavaks ning ka sisuliselt

antud juhul sobimatuks, siis hiljem otsustasin siiski laiali saata lühikese ankeedi kaitsealade valitsejaile. Ka need on säilitatud lõpparuande lisades. Tulisemaks muutusid vaidlused katseprojekti “Kultuuripärandi kaitse kaitsealadel” lõppseminaril, millel kontseptsiooni ettepanekule tehtud märkusi ja ettepanekuid olen samuti püüdnud arvestada ja mille asjasse puutuvad ettekanded ning koosoleku protokoll on dokumenteeritud lõpparuande lisades.

Kiuslikke küsimusi kultuuripärandist¹⁴

Kui algselt oli pärandil ainult juriidiline tähendus, siis 20. sajandi teisel poolel hakkas see viitama veel mingitele ühiskonna või kogukonna minevikul põhinevatele ühiseväärtusele. Selline (kultuuri)pärand on pidevalt kujundatav väärtussüsteem. Pärand kui väärtus pole tunnetatav “objektiivselt”, vaid ainult seda väärtustavasse kogukonda kuulumise, sellega samastumise kaudu.

Antud töö koostaja arusaama pärandist iseloomustab kõige paremini järgmine definitsioon: **pärand on poliitiline valik minevikust**. Kui nii, siis peab kaitsealade kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsioon piiritlema meie valiku, sest kõike minevikust pärinevat, iga nõõrijuppi ja kivitükki, ei saa me hinnata ega kaitsta. Valimisest pole pääsu. Kui me ei taha, et valimine oleks suvaline ja meelevaldne, tuleb mingi täpsusega vastata vähemalt järgmistele poliitilistele ja kontseptuaalsetele küsimustele, langetada väärtusotsustused.

Milline Eesti? Kas me mõtleme Eestit kui geograafilist ala või kui kitsamas mõttes eestipärasid pärandit? Kuidas me suhtume kultuurilistesse ja etnilistesse vähemustesse? Ja kas eesti kultuuri all mõeldakse pigem rahvuskultuuri, n-ö üleüldist

¹⁴Siin alalõigus esitan mõnevõrra lühendatud kujul katseprojekti lõppseminaril diskussiooni algatamiseks peetud ettekande, mis sisuliselt kattub eelmainitud avalikustavate artiklitega. Tegemist on küll algupärase tekstiga, kuid see on inspireeritud laiemast pärandikeskustelust (vt nt Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000; Jones 2003; Lowenthal 1996, 2004; Olwig 2001; Shipp, Kreisel 2001; Svensson 2000).

Suur-Eesti kultuuri, või pigem paikkondlikku kultuuri? Kui mõlemat, siis milline on nende kahe suhe ning vastuvõetav proportsioon?

Mis on kultuur? Siinkohal tuleks vist esmalt mainida institutsionaalset kultuuri, mis hõlmab kauneid kunste, seda, millega tegelevad muuseumid, raamatukogud, loomeliidud jms institutsioonid. Nimetagem seda selguse mõttes Kultuuriks suure algustähega. Looduskaitsealadel on sellega pistmist ennekõike muinsuskaitseobjektide puhul, aga on ju olemas ka lausa omaette muinsuskaitsealad. Ka looduskaitsealad on mingis mõttes muuseumid, kus midagi kaitstakse ja säilitatakse aja või arengu eeldatavalt ebasoovitava mõju eest, ja selle kaudu on neilgi tegemist suurtähelise Kultuuriga.

Sõna “kultuur” kasutatakse aga ka mitmes teises tähenduses. Näiteks rahvakultuuri tähistamiseks. Karula Hoiu Ühingu läheteülesande järgi peab kontseptsioon hõlmama kultuuripärandi kõiki valdkondi: esemelist pärandit, ehituspärandit, asustust, keelt, ajalugu, traditsioone, folkloori, elulaadi. Selline loetelu viib meid väga lähedale arusaamale kultuurist, mis on valdav rahvateadlaste ja antropoloogide seas: kultuur kui kogu inimlikku tegemist ja olemist suunav ning kõiges inimlikus väljenduv laad. Selles tähenduses kasutatuna ei piirdu kultuur inimolemise minevikulise ega normatiivse küljega, vaid hõlmab ka meie praegust argist käitumist, näiteks isegi kultuuripärandi kaitse koosolekute pidamist ja kontseptsioonide sõnastamist. Nii rahvakultuuri kui antropoloogi laiasisulist kultuuri mõistet tähistan siinkohal väikese algustähega.

Mis on pärandkultuur? Pärand oma algses juriidilises tähenduses on näiteks vanaema maja lapselapse jaoks, kelle nimele kirjutati testament. Oletame, et vanaema suri kuu aja eest. Sel juhul kuuluvad pärandi hulka ka kuu aega vanad ajalehed, aga ka tänased ajalehed, juhul kui tellimus on veel jõus.

On siiski selge, et seda me kultuuripärandi all ei mõtle. Aga mida me siis mõtleme?

Pärandi poliitiline olemus tuleb välja näiteks küsimusest, miks me peame pärandiks küll Sassi-Jaani reht ja Palmse

mõisa, kuid tõrgume selleks pidamast kolhoosilautasid. Vastus on ilmselt lihtsalt see, et viimased meile ei meeldi. Me ei hinda seda poliitilist süsteemi, mida kolhoosilaudad meile sümboliseerivad.

Objekti või nähtuse vanus ei ole millegi pärandi hulka arvamisel otsustav — näiteks praegu vabaõhumuuseumis vaadeldav Sassi-Jaani rehielamu “pärib” 1993. aastast — ajast, mil ühtki kolhoosilauta enam ei ehitatud. Viljandi Pärimusmuusikafestival aga “loob” igal aastal veelgi uuemat “kultuuripärandit”.

Kelle pärand? Eespool olen korduvalt kasutanud meievormi, küsides, mida **me** loeme pärandiks. Kes on aga need **meie**? Kes kuulub või on õigustatud kuuluma kaitsealade kultuuripärandit määratlevate subjektide ringi? Kaitsealade töötajad? Elanikud? Kinnisvaraomanikud? Mingi üldsuse osa?

Sotsiaalne staatus on alati mänginud olulist rolli pärandi määratlemisel. Niisiis, mis väärrib enim pärandiks pühitsemist, kas mõisniku, päristaluniku või moonaka maised jäljed? Aga käsitöölise, kolhoosniku omad? Kas pärandit on kutsutud ja seatud määratlema vaid “paremad inimesed”, haritud ja “sündsä eluviisiga” koduloouurijad ning ajaloolased, või on õigus sõna sekka öelda ka “meestel poe tagant”?

Mis on kaitsmine? Üks möödapääsmatuid poliitilisi valikuid on ka see, milline on “meie” meetod eesmärkide saavutamiseks ning tegutsemise mudel. Kaitsmine viitab militaarsete mudelile, mille eelduseks on, et eksisteerib vaenlane, kelle või mille eest saab kaitsta. Seetõttu on küsitav, kas kaitsmise metafoor sobib rahuaja tingimustesse, kus pole selget vastandust “omade” ja “vaenlaste” vahel. Juhul kui see vastandus tundub siiski sobilik, tuleb defineerida nii “omad” kui ka “vaenlased”.

Kultuuri kaitsmise idee eeldab, et kultuurile tuleb pidevalt rahaliselt või muul moel peale maksta — just nagu oleks kultuur õrn võõramaine lill, mis poputamisetä meie kliimas toime ei tule. Seega kerkib küsimus, kas selline kultuur on jätkusuutlik või kas kultuur peaks olema jätkusuutlik. Kas kultuur ongi ainult see, millele peab peale maksuma? Kas nt poollooduslike

rohumaade hooldamise kultuur kõigi sellega kaasas käivate tavade ja muu säärasega on mõeldud alatiseks sõltuvaks jääma projekti- vm välisest rahastusest või peaks see kunagi iseseisvuma, olema potentsiaalseltki võimeline iseseisvaks eluks? Ja kas majanduslikult iseseisvunud/iseseisev kultuuriharu peab jääma meie hoidva tähelepanu alt välja ning nihkuma fookusse alles siis, kui ta hakkab välja surema?

KULTUURIPÄRANDI HOIU KONTSEPTSIOON KAITSEALADELE. PROJEKT

Antud kontseptsiooni põhimõtted lähtuvad sellest, kuidas mina pean laekunud vastukajade valguses võimalikuks ja sobivaks vastata peatükis “Kiuslikke küsimusi kultuuripärandist” tõstatatud küsimustele. Rõhutan, et tegemist pole kaugeltki puhta omaloominguga, vaid olen ammutanud tuge ja inspiratsiooni vestlustest mitmete looduskaitsega ning looduskaitsealadega seotud inimestega. Oma osa on olnud ka loetul. Olen seega püüdnud käituda kui sünteesiv meedium. Kahtlemata ja paratamatult on tekstinud siiski tugevalt tunda minu isiklikku käekirja. Antud peatükk kannabki seetõttu pealkirjas märkust “Projekt”, et vältida lõplikkuse, olemuslikkuse ja “kõrgemalt määratuse” muljet. Projekti algversioon on siiski teinud läbi tuleristsed katseprojekti “Kultuuripärandi kaitse kaitsealadel” lõppseminaril, millel tehtud märkusi ja ettepanekuid olen püüdnud arvestada.

Nagu lugeja peatselt näeb, olen kontseptsiooni ettepanekus keskendunud just nimelt kontseptuaalsetele küsimustele. See lähenemisviis erineb oluliselt seni levinud tavast, kus kultuuripärandit püütakse piiritleda põhiliselt selle välise karakteristike ja loetelude kaudu. On tavapärane loetleda pärandobjekte tüübiti (nt arhitektuurimälestised, lubjaahjud, kiviaiad) või ka viidates äärmiselt abstraktselt akadeemilistele distsipliinidele (ajalooline, arheoloogiline, kultuurilooline jne) või oma universaalsusetootluses ähmastele tunnustele (tüüpiline, haruldane), jättes samas enamasti lahtiseks või pidades enesestmõistetavaks valiku väärtusaluseid ning põhjendusi.

Olen oma ettepanekut sõnastades püüdnud luua süsteemset käsitlust või vaadet, mida võiks nimetada ideoloogiliseks: see toob selgesõnaliselt välja väärtused ja eesmärgid, mida püütakse saavutada selle dokumendi rakendamisel. Et seda ideoloogilist vaadet oleks paindlikult võimalik rakendada ruumiliselt ja sotsiaalselt konkreetsetes olukordades, n-ö maastikul, olen hoidunud pärandobjektide ja -nähtuste esitamisest formaalsete karakteristike ning loendite kaudu; toodud näited on ainult mõtte ilmestamiseks, mitte kohustuslikuks järgimiseks kõigil kaitsealadel.

KULTUURIPÄRANDI KONTSEPTSIOONI ETTEPANEK: MAAINIMENE ON OHUSTATUD TÕUG

Kultuuripärand käesoleva kontseptsiooni mõttes tähendab ennekõike lookaitsealade territooriumiga otseselt seotud looduskultuuripärandit. Looduskultuuri all peetakse siin silmas kohalikus looduskasutuses ja sellega tunnetatavalt seostuvas konkreetses kohalikus elulaadis väljenduvat või väljendunud inimeste käitumist ning selle käitumise tulemusi. Looduskultuuri hulka kuuluvad näiteks ajaloolised teed ja järjepidev maakasutus, kohaliku maakasutusega seotud hooned, jahi- ja kalastustraditsioonid, kaudsemalt ka kohapärimus ja murre, kohalikud aastapäevade vms seotud, eelistatult paikkonnale eripärased kombed, nagu pidustused ja talgud, tavad ja tõekspidamised. Looduskultuur on kaitsealadel hoitava looduse lahutamatu osa.

Kultuuripärandi kaitsmisel tuleks kaitsealadel eelistada neid nähtusi ja objekte, mis on elusad ja toimivad tänini: kasutusel kuivati, sõidetav teelõik, loodusvarade kasutust olemasoleva kogukonna silmis reguleeriv tavaõiguse “säte” jne. Väärtusliku kultuuripärandi hulka kuulub ka kaitseala kui majanduspiirkonna ja institutsiooni viljakas ning vastastikusest lugupidamisest kantud suhtlemistraditsioon kohalike elanikega, samuti ümbritsevate alade ja asutustega. Pikkade traditsioonidega kaitseala moodustab omaette kultuuriväärtusliku terviku.

Looduskultuuri valdkonda ei loeta üldjuhul professionaalse kultuuri nähtusi, poliitilisi ja kultuuriloolisi monumente ega

kinnismälestisi (nt tuntud ühiskonnategelase suve- või sünnikodu, arheoloogilised ja puhtarhitektuurilised huviväärsused), kui neil pole muud, looduskultuuri seisukohast olulist tähendust. Juhul kui nimetatud kultuurinähtused on vahetult seotud looduskultuuri ja looduskeskkonna kaitse vajadustega ning kaitseala muude eesmärkidega, kui nende ühine hooldamine ning kaitse annab majanduslikku efekti või on muus mõttes soovitatav, tehakse koostööd teiste asjaomaste institutsioonidega ning jagatakse vastutust ja kulutusi.

Looduskultuuri kaitse üks keskseid põhijooni tuleneb sellest Eesti looduskaitse eripärast, et Eesti looduskaitsealade kaitseobjektiks ei ole enamasti ranges mõttes metsik loodus (ingl. k *wilderness*), vaid inimesest mõjustatud (mitmesugused piirangu- ja sihtkaitsevööndid) või koguni täielikult kultuuristatud loodus (nn poollooduslikud kooslused jms). Eesti looduskaitsealad kujutavad endast rohkemal või vähemal määral pärandkooslusi, millel traditsioonilisi elatusvahendeid kasutav inimene oma eripärase kultuuripärandiga on võtmetähtsusega liik.

Looduskaitsealadel tuleb kohalikule kogukonnale vajaduse korral tagada eriõigused kohalike loodusressursside kasutamisel (näiteks kui ahinguga kalapüük, linnunurude korjamine, küünide rajamine tänapäeva mõttes “kaldakaitsevööndisse” vms on mingil alal kombeks olnud, võiks seda mingitel tingimustel ka edaspidi harrastada). Kaitsealuse taime- või loomaliigi reguleeritud kasutamisel tuleb eesõigus anda traditsioonilisele või muul alusel määratletud kohalikule kasutajale. Ühismaade, teede jms kasutamise traditsioone tuleb soosida maa omandikuuluvusest sõltumata ning kaitseriigi vastavalt kohandades. Ka mitmed uuemad kultuuri- ja ettevõtlusvormid võivad moodustada osa piirkondlikust kultuuripärandist. Üldpõhimõttena tuleb silmas pidada, et traditsioonilise elatusviisi ja kohaliku kogukonna konfliktis muude majandusharude huvide ning arendustegevusega tuleb eelistada esimesi.

Looduskultuuripärandi all tuleb mõista seda osa looduskultuurist, mis toetab konkreetse kaitseala kitsamas mõttes looduskaitsealisi eesmärke. Seetõttu määratakse kultuuripärandi

konkreetne sisu ja hoiueelistused kindlaks iga kaitseala puhul eraldi. Looduskultuuripärand nagu maastikud ja kooslusedki elab ega saa kunagi valmis. Looduskultuuripärandi hoidmine tähendab elava protsessi kestmise eest seismist oma südametunnistuse ja parema äratundmise järgi.

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Vollmer, E. 2006. 2006. aasta augustis EMÜ magistrant Elis Vollmeri läbiviidud küsitluste ja muude andmete analüüs maade väärtustumise ning Lahemaa Rahvuspargi seoste kohta. [Materjalid sinise artikli autori ning E. Vollmeri valduses]

PRIIT-KALEV PARTS (sünd. 1972) on lõpetanud 1997. a TÜ eesti kirjanduse erialal. 1998–2003 õppis EPMÜs maastikuarhitektuuri ja kaitses 2003. a loodusteaduse magistri kraadi väitekirjaga “Väärtuse määratlemine maastikul”. 2003. aasta sügisest Eesti Maaülikooli põllumajandus- ja keskkonnainstituudi doktorant. Praegu töötab TÜ Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia rahvusliku ehituse õppekava hoidjana. Avaldanud varem *Akadeemias* artikli “Väärtuse määratlemine maastikul” (2004, nr 2, lk 227–267) ning tõlkeid rohelisest liikumisest, filosoofiast jm. Tõlgetest on omaette raamatuna ilmunud ökofilosoof Pentti Linkola *Juhatus 1990ndate mõtlemisse*.



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DEVELOPING SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE-BASED
LIVELIHOODS: AN INITIAL STUDY OF ARTISANS AND
THEIR CRAFTS IN VILJANDI COUNTY, ESTONIA

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Developing sustainable heritage-based livelihoods: an initial study of artisans and their crafts in Viljandi County, Estonia

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This paper examines the role of traditional woodworking and building crafts as a local resource in a country in transition from socialism to a market-based economy. The authors use an applied anthropological approach to integrate the preservation of intangible heritage (in the form of traditional crafts) and sustainable heritage-based livelihoods into a contemporary institutional framework. The paper starts with a theoretical discussion of skills as a form of tacit knowledge, a mode of knowing that does not easily submit to verbal explanation and transfer. The authors then discuss the methodology, purposes, procedures and precedents of collecting information about artisans and their skills. Relying on fieldwork data collected in Viljandi County, Estonia in the summer of 2008, the authors sketch an overview of relations between artisans and the communities they live in. The paper also examines several related phenomena such as economic sustainability of the crafts, intergenerational transmission of skills, changes in the relationship between the artisan and the customer, and relevant implications for crafts-related institutions and policies.

Keywords: sustainable heritage-based livelihoods; crafts; tacit knowing; intangible heritage; craft-related institutions and policies

Introduction: theoretical background and context

In a number of academic communities, the popularity of crafts as a subject of research has increased markedly in recent years (Anttila 1993; Adamson 2007; Risatti 2007). Yet, on the whole, much still remains to be done to raise our awareness of crafts studies as an independent academic discipline and of crafts as a viable livelihood (Äyväri 2006). In part, this may be due to significant difficulties encountered in defining the field – it is becoming increasingly hard to distinguish between (fine) arts and crafts, between recreational and professional involvement (Rattus and Jääts 2004) – let alone to provide a sufficiently clear definition of crafts as such. The relatively high number of practitioners, the number of crafts partnerships and societies,¹ and a strong interest shown for continuing education in the crafts suggest

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that the social importance of crafts and their share in the livelihood of regional communities is significant (Korhonen and Alitalo 2006; Vanamölder 2009).

Focusing on traditional woodworking and building crafts, this paper examines the question of how to produce the knowledge required to sustain and invigorate heritage-based livelihoods. It also considers the challenges that the production of such knowledge entails for the relevant institutions and for government policy as regards intergenerational transmission of crafts-related skills and practices.

This, of course, begs the questions ‘what is a craft?’ and ‘what theoretical approaches should we adopt in the study of skills?’ One of the first modern thinkers to deal with the subject in a systematic fashion was the philosopher Michael Polanyi (1891–1976), who advanced the concept of ‘tacit knowing’. He argued that, in addition to facts, human knowledge also relates to the performance of various acts that require skilful or tacit knowing. Tacit knowing manifests itself in skill and connoisseurship. It cannot be acquired by reading a manual or following a recipe. This limits the spread of skills to their possessor’s circle of personal contacts (Polanyi 2002, pp. 49–63).

In the anthropological literature we often encounter the concept of ‘indigenous knowledge’, which generally covers traditional knowledge and skills of indigenous peoples, thus overlapping with the terms ‘local knowledge’, ‘folk knowledge’ and ‘traditional knowledge’. Although particular authors writing within a specific academic discipline or cultural context may sometimes attribute slightly different meanings to them, the terms still represent a closely related set of concepts. *Norsk Handverksutvikling* (Norwegian Crafts Development, NHU), a Norwegian government agency founded to preserve, pass on and develop crafts as a form of knowledge, as a means of expression and as livelihoods, takes a similar view. In Nordic countries, the discussion of crafts frequently revolves around the concept of *handlingsboren kunnskap*, knowledge acquired by practice, which the NHU has defined as ‘the sum of experience and skill inherited from the previous generation in the form of day-to-day activities, activity patterns and practical insights attained through joint work’ (Martinussen s.a.). The gist of the concept of inherited crafts is captured quite well in the NHU’s definition. In addition, certain terms in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) also appear relevant to defining our area of study. Thus, intangible cultural heritage includes ‘social practices’, ‘knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe’, and ‘traditional craftsmanship’ [sic] (ICHC 2003, p. 2).

It is interesting to note that the idea of tacit or practical knowing is gaining popularity, and not only in academic debates (Moss 1995; Frykman and Gilje 2003). Authors writing about knowledge management and innovation management suggest that human societies have entered the ‘knowledge era’, in which a society is defined by the methods its members use to acquire, process and propagate knowledge (Quinn 1992; Drucker 1993). The advent of this new era means that, in order to survive, organisations must ever be on their toes, constantly learning and renewing themselves. Similarly, individuals are required to possess outstanding social and information management skills and an excellent learning ability, since the useful lifespan of their formal education has become very short (Davenport and Prusak 1998).

These changes have also influenced the buzzwords employed in relation to rural communities. In 1990, for example, the EU redefined its priorities in the area of rural development. Nature conservation, tourism, landscape management and the

strengthening of local communities were added to production-intensive agriculture, which was no longer top of the agenda. In connection with these trends, a number of authors have started to use references such as ‘post-productivist transition’ and ‘post-productivist countryside’, both of which describe a reality where agricultural production in many rural areas has been reduced to a marginal source of income and employment (see, for instance, Evans *et al.* 2002; Phillips 2005). Instead of agriculture, people in those areas engage in the commodification of landscapes, local knowledge, skills and various community actions and events related to rural life and cultural heritage (see, for example, Cohen 1993; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995, Graham *et al.* 2000, pp. 143–144, Parts 2004a, 2004b).

Collecting information about individuals possessing an inherited craft in Viljandi County: methods, aims and procedures

In 2008, the authors collected information about individuals possessing an inherited skill in Viljandi County in South Estonia as part of a larger community development project² aimed at developing and instituting study programmes in traditional crafts at vocational schools. The project was motivated by trends in Viljandi County, at one time Estonia’s granary, in which agriculture and forestry are rapidly being marginalised as providers of employment (Viljandimaa maakonnaplaneering 2005–2010). Such a situation creates a natural niche for small rural businesses – especially ones that are capable of adding value to wood and timber in diverse ways (*ibid.*). This study also develops out of the concept of ‘sustainable livelihood’ advocated by Chambers and Conway (1991, p. 6), in which a livelihood is defined as sustainable if it can provide a living, cope with stress, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation.

The principles of collecting information about individuals possessing an inherited skill bear direct relevance to the educational priorities of the University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy and the two vocational schools participating in the project.³ The project focused on traditional building and woodworking skills, since these are less readily recognised as crafts in Estonian society and are rarely represented in its educational institutions. At the same time, we tried to shape our information collection methods such that the field of their potential application would not be limited by the gender of the artisan, the principal materials used by them or the place where they work.

Upon commencing this project, we soon realised that notions such as ‘traditional craftsmanship’ and ‘intangible heritage’, which are employed in international policy instruments, require considerable adaptation at the local level (cf. Siivonen 2002; Rattus and Jääts 2004, pp. 127–128). For this reason, we decided to adopt a more relaxed approach.⁴ In addition to crafts that have been inherited in the strict sense of the word (according to the UNESCO definition, intangible cultural heritage has ‘to be transmitted from generation to generation’ (ICHC 2003, p. 2)), the study also included certain more recent skills, as well as certain skills and competencies that are not necessarily perceived as a ‘craft’ (for example, the use of power tools in craftwork, certain agricultural and forestry know-how, etc.), but are often intrinsically related to one.

Applying the notion of ‘individuals possessing inherited skills’ in the field proved to be another complicating issue. On the one hand, we wished to respect the

community's own crafts-related beliefs and values. On the other hand, if we were to get any information at all on the type of artisan we were interested in, we needed to explain the concept somehow to our informants at the outset of the project. Thus, in the preparatory stage of the project, we decided to draw up a list of crafts or products that we were interested in, in order to clarify the aims of our research (see Table 1; for further details, see Parts *et al.* 2009). In the course of the preparatory stage, we collected tips about 128 artisans and seven small crafts companies (see Rennu 2008), all of whom turned out to be, or employ, male artisans. In view of the fact that Estonian traditions regarding the division of labour between the sexes are still influenced by the country's agrarian past (see, for example, Viires 1960; Vunder 2008)⁵ this was not surprising.

In selecting the craftspeople to be interviewed during the main part of the field-work, we observed the following criteria: the craft concerned must be of local origin; it must be (at least to a certain extent) acquired by way of a master-apprentice

Table 1. Indicative list of woodworking and building skills of interest to the research team from the Viljandi Culture Academy during fieldwork in Viljandi County (2008).

Woodworking skills (making of wooden products or artwork)
(1) Wooden utensils – various spoons, bowls and barrels
(2) Wooden gardening tools: brooms, rakes, etc.
(3) Wooden boats – clinker-planked sailboats and dugout canoes (e.g. <i>kale</i> ⁶ and <i>haabjas</i> ⁷) but also newer wooden boat types
(4) Wickerwork and basketry – baskets, furniture, etc.
(5) Horse harnesses and other gear – sledges, carts, thills, horse bows, etc.
(6) Beekeeping gear
(7) Woodcarving, decorative wood burning, intarsia, objects made of birch bark
(8) Other traditional woodworking crafts
Building crafts
(1) Log building – the creation of new buildings, renovation of old log buildings, as well as their dismantling and re-assembly at another location
(2) Traditional timber framing. Construction of mills and other big or complex timber-framed structures, preferably using round timbers
(3) Clay masonry – new buildings, renovation of old buildings
(4) Stone masonry – construction of buildings, foundations and other structures of cobblestones and boulders, also cobblestone and boulder splitting
(5) Wooden or reed thatch roofing, including the manufacture of the corresponding roofing materials
(6) Insulation of buildings with traditional materials, e.g. reed mats
(7) Windows and doors and everything related thereto – joinery, replication and renovation
(8) Stove building – tile stoves, masonry and metal stoves, cooking stoves, fireplaces, sauna stoves and also chimneys
(9) Building of traditional hand-dug wells
(10) Tinsmithing – standing seam metal roofs, rain gutters, stove shells, etc.
(11) Blacksmithed hardware: hinges, locks, woodworking and building tools
(12) Small structures made of wood, stone or metal – fences, gates, swings, etc.
(13) Other materials used in traditional construction, and the small businesses producing such materials – tar and lime, lumber mills that sell materials outside of the regular product range
(14) Other crafts related to construction work; also smaller decorative components and design

relationship; the craftspeople's skills must meet a certain standard of quality; and the practice of the craft should be environmentally sound. In addition, we decided to look for the presence of a certain personal charisma, which is a factor likely to contribute to the economic and social sustainability of the artisan's livelihood. We considered that, if a person is not enjoying what they do, and performs a 'faceless' service, their work is unlikely to prove sustainable in the long term.

We also decided to attribute significant weight to recognition of the community. The artisan must be sufficiently well known in the local community and their skills should be attested by references. Previous work done by the artisan should be available for inspection. This criterion chiefly served the aim of visual documentation, yet was also likely to reveal something about the artisan's individual touch. Last, but not least, it permitted the fieldworker to verify that the artisan in question actually possessed the skills attributed to them by the informants.

Our previous experience in communicating with artisans, as well as the theoretical considerations set out in the previous section, suggested that it was unlikely that we would be able to make significant progress in understanding and describing the skills of our artisans during the relatively short period of the project. Consequently, we decided not to focus in detail on the technical aspects of our craftspeople skills (leaving these for future research projects) and restricted ourselves to compiling an inventory of those who could potentially become teachers of their craft, and of their skills. To gain a better overall picture regarding the viability and sustainability of the crafts we focused on, we also decided to note the conditions required to ensure the sustainability of a craft. At the same time, we tried to organise our research such that it would facilitate the emergence and growth of informal communication networks. For example, the researchers were assisted in collecting the information by students pursuing the programme of studies of Estonian native construction from the Viljandi Culture Academy – a fact which on the one hand may have complicated the research process, but on the other hand also contributed to the development of direct professional cooperation between students and practising artisans.

The principal part of the fieldwork consisted of in-depth interviews conducted with 39 craftsmen. In our search, we did not find artisans representing every craft and skill in our preliminary list; however, we did discover a few individuals possessing knowledge of rather unexpected crafts. Some craftsmen engaged in several crafts at the same time and sometimes their principal area of competence was difficult to pinpoint, as they might have ceased to actively engage in some areas. If an individual skill/craft was difficult to define or was pursued predominantly as a hobby, we classified it as 'other' (Table 2). The information collected as a result of the fieldwork conducted in 2008 is stored in a web-based database (Database of Viljandi County Artisans Possessing Inherited Skills – hereinafter DAPIS).⁸

Examples of heritage-based livelihoods in Viljandi County

Priit Retsep (born 1977) is a maker of wicker baskets (Figures 1 and 2–4), whose reputation extends well beyond Viljandi County. His trade is rooted in family traditions and an intimate knowledge of local natural environment. Although traditional Estonian wickerwork makers mostly use one or more of the willow (genus *Salix*; Viies 2000) species as their raw material, Retsep's preference is bird-cherry (*Padus avium*) because of its wide availability and the ease with which it lends itself to wickerwork:

Table 2. Information collected with respect to individuals possessing inherited skills in 2008 (DAPIS 2008).

Area of activity or knowledge	Description	Interest in publicity regarding the trade	Number of practitioners found
Stove building	Various traditional heating systems		4
Building and renovation of log homes and cabins	Mainly independent craftsmen who work alone; services include dismantling and re-assembly of log cabins, traditional timber-framing	1	3
Manufacturing and installation of wooden roofing	Roofing boards, planed and sawn shingles	1	4
Tinsmithing	Traditional rolled metal roofing and sheet metal elements	1	1
Traditional cabinetmaking and joinery	Doors, windows, furniture, staircases, etc.; manufacture, renovation, replication of furniture	2	6
Natural stone splitting and masonry	Cobblestone and boulder splitting; rubble and limestone masonry	1	6
Watermills	Restoration of watermills, small-scale hydro generation		2
Blacksmithing	Blacksmithed decorative elements and construction hardware	1	1
Wickerwork and basketry	Various baskets	1	1
Other (various crafts pursued as a hobby or a secondary source of income)	Clay masonry, saddlery and furrery, various wooden handicraft items (spoons, bowls, sledges, etc.)		11
Total		8	39



Figure 1. Priit Retsep demonstrating the excellent flexibility of the bird-cherry. A bird-cherry stick of approximately 3 m in length and 3 cm in diameter yields enough splits for several baskets. More than by any other natural or technical factor, the length of the sticks is limited by the modest dimensions of Retsep's apartment in an old block of flats built during the Khrushchev era. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

Interviewer: So where do you get your supply of twigs?

Priit Retsep: From the forest. From the land here in the neighbourhood. For example, there's an abandoned narrow-gauge railway embankment that you probably crossed on your way here. It's full and here the forest is [full] of bird-cherry and beyond there's another forest, which is full of bird-cherry saplings. ... [The forest growers] are glad that somebody's clearing up that thicket.

... The willow, it requires a lot of soaking and boiling in salt water. With bird-cherry, you don't have to go to all that trouble. You can cut it any time of the year. ... [To strip the bark] you either dip it into boiling water or just leave it to dry for a couple of weeks. ...

Interviewer: But what's the trick with spruce roots?

Priit Retsep: The same thing.

Interviewer: You should also boil them in salt water?

Priit Retsep: If the spruce grows in a high, sandy spot, it will be nicely tall and slender. But no, you can't just go digging up spruce roots these days; you might get shot at for that.



Figure 2. Preet Retsep demonstrating how to bend an unbarked and unsplit bird-cherry rod on the knee. Note the knee protection made of a leg of an old pair of jeans. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

Maple saplings are also good. They should grow in a tall forest, though; the ones in open spots are too slack.

Interviewer: How exactly do you harvest the roots?

Preet Retsep: I dig them out. Pines sink their central roots deep, but the rest of it is close to the surface. Big trees don't really mind if you take a few roots – I don't see it doing any serious damage. . . . In the old days, there were taller willows here everywhere that provided nice rods that you didn't need to split, but now there's so many roe deer and elk, they bite off the tops of young trees and then these are no use anymore. (Translated⁹ from interview with Preet Retsep, DAPIS 2008)

Preet Retsep's business is adversely affected by the limitations of his workshop – he lives in and works out of a two-room apartment that he shares with his mother and that also has to serve as his warehouse. However, Preet Retsep remains optimistic about the prospects for his craft, both generally and in terms of his personal livelihood:



Figure 3. Prit Retsep demonstrating how to make splits by riving a stick. For the first 10 cm, he uses his knife; after that he drives the rift with his hands, using his fingers and palm to direct it – the rift will run to the side that the stick is bent to. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

Interviewer: I'd like to ask if you have encountered any difficulties in your work?

Prit Retsep: Lack of space. However, I don't have to worry about cutting my fingernails, they wear down nicely themselves. [laughs]

Interviewer: Which wickerwork products do you think sell the best at the moment?

Prit Retsep: Well, as far as I'm concerned, it's baskets. But it seems indeed that hand-crafted items are making a comeback. The time of plastic and metal buckets is soon up. If we could only get rid of those staple-gunned Chinese wares.... Even their wickerwork is stapled together. (Translated from interview with Prit Retsep, DAPIS 2008)

Prit Retsep dreams of taking out a loan and buying a small home in the countryside, in which he could fit out a workshop, and organise wickerwork courses and camping in summertime (Sakala 2008). He is already involved in many social and tourism-related events and projects, thus making a contribution to the promotion of business and community development in an outlying municipality. Teaching at workshops and fairs has become a natural part of Retsep's work and lifestyle. His openness, sense of humour and ease in expressing himself make him a good teacher of his craft:



Figure 4. A roll of splits riven from a stick even thinner than the one shown in Figure 1. Before weaving, the roll must be left to soak in water for an hour. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

Priit Retsep: This cross [see Figure 5] is done like this: you put the twig in place and make a circle, then repeat the same thing and you bring it up like that. It's like laying roof tiles; there has to be a slight overlap. And the end is simply wrapped around here [around one of the basket's main structural twigs or 'ribs'] and is then sometimes threaded through here.

... For that size we have three ribs here. Three for one; three for the other. These go sort of down across here. Then we do a spot of plaitwork to hold the rest of the ribs in place. And by the way, when it's dry, that's how it will stay. This wire is here because it keeps [the ribs] more or less at the same distance and it also exerts a slight strain on the splits. Without it, the basket would become warped. (Translated from interview with Priit Retsep, DAPIS 2008)



Figure 5. Priit Retsep demonstrating how to fix the basket frame by weaving the splits. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

The livelihood of Priit Retsep is based on a natural resource that is abundantly and easily available and whose exploitation requires little, if any, initial investment. To make a basket, all you need is 'a sharp knife, six nails and a strip of wire to hold the frame in place' (Retsep, DAPIS 2008). Since the raw material weighs relatively little, it can be transported on a bicycle (a 3-metre stick with a diameter of 3 cm provides enough splits for several average-sized baskets; Figure 6). To market his products, all that Priit Retsep needs is a bus ticket and a tent. On average, Priit Retsep makes one basket every day. As a result of the low price of the material required and the widely affordable selling price of the product (€6–23 for a basket, according to a follow-up interview in 2010), he has a stable year-round income, although still below the Estonian average.¹⁰

Another example of a talented artisan employing inherited skills is Valeri Velbaum (born 1957), whose family farm engages in the manufacture and installation of several



Figure 6. Up to ten of Priit Retsep's baskets can be placed inside one another. This saves storage space and allows him to transport a large number of baskets on a bicycle or in the luggage hold of a bus. At fairs, it also means that he can use a small sales space to offer a wide selection of products. Photograph by Madis Rennu (2010).

types of traditional roofing shingle. He has also found a market niche in supplying sawn and dressed timber of non-standard dimensions (for example, extremely wide (up to 270 mm) boards, replacement weatherboards for vintage buildings, etc.), in very small quantities if necessary. Compared to Priit Retsep's trade, his business requires significantly more inputs and investment and is more complex. Valeri Velbaum sometimes hires temporary workers and he also runs a website to advertise his business¹¹ Woodworking, however, is not the farm's only line of business – it is skilfully integrated with Velbaum's farming operations – for example, wood waste is used for burning ditch banks, the manufacture of beehives supports beekeeping, and so forth.

Valeri Velbaum also proved to be a very valuable discovery from the perspective of cultural heritage conservation – one of the services that he offers is the production of roofing straw. Roofs made of rye (*Secale cereale*) straw used to be the most widely used type of roofing in Estonia until the introduction of the threshing machine around a century ago. As mechanised processing makes the straw unsuitable for roofing use, this tradition has declined ever since. Although thatch roofs of straw are very durable (some are known to have lasted 100 years), the extreme scarcity of suitable straw has sometimes forced even open-air museums in Estonia to



Figure 7. The farmer Valeri Velbaum and his antique harvester combine which produces straw bundles suitable for thatching. Photograph taken by Madis Rennu (2010) at Karu farm in Mäeküla village in the municipality of Suure-Jaani.

use substitute materials such as the common reed (*Phragmites australis*) in the roofs of historical buildings originally known to have been made of rye straw. It is fortunate that Valeri Velbaum owns an antique combine harvester (Figure 7), which can harvest a crop without damaging the stalks and bind it into bundles that are suitable for thatching (DAPIS 2008). It takes Valeri Velbaum approximately a year to fill an order for thatching straw, the price of which will be of the same order as that of wood shingles (around €13 per square metre, including installation) (Figure 8). This allows him to compete with industrially produced roofing materials and can thus be regarded as a very reasonable price. Although Valeri Velbaum does not actively market this product, its historical authenticity lends it considerable development potential, not to mention the value that such use adds to a conventional farming by-product.



Figure 8. Valeri Velbaum operating a shingle machine of his own design. Photograph by Priit-Kalev Parts (2010).

The viability of traditional woodworking and building crafts in Viljandi County

Among the most important and defining insights gained in the course of our fieldwork is the realisation that none of the craftsmen we interviewed expressed a pessimistic view regarding the viability of their craft in the future. Even those who had ceased to be actively involved in the trade for reasons of age or health said that demand for ‘old school’ building and woodworking know-how was on the rise.¹² This optimistic attitude is also evident in the fact that, except for one, all craftsmen who agreed to participate in the survey also expressed a willingness to pass on their craft and knowledge in one form or another.

At the same time, the respondents were satisfied with the level of income they gained from the practice of their crafts – most of the interviews convey the understanding that, if the quality of work is maintained and deadlines are observed, higher than average pay will be the rule rather than an exception. In spite of the delicacy of the matter, while responding to questions about their economic situation, several interviewees did briefly discuss remuneration and the terms and conditions of filling orders. Thus, it appears that older craftsmen who have an established reputation in the community often tend to neglect drawing up a detailed agreement regarding the terms of providing their service, and perform piecework in accordance with what they regard as good professional practice and standard quality. The recommendation of a respected community member is often enough when a potential customer is searching for a master of a particular craft. In addition to piecework,

hourly rates are sometimes used to calculate the fee in the case of extended or more complicated projects. Needless to say, such transactions are seldom declared to the Estonian Tax Board.

Small entrepreneurs who are running an officially established business usually start with a price quotation, then execute a contract and, after that, proceed to perform the work. Many older-generation craftsmen who are used to oral forms of business culture and lack the necessary accounting and contract skills find it difficult to compete with entrepreneurs of the aforementioned type. Market economy, however, is rapidly transforming the business culture of traditional artisans: the formalisation of transactions, the creation of 'product stories' for marketing purposes and other similar sales techniques are becoming part and parcel of the basic professional skills of many active craftsmen.

Craftsmen's networks

Amongst other things, the fieldwork part of the project was intended to shed light on craftspeople's networking practices. We learned that individuals engaged in traditionally male crafts tend to forgo advertising their products or services, often shun public attention and take a cautious attitude to any cooperative projects. For example, advertising is something that self-respecting (especially older-generation) craftsmen do not want to get involved in:

I don't want no advertisements or nothing. 'Cause, y'know, if you're the man, they will come to you. ... He who that starts advertising himself, just isn't ... [that's] just not right, y'know. Like Savisaar [a well-known Estonian politician – transl.] and his 'Elect me' campaign. (Translated from interview with Ralf Linnupuu, DAPIS 2008)

What good is that advertising to me anyway? Most of my orders come from people I know, and from people who know those people. Fact is, I don't even want to take far-away jobs, or jobs with complete strangers. Of course, that could all change in the next couple of years, and then advertisements might come in handy indeed. (Translated from interview with Artur Kasepuu, DAPIS 2008)

Reluctance to embrace advertising and publicity is probably related to several background factors, among which traditional attitudes hold the most prominent place. Craftsmen enjoying an excellent professional reputation in the community can be booked for considerable periods in advance. In the case of highly sought-after stove-setters, for instance, waiting lists several years long have become the rule. On the one hand, these mammoth waiting lists testify to the scarcity of skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, they suggest that the product or service is priced relatively modestly.

In any case, such customer relationship practices represent an interesting phenomenon that deserves closer examination. When, during fieldwork, craftsmen were asked for information about their colleagues, another curious detail emerged – they usually gave information about another craftsman in the area only if that craftsman practised a craft other than their own. Thus, the long waiting periods can be partially explained by the relative monopoly of the craftsmen, which they try to preserve and protect by controlling the spread of information, either knowingly or subconsciously.

The scarcity and relative lack of dynamism of communication networks in traditional woodworking and building trades is in sharp contrast to the burgeoning of



Figure 9. The flaming torch of the 2009 Estonian Song and Dance Festival was brought from Tartu to Tallinn using historical vessels provided by the Estonian Historical Ships Society. In the photograph you can see a fleet of dugouts meeting the Viking ship *Turm*, whose crew is scheduled to take charge of the torch. The tradition of Baltic song and dance celebrations has been included in UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Photograph by Aivar Ruukel (2009).

certain crafts that are often pursued as a hobby. In these, cooperation appears to be thriving. For instance, we could cite the example of dugout canoe carving, or refer to the rapid rise in popularity of certain old technologies pursued by living history societies and others¹³ (Figure 9), and certain novel ones – such as clay and straw-bale construction¹⁴ or the practice of sustainable renovation of vintage buildings.¹⁵

Hobby groups are also very keen on making use of the opportunities provided by the Internet and, of course, their ambition extends beyond the borders of any single Estonian county – in fact, even beyond national borders. As in many virtual communities, members do not keep their knowledge to themselves, and share information through craft forums and blogs. The fact that the crafts which are mostly pursued as a hobby do not constitute the main source of income for those involved is most likely conducive to the publicity surrounding such crafts. Because funding for many such projects is provided from the public sector, publicity tends to be perceived as social capital, as opposed to a source of potential competition (cf. Teppor 2008).

As the general economic situation has drastically changed since the completion of our fieldwork, several craftsmen have been compelled to change trade. The number of those who earlier had rejected our offer to include their contacts and general information regarding their trade in the public part of the database, because they

considered this to amount to a form of advertising, but who have now changed their minds has also increased. Thus, it has been necessary to recontact the craftsmen to update information. Regular networking is an important factor for the development of crafts – without that, it is difficult to involve artisans in formal training activities. Hopefully, the current economic downturn will also encourage closer cooperation – both with various institutions whose work bears relevance to the practice of crafts and between the artisans themselves. Several collective projects, which were too easily dismissed by many craftsmen a few years ago for the reason that there were numerous other, easier ways of making a living or achieving other professional goals, are now again on the agenda. This signals the start of a most interesting period for continuing our research in the subject.

Discussion

If we were asked about the most unexpected realisation that our fieldwork yielded, we would have to reply: the lack of a reasonably clear concept of the crafts in contemporary Estonia. According to a relatively widespread interpretation, the notion of crafts is identified with women's handicrafts, which are pursued as a hobby or as an auxiliary source of income. At a very early stage of the fieldwork, we decided that we would deliberately avoid using the Estonian words for 'crafts/handicrafts' (*käsitöö*) and 'artisan' (*käsitöölaine*) as much as possible, since even cultural workers and members of crafts societies tended to associate these words with women. This can probably be attributed to the fact that there is a long tradition of institutionalisation (the organisation of various contests, exhibitions, societies, etc.) in the field of what has been traditionally regarded as women's crafts. Another consideration relates to the 'post-productivist' transition experienced by those crafts during the Soviet period: already then, traditional women's handicraft products (decorative textile elements, souvenirs, national costumes associated with the famous Estonian Song and Dance Festival, etc.) had a predominantly symbolic value.

A popular notion of Estonian men's crafts links these, for instance, to the making of wooden toys, to basket weaving and partly also to blacksmithing. The work, for instance, of a mason or a roofer is today described in common parlance as simply 'men's work' and not a 'craft'. Such a notion may partly stem from the fact that many traditionally male crafts are physically too demanding and investment-intensive to be pursued on a non-commercial basis. Although the association of traditional crafts with women's work is not unique to post-Soviet countries (see, for example, Korhonen and Alitalo 2006), Soviet heritage has definitely played a role in shaping this trend. As it was, up to the end of the Soviet period (1991) and to a lesser extent also later, there was a considerable social and economic demand for the services traditionally provided by male artisans – the rigid planned economy of the Soviet system gave rise to an extensive unofficial market for many services of a practical nature (such as stove-setting, building, etc.), which tended to involve considerable physical labour. It was especially in the area of home construction and renovation that workmen (seldom women) provided their services to private individuals on a moonlighting basis. A person who provided services in this manner in the Soviet Union was referred to as 'khalturschik' or 'shabashnik' (both are Russian coinages, the former term having mostly pejorative connotations; see, for example, Shlapentokh 1989). Although everybody in the Soviet Union was (at least formally) employed,¹⁶ employers tacitly accepted that after hours or on weekends their employees would unofficially provide various ser-

vices to willing customers, for a market-based, privately-agreed fee. Fees for such unofficially provided services were, as a rule, significantly higher than the official market rate (where one existed), since the ‘illicit’ products or services provided were in short supply (Rennu 2007). It was also common practice to pay in kind for such services (a bottle of vodka, a box of chocolates, a tube of smoked sausage, etc.). A *khalturschchik*’s service often involved the use of their employer’s tools or machinery (often with the tacit acceptance of the employer, thus amounting to an unofficial benefit), which created added value for the customer (Shlapentokh 1989). Needless to say, any agreements between the providers of an unofficial service and their customers were made orally in the private as well as in the public sector (see, for example, Shlapentokh 1989; Rennu 2007):

In the Soviet time, that was indeed the case – I went to the quarry in Tallinn, gave a bottle of vodka for the men and loaded a ton or a ton and a half of limestone onto my old Yeraz [type of van produced in Yerevan (Armenia) during the Soviet period] and drove home. These trips [were part of my job] – and so I went there at least once or twice a week. (Translated from interview with rubble masonry master Urmas Anton, DAPIS 2008)

The social standing and self-image of traditional craftsmen is to a large extent rooted in the Soviet-time practice of ‘*khaltura*’ (Russian for ‘moonlighting work’) and in the unofficial employment relations it gave rise to. Needless to say, that part of social reality has changed beyond recognition – in the free market, artisans practising one of the building trades now have to compete with the abundant and often low-priced offerings of international hardware chain stores (such as Bauhaus and K-Rauta in Estonia). Artisans’ survival in this new environment depends on the flexibility and adaptability of their services, on informal customer relations and so forth. In some cases, it may still depend on the opportunity to use the tools and machinery of their principal employer, as was the case previously. In certain cases, artisans may derive a competitive advantage from established custom and their network of relationships in the community: for many middle-aged and senior customers, hiring (possibly on a formal basis) somebody other than the local workman to do the job he has always done without any need for paperwork is almost unthinkable.

However, in many cases traditional crafts are in the process of becoming a conscious (life)style choice of both the customer and the artisan. The rising popularity of everything green, healthy and heritage-related creates a new context for traditional crafts (Rattus and Jääts 2004). As discussed above, many artisans practising traditional crafts are still learning to position themselves in this situation and to market their service by highlighting the symbolic value of their work.

The common perception of many crafts as simply ‘men’s work’ limits the validity of a number of crafts studies since they (often implicitly – for example, Korhonen and Alitalo 2006; Vanamölder 2009) deal with women’s crafts and craftswomen. Our experience of collecting information about individuals possessing inherited skills in Viljandi County hopefully provides a better insight into the world of craftsmen (male artisans), with its peculiar features. As such, it should provide valuable information for involving artisans who practise woodworking and building crafts in the corresponding programmes of educational institutions, and should also have certain implications regarding the integration of craftsmen practising other crafts and of their know-how into various training activities and projects.

In this connection, it should be noted that, since craftsmen's identity usually includes a strong component of self-image as a skilled workman, they may often dislike being labelled as 'artisans'. Thus, when involving them in the work of educational institutions, care must be taken to remain sensitive to their self-image and allow them to maintain it; it should not be taken for granted that they will be willing to embrace the professional culture of educational and cultural workers. Second, since many of the crafts mentioned in this paper and the artisans as individuals define themselves to a large extent through their environment (family, home, regular customers, personal tools and local knowledge) – this applies both to male (Parts *et al.* 2009) and female (see, for example, Reinonen and Komppula 2004; Teppor 2008) artisans – any training events involving artisans as instructors should be held in their own environment or in an environment closely resembling their own.

Here, again, it appears relevant to refer to the practice of the NHU in the matter. The NHU has been looking for ways to give official recognition to informal crafts training, since it is obvious that many rare trades (such as those of the cooper, the Saamish handicrafts master, the gunsmith – NHU's examples) can never be taught in class at a vocational education institution – in addition to the need for highly specific factors in the immediate environment, there is also the matter of funding for such classes, which is more than likely to become an obstacle because of the marginal importance of the trades in question. Thus, individuals who wish to learn a rare trade in which no formal courses are offered can acquire the know-how and skills of that trade by working for a master of the trade, or in an enterprise in which the trade is practised, and they will be entitled to take out student loans and use other student benefits on the same basis as regular students. The NHU also administers a scholarship scheme for artisans, which is another way to officially recognise the continuing education of artisans and to ensure them a status equal to that of other professions (from interviews conducted by Parts and Metslang at the headquarters of the NHU in Lillehammer on 24 September 2008; NHU n.d.; Martinussen s.a.).

An aspect of the NHU model that could successfully be implemented in countries not as prosperous as Norway – Estonia among them – is the support scheme for individual training. We could flexibly offer vocational education courses for those who otherwise would experience difficulties in obtaining formal education in a particular rare trade, or in fact any formal education (beyond the compulsory basic one) at all. In Nordic countries, similar principles have been applied in providing vocational education to people living in outlying regions (for example, the Finnish apprenticeship studies framework, *Oppisopimuskoulutus*¹⁷). Although Estonia is a small country, many of the obstacles that make it difficult for people who live in peripheral areas to obtain an education of their choice are mobility-related: the public transport system is poorly developed, it is too costly to commute to the educational institution, conventional forms of study are incompatible with the life situation of the potential student (age, job, household and family members who need to be supported, etc.).

In Estonia, too, it is possible to give formal recognition to forms of training based on an apprenticeship arrangement – these can be registered with a vocational education institution, which will give them a status equal to that of an official programme of studies administered by that institution (see *Töökohapõhise õppe rakendamise kord*¹⁸). However, so far this option has been used very rarely, most probably because of the organisational difficulties it entails¹⁹ and the lack of previous experience (Raus 2010). The Department of Estonian Native Crafts at the Vilj-

andi Culture Academy has already experimented with several forms of *in situ* training within the existing legal framework. For example, in the field of textile crafts, vocational education courses have been developed with a view to meeting the special needs of women belonging to certain social-risk groups (women with small children, women over 40 years of age, etc.).²⁰ However, the organisational details and methods of apprenticeship training under a master skilled in an inherited craft (both with respect to male and female crafts) have yet to find their way from our department's strategy documents into practice. It is a matter of considerable importance for the department – we find that various forms of individual training hold great potential for incubating and developing livelihoods that are based on local knowledge.

Conclusion

The present paper examined the question of how to produce knowledge that would allow formal institutions, especially educational institutions, to contribute to the sustainability of heritage-based livelihoods and to facilitate intergenerational transmission of craft-related skills and practices. To add a practical aspect to our discussion, we drew on a study organised in Viljandi County (Estonia) to gather information about individuals possessing inherited traditional woodworking or building skills. We relied on the theory formulated by the philosopher Michael Polanyi, who argues that, in addition to various facts that can be represented in an abstract manner, knowledge inheres in the performance of various acts. The type of knowledge that performing those acts requires may be termed tacit, which means that it cannot be transferred or taught by words alone. Instead of formal descriptions, such knowledge can primarily be acquired by practice and personal contact between a master and an apprentice (Polanyi 2002). As part of the project, we developed a methodology for collecting information about individuals possessing an inherited skill. The underlying idea of the methodology was to facilitate the formulation of integrated development agendas that would combine the educational and practical economic needs of communities with the goals of protecting intangible cultural heritage.

Although the immediate goal of the research project was the involvement of artisans in the work of educational institutions, we had designed our research activities in a manner that would in itself be conducive to the emergence of informal networks and would 'naturally' give rise to situations in which an artisan's tacit knowledge can be grasped by and transferred to potential apprentices. In the future, we also intend to conduct participant observations with more specific goals – for example, to have a researcher take on the role of an apprentice and work with the master. In addition, we plan to start involving practising artisans in the formal teaching of their crafts and in designing novel learning/research encounters to be offered by educational institutions, as well as to request artisans' assistance in product development efforts.

None of the artisans we interviewed expressed a pessimistic view regarding the viability of their livelihood in the future. At the same time, the respondents were satisfied with the level of income they gained from the practice of their trade. Despite certain traditionalist attitudes that are held by many male artisans in Estonia (such as the predisposition against active self-promotion and against any institutionalised cooperation), those practising traditional woodworking and building crafts displayed a willingness in this respect to adapt to the changing economic and cultural environment. We have in fact recently observed that male artisans have also

started to stress the symbolic value of their crafts – as female artisans have done for some time already. Traditional crafts appear to hold considerable potential for creating added value and offering real alternatives to conventional options of rural production. Thus, the implementation of a development agenda combining educational and practical economic needs with the goals of protecting intangible cultural heritage is highly relevant and appropriate in a situation where conventional modes of rural production have been rendered more or less marginal in many regions.

The results of the project carry certain implications for attempts to draw practising male artisans into cooperation with various institutions. First, when involving them in the work of educational institutions, care must be taken to remain sensitive to their self-image as a ‘skilled workman who performs serious work (as opposed to handicrafts, cultural work and the like)’. Second, since many of the crafts mentioned and their practitioners define themselves to a considerable degree through their everyday environment, any training events involving them as instructors should be held in that environment, or as close to it as possible and in conditions as similar as possible. This poses significant challenges to educational institutions – it may not be easy to reconcile the necessities of artisans’ lives and livelihoods with institutional routines. One possible solution may be to offer vocational education programmes and courses in a variety of diverse and flexible forms, such as *in situ* apprenticeship training.

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Notes

1. According to a study (Kalmus and Keller 2004, p. 101) conducted in Estonia, 2% of male respondents regarded themselves as actively engaging in artisanal activities, and 4% in fine woodcutting activities. Respectively, 14 and 37% of male respondents said they had tried their hand in those fields at some point. Among women, however, the pursuit of handicrafts was and is far more popular both in the past and the present (Teppor 2008). There are currently at least 227 clubs and societies in Estonia who pursue (handi)crafts in one form or another (Vanamõlder 2009, p. 5).
2. The Development of a Crafts Cluster in Viljandi County project (2007–2008) was initiated by the Department of Native Estonian Crafts of the University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy and supported by the Enterprise Estonia Foundation in the framework of the Development Programme of Regional Colleges as Local Centres of Excellence. The project comprises the following actions: (1) Developing advanced training and retraining courses for log builders. (2) Launching a traditional Estonian woodworking course at Olustvere School of Land Economy and Services. (3) Introducing log building as a trade specialisation in the Viljandi United Vocational Schools. (4) Launching the specialisation of traditional Estonian textiles at the Olustvere School of Land Economy and Services. (5) Setting up a research centre for inherited Estonian technologies.
3. With respect to this project, the priorities of researchers were determined by the fact that two programmes are already taught at the University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy Department of Estonian Native Crafts: Estonian Native Textiles (since 1994) and Estonian Native Construction (since 2005).
4. We were inspired by the programmatic 'relaxed attitude' of the family of developmental approaches and methods, which has also been referred to as 'relaxed rural appraisal' (although it is probably better known as 'rapid rural appraisal', 'participatory rural appraisal', etc.). The goal of these approaches is 'to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act' (Chambers 1992, p. 1). In addition to that, emphasis is also placed on methodological flexibility, ability to improvise and to be economical ('principles of optimal ignorance') (Mikkelsen 1995, p. 69).
5. As a Finno-Ugric language, Estonian lacks grammatical gender – the word *käsitööline* (literally 'handworker') is not gender-specific. However, as described in the Discussion section, the words *käsitöö* ((handi)craft) and *käsitööline* (craftsperson, artisan) do have gender-specific associations in contemporary Estonian. These words are associated with what have traditionally been regarded as female crafts, such as textile arts. In the course of the research project, this fact was to prove the cause of many misunderstandings and funny incidents.
6. *Kale* is a traditional clinker-planked sailboat used for trawling on Lake Võrtsjärv (Viljandi County). For further information, see the webpage of the MTÜ Kaleselts [non-profit organisation, the Kale Society] (in Estonian): <http://www.kaleselts.ee/?keel=est>.
7. See, for instance, the blog site of dugout carvers: <http://haabjas.blogspot.com> or <http://www.soomaa.com/?id=139&lang=eng>.
8. Database of Viljandi County Artisans Possessing Inherited Skills: <http://rahvuslik.kultuur.edu.ee>. Full access to the database is limited to the group of researchers involved in the project.

9. The interviews were conducted in Estonian. The excerpts used in this paper have been translated by Meelis Leesik.
10. According to the website of Statistics Estonia, the average gross salary in Estonia in 2008 was 12,912 EEK (€825). Available from: <http://www.stat.ee/37965> (in Estonian).
11. Karu talu (Karu Farm): <http://www.hot.ee/karumesilane>.
12. When the fieldwork of the project was carried out, the 2008 economic downturn had not yet hit Estonia. Still, some of the interviewees mentioned that the situation was likely to change. They also pointed out that the change could bring new opportunities – in a tighter economy, it would be easier to hire employees, and those hired would probably be more motivated (Mart Vaiksaar, DAPIS 2008).
13. See, for example, Eesti Ajalooliste Laevade Selts [Estonian Historical Ships Society]: <http://www.lodi.ee/historicships/index.php/en>.
14. See, for example, Põhuhitajate kohtumispaik [Straw-bale builders' forum] <http://sav-ikodu.ee>.
15. The Information Centre for Sustainable Renovation (<http://www.srik.ee>) also has a branch office in Viljandi, at which training events are organised on a regular basis (<http://www.srik.ee/index.php?region=3&amenu=0>).
16. In the Soviet Union, everyone was supposed to be employed with a state or collective employer. This meant that everybody was supposed to have a 'day job' – in fact, not having a job carried a stigma and could make one liable to sanctions.
17. Oppisopimuskoulutus [Finnish Apprenticeship Training Framework]. Available from: <http://www.oppisopimus.net>.
18. Rules for implementing workplace-based programmes of study – a regulation of the Estonian Minister for Education and Research (see References for details).
19. The assessment of Inna Soonurm, specialist at the Vocational Education Department of the National Examination and Qualification Centre (from the interview conducted by Parts, 23 July 2010).
20. The corresponding training primarily includes product development, entrepreneurship, online marketing, etc. ESF measure 1.3. 'Inclusive Labour Market', project No. 1.0301-0144 'Handicrafts as a job' (2004–2007) and ESF measure 1.3.1 'Increasing the Availability of Qualified Labour Force', project No. 1.3.0102.09-0036 'Handicraft for Job 2' (2009–2010).

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ENDANGERED SETTLEMENTS AND PROTECTED AREAS
IN ESTONIA - THE CHALLENGE OF MAINTAINING
CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

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ENDANGERED SETTLEMENTS AND PROTECTED AREAS IN ESTONIA – THE CHALLENGE OF MAINTAINING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Abstract:

This article discusses the conservation of protected areas of Estonia and rural cultural landscapes, in order to provide baseline information for key institutions in protected areas to develop more efficient management policies for cultural landscapes. Based on demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas, we found that present conservation management practices in limited management zones do not guarantee the sustainability of cultural landscapes, as human activity there is practically vanishing. We found that ensuring sustainable human activity, which is the key factor to preservation of cultural landscapes, benefits from the reduction of legal and practical restrictions on human activity in limited management zones. We propose a methodology which can be used to assess the viability of settlements located in protected areas and select endangered settlements (~20% of settlements located in protected areas), where relieving restrictions of nature conservation would be beneficial. Additionally we propose four possible policies for reducing such restrictions.

Keywords:

Protected area management, nature conservation, cultural landscapes, natural and cultural heritage, rural development, rural depopulation, settlement viability, community development.

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Introduction

This article encourages discussion concerning the value of protected areas and of rural cultural landscapes in global context of rural depopulation, with the aim of helping the international community of landscape researchers, managers of protected areas and decision-makers to develop more efficient and conscious policies to manage cultural landscapes in protected areas and to set priorities regarding conservation management and the allocation of resources. Relatively well-preserved cultural landscapes can still be found in Estonia (Figure 1). Such landscapes are important to the Estonian national identity and are highly valued both by the public as well as in national development plans and regulations (Estonian Ministry of Culture, 2006; Nature Conservation Act, 2004). At the same time, as a whole, the population situation in Estonia's rural areas shows signs of peripheralisation and a clear centre-periphery pattern has been established: the farther an area is from the cities, the more rapid the population decline (Kliimask et al., 2014). Demographic trends within Estonia, and problems related to regional development within protected areas, are similar to those in other European countries (Mose 2007) and at a global level (Joppa 2012).

It is obvious that the decline in rural populations, and agriculture becoming more centred on large-scale production are processes that cannot be prevented, at least not in coming decades. The preservation of cultural landscapes and related natural assets worthy of conservation is not conceivable without permanent settlement. Estonian nature reserves typically protect semi-natural areas. Thus, a question that has become relevant in recent years among nature conservation professionals and people living in protected areas is whether people pursuing their traditional means of livelihood should be considered the key species in protected communities (Parts, 2007).

Presently, in the situation of post-productivistic countryside¹, nature conservation itself has become a factor in countryside policy, and in protected areas it is one of the main factors directing land use (Tomson, 2007). Contemporary principles of regional development and regional politics both in Estonia (Estonian Ministry of the Interior, 2014) and in most Western countries (OECD, 2011; Stöhr, 1990) focus on local special characteristics to identify economic stimulus to reinvigorate peripheral areas, by directing the efforts towards rethinking skills, phenomena or places, and existing cultural elements and start implementing them as a new resource (Perkins 2006, p. 247; Gray, 2000). This also implies that since small-scale nature and culture tourism is a growing field (Saarinen, 2007), it is areas that preserve such values that have a strong competitive advantage as in addition to engaging in other fields, such as small-scale and organic farming, they also boast picturesque natural and cultural assets.

The socio-economic and demographic indicators of protected areas in Estonia are significantly below the Estonian average. Nevertheless, they are fairly comparable to those of other similar rural areas, thereby making this article relevant to the discussion about the viability of rural life in a wider geographical context. For instance, as a geographic pattern, it is evident that regional development is dependent on a region's location in relation to (larger) towns (Kliimask et al., 2014). It seems that protective restrictions have not had a noticeable effect. Population ageing and decline related to peripheralisation, a sharp decline in agriculture (previously a major factor in the rural economy) and other processes have undoubtedly been the primary drivers of this decline, although there have also been instances where the economic competitiveness of protected areas has fallen even faster due to restrictions (Kliimask et al., 2014).

In relation to this, nature conservation policy has been given unprecedented responsibility in fields in which it has not been traditionally engaged (cf. Mose, 2007). As historical cultural landscapes can only be preserved to a limited extent and presumably it is in the protected areas where the culturally more valuable rural landscapes are situated. The authors conclude that it is precisely for the preservation of landscapes in protected areas that nature conservation policy has to get more forcefully involved with the issues of regional development and settlement policy than it has done so far. The research question of this article is how to ensure the preservation of traditional rural landscapes in conditions of general urbanisation, at least in the limited management zones of Estonian protected areas. This article analyses the potential of Estonian protected areas in the management of valuable natural assets found in cultural landscapes. Based on in-depth interviews, new potential policies for streamlining the management of cultural landscapes are proposed. Analysing and planning the protection regime of cultural landscapes located in protected areas is also relevant since in relation to peripheralisation, some cultural landscapes located in protected areas lose valuable assets that have so far been subject to protection pursuant to protection rules. The results of the survey conducted in Lahemaa National Park highlighted several problems: for large-scale producers, the land in Lahemaa is not sufficiently fertile and has complicated ownership and administrative issues; for local small-scale producers and cattle farmers it is difficult to build suitable production buildings due to architectural rules and volume constraints (EMÜ report, 2014; about architectural restrictions see Hiob et al., 2012; Kõivupuu et al., 2010). These restrictions make business economically unattractive or unprofitable in today's tough competition in the field of agriculture. Therefore, it is important to ask to which extent protection management practice, or in other words restriction of economic activity in limited management zones, is justified, even speaking in purely conceptual terms, as we find ourselves in a situation where the pressure from economic activities that would require regulation has practically ended or is already non-existent.

Settlement trends can be affected by implementing active and passive measures. Active measures help reinforce rural life by different types of support (e.g. various subsidies, infrastructure development etc.); passive measures increase the viability and economic competitiveness of the area by relieving certain restrictions (e.g. by avoiding a situation where it would be cheaper and easier to live or engage in agriculture or forestry elsewhere,

etc.). Several aspects have to be considered when developing appropriate solutions and finding balance between the needs of the protection regime and socio-economic development. This article focuses on connections between restrictions in protected areas and regional development as these connections constitute one of the key issues of protected area and regional development. We try to outline the general features of the methodology which could be used as a basis for changing the content or territorial pattern of restrictions in protected areas. We focused more closely on Lahemaa National Park (LNP), the largest and oldest national park in Estonia, by conducting structured interviews and on-site observations.

Methods and data gathering

There are more than 4,621 rural settlements in Estonia; out of these 269 settlements are located in protected areas (Census 2011, Statistics Estonia, www.stat.ee). Since the demographic situation of protected areas in Estonia is different in individual settlements, there are a large number of settlements and the measures applied in practice are probably relatively location- and case-sensitive, there is a practical need to narrow down the sample and selection of settlements whose protection regime and “settlement policy” (relief of restrictions, other measures) will be focused on. In order to predict demographic processes, we studied rural settlements between 2000–2011, analysing the features of the settlements that grew or diminished and how rapidly this occurred. We proceeded from the following assumptions:

1. permanent settlement is a precondition for preserving cultural landscapes;
2. the selected features based on which settlements were analysed (population age structure, demographic dynamics, and housing) are sufficiently characteristic;
3. effects of external environment remain stable for ten years or more;
4. population trends in rural areas by settlement types are in principle no different in protected areas than anywhere else (Kliimask et al., 2014).

In order to manage cultural landscapes located in protected areas and to design appropriate protective measures in areas with decreasing rural populations, it is essential to understand the viability of settlements situated in the limited management zones of protected areas. This study has identified less viable settlements from the total settlements in the limited management zones in order to select endangered settlement areas (i.e. those which are, or are in danger of becoming, empty).

In order to identify endangered settlement areas, we used statistical indicators related to the survival of settlements. We mostly concentrated on analysing demographic change and structure indicators, and housing, in order to distinguish settlements that are problematic from the point of view of settlement sustainability in synchronic perspective and settlements which, in the light of current trends, are likely to become problematic in the future. However, since forecasts concerning such small-sized territorial units raise some technical and methodological doubts, it was considered more appropriate to treat the selected problematic settlements as potentially problematic due to the age structure of the population.

We received our data from the censuses of 2000 and 2011, and we selected villages and hamlets to be our basic units. The first criterion we selected for distinguishing less viable settlements was their size, in combination with either population age structure or demographic dynamics indicators. We made a distinction between the following groups of endangered settlements:

1. Very small hamlets (very sparsely populated) where a single life change might result in the hamlet becoming totally empty or which are so sparsely populated that the term “settlement” cannot be applied to them any longer;
2. Settlements with (mainly) an elderly population whose economic activity is low, also from the perspective of potential landscape maintenance; as a result of the old age of population, the settlement will potentially disappear in the long-term;
3. Settlements that have rapidly emptied in the past decade and where no new residential buildings have been built in this period; they have been unattractive as residential areas.

Considering villages and hamlets to be more or less viable cannot be taken as the basis for automatic relief or removal of any restrictions in protected areas or for implementing any other measures. Protected areas in Estonia have different aims and their socio-economic situation varies greatly. In order to assess whether the methodology proposed for technical selection of viable settlement is practically applicable, fieldwork was carried out in April 2014 in Lahemaa National Park (LNP), the largest and oldest national park in Estonia (hereinafter referred to as EMÜ report 2014).

A structured questionnaire was designed to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data. The interviews were scheduled to take place before active

tourism and the agricultural season (April 2014) so that the locals could allocate time for us (the length of interviews varied between 90 minutes and 2 hours). We adapted the snowball method that had also been used in earlier projects (see Palang et al., 2011; Reimann et al., 2011). We first contacted persons within Lahemaa based on our earlier studies and asked them to recommend further informants. However, we specified that our interest was collecting input from direct sources to attain insights into the local community's and stakeholders' attitudes towards, and relationship with, the regulations and protection practices, as this would support and inspire the development of management practices of cultural landscapes that could be implemented in practical nature conservation, and the assessment of viability of settlements located in protected areas. Therefore, in preparing our sample, we preferred representatives directly connected to functioning and preservation of cultural landscapes. Altogether, 32 people were interviewed.

Interviewees provided further contacts and were in direct contact with future interviewees on behalf of the study group in advance of the interview. Our interviews therefore took place in a relaxed atmosphere. The length of the interview placed a big responsibility on the interviewer regarding preparation, since such a long interview is straining for the interviewee and it would not be possible to visit the same people again in the near future. Represented stakeholders included permanent local residents, either workers or entrepreneurs, from different fields of life (forestry, tourism, agriculture, fishing, hunting), officials from the Environmental Board and local municipalities, specialists from the State Forest Management Centre, and land owners. Questions focused on aspects such as relations between the LNP's current regulations and administrative practices, and the effects on economic activities and living, first and foremost on forestry and agriculture, building restrictions and real estate development, business and migration. The questions also touched upon local residents' assessment and interpretations of protection management measures currently in force (subsidies, restrictions, availability and quality of administrative and support services).

Management and socio-economic development of protected areas in Estonia: current situation and prospects

Estonian national parks and other protected areas have local residents within their boundaries; ca 23% of protected areas are on private land. This is in direct contrast to other countries within the Baltic region (the

Baltic states and those of Fennoscandia). A total of 18.1% of Estonia's surface area (including inland waters, apart from the two largest lakes (Lake Võrtsjärv and Lake Peipus) and 31.1% of Estonian waters are under protection. A total of 22.7% of Estonian surface area (land and water area combined) is under some form of nature protection. This includes 932 protected areas: 5 national parks, 131 nature reserves, 150 landscape reserves and nature parks, 107 protected areas with unrevised protection rules, and 539 protected parks and stands (EEIC, 2012).

The Republic of Estonia Nature Protection Act [Looduskaitse seadus] (adopted in 2004) states that each protected area should have approved protection rules and a management plan. The protection regime for protected areas is determined by the protection rules. Within the legal context, the protection rules provide an additional level of detail to the specifications of the Nature Conservation Act (2004).

Estonian national parks and nature reserves are divided into one or several strict nature reserves, conservation zones and limited management zones. In the case of protected landscapes, only conservation zones and limited management zones are designated (for further details see Klimask et al., 2014). When assessing the situation of settlements and the viability of communities as preconditions for preservation of cultural landscapes, it is important to focus on limited management zones² as these are where most forestry-, agricultural and construction activities occur. The primary protection aim of limited management zones is preservation, recovery, study and introduction of natural and cultural heritage, encompassing landscape appearance, topography, protected species and their habitats, natural and cultural landscapes, agricultural land use, settlement structure, farm architecture, and folk culture characteristic of the region. It should be noted here that in Estonia, a traditional cultural landscape is considered to be an area where the land use had developed by the year 1940 and where the historical land cover and/or use has been preserved.

Many of these nature conservation areas are important in terms of biodiversity as well as due to the presence of regionally rare or important species particularly within semi-natural communities. To restore and maintain these semi-natural communities, both European Union and state subsidies can be employed. A further stimulus to nature conservation is that pursuant to the Land Tax Act, land in strict nature reserves and con-

servation zones of protected areas as well as in conservation zones of species protection sites became exempt from land tax as of 1 January 2009.

The development of protected areas has been affected both directly and indirectly by many interrelated social, economic and demographic factors³. Changes have been rapid and extensive and many processes are likely to continue in the near future. The results of a population census of protected areas have shown that population decline in Estonia's protected areas is significantly greater than the Estonian average. In the last decade the population of Estonia has decreased by an annual average of -0.47%, whilst in protected areas, the population has decreased by -1.2% over the same period. The few that move into protected areas are typically middle-aged and middle class. However, most inhabitants of protected areas are disadvantaged compared to other similar rural areas, which has led to an exodus of people in search of work in other areas. An important exception to this are the inhabitants of the LNP who are, on average, less disadvantaged than inhabitants of similar rural areas. This is, however, most likely as a result of its location in the vicinity of, and accessibility from, Tallinn (Kliimask et al., 2014).

The LNP, the focus of interviews in the current paper, is both exceptional and representative as an Estonian protected area in many senses. It is the oldest national park (founded 1971) in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The LNP is also the largest national park in Estonia by its surface area (47,400 ha in mainland, 3,598 residents). There are a total of 70 settlements in the territory of the protected area, the largest of which are small towns of Kolga (population 454) and Võsu (population 334); there are 61 hamlets with less than 100 residents. The national park is located in the territory of two rural municipalities, Kuusalu and Vihula, the first of which reaches the commuterbelt of Tallinn, the second, however, is more remote from larger settlements. Rural municipalities are sparsely populated (population density in Vihula under 4 people/km²) and are of Estonian average wealth.

Officially, the LNP was created to protect characteristic North-Estonian landscapes and the national heritage of the area, and to preserve the harmonious relationship between man and nature. But the initiative also carried a hidden agenda of the patriotically disposed Soviet Estonian political and economic establishment. The agenda was to create a cultural and natural buffer zone between the rapidly developed and sovietised

industrial areas in Tallinn and North-East Estonia (Printsmann et al., 2011; Smurr, 2008). However, following the regaining of independence in Estonia (1991) ecological values of the LNP also became important and the LNP started to harmonize its legislation with EU.

As a whole, the population situation in Estonia's rural areas, including protected areas, carries the signs of peripheralisation and a clear centre-periphery pattern has been established: the greater the distance of an area is from the cities, the more rapid the population decline (Kliimask et al., 2014). If we compare the population dynamics of protected areas with other rural areas located in similar geographic locations, we typically find no significant differences. This was as relevant during the Soviet period in Estonia as in the last decade. However, location related differences in population dynamics are significant and these differences have polarized considerably over time, and the centre-periphery pattern and peripheralisation processes have deepened as a whole (Sepp E., 2011; Roose et al., 2010).

Demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas in Estonia

In the course of our initial general analysis of the demographic situation of protected areas in Estonia, a demographic paradox emerged: for settlements with a higher mean age, a more stable demographic situation was predicted for the forthcoming decade (especially in rural settlements where the proportion of 40–70-year old people dominated). The opposite was also true: settlements with a large proportion of people aged 40 and under showed that the population was rapidly declining and the process was accelerating. In other words, as the younger population is more mobile, demographic changes in settlements are largely determined by the proportion of young people as potential leavers.

As the development of cultural landscapes is a long-term process, the high proportion of elderly and pre-elderly in the population is worrying. It is clear that people become economically less active from the age of 60 for biological, socio-political and motivational reasons (many people reach retirement age or become eligible for early retirement). The potential conclusion that the youth of population as such is a source of risk is also unlikely to be true: it is possible that once external environmental conditions change, the population aged under 40 becomes more settled or even starts to encourage moderate immigration, not to mention the entrepreneurship and reproductivity conditioned by age. These results

also need to be considered with utmost caution as the analysis is conducted based on micro units (3,000–5,000 people) and making demographic predictions based on such data is highly questionable.

To distinguish settlements that are becoming empty, we set the critical limit at 5 inhabitants. Usually it is only elderly people or a single household that live in such hamlets. Setting the limit at 5 people is also supported by statistical analysis: in the villages that had become empty by 2011, there were on the average 3.4 residents according to the 2000 census; also 73.3% of villages empty by 2011 had less than 5 residents in 2000.

Of endangered settlements (see section Methods and data gathering), we excluded the following settlements as viable due to vigorous construction activity:

1. settlements where at least 5 new dwellings have been built in the past 10 years;
2. settlements with at least 10 dwellings – these are summer holiday regions. There were two such settlements in the LNP, the villages of Natturi with 15 and Lauli with 13 residential buildings;
3. settlements located in the commuting zone of larger towns – about one third of the residents commute to a larger town in a 30 km zone⁴.

In order to create the background of the situation, the division of main demographic indicators of protected areas and all rural settlements in Estonia is presented in Table 1. The number of very small settlements with less than 5 inhabitants is low in Estonia, less than 10%; the number is somewhat larger in protected areas, as these settlements tend to be more remote from larger centres and in areas which are more sparsely populated than the average. In the period 2000–2011, approximately 40% of settlements experienced an average annual population decline over 2%; in this respect, protected areas are relatively similar to Estonian rural settlements in general. Larger settlements are also diminishing rapidly; this is part of the general population decline in Estonia which has been relatively massive and rapid in the past decades. The proportion of people aged 65 and older is relatively comparable although not overlapping with the proportion of small settlements: under 10% in Estonia in general and approximately 15% in protected areas. Since population decline has been a long-term process in rural areas, there are also many

empty living rooms: settlements with at least 10 empty living rooms in Estonia make up almost a quarter of all settlements; in protected areas, almost one third. This means that in many small hamlets, there is a remarkably large number of single person households; there are also many old farm buildings without permanent inhabitants being used as summer cottages. This constant population decline also means that not many new residential buildings are constructed in rural areas: in approximately 90% of rural settlements, less than 5 new living rooms have been built in the past decade. The proportion of such settlements in protected areas is somewhat lower, 80%, as they are situated in naturally beautiful places and are therefore more attractive places for building summer cottages.

By combining the aforementioned demographic indicators – small population size, age structure and demographic dynamics – we can develop different indicators that characterise the sustainability and viability of settlements. In this article, our main methodological focus is on distinguishing very weak and unviable settlements. Table 2, 3 and Figure 2 show the potential number, proportion and location of such settlements by applying different principles. This might be an important argument when implementing the methodology in practice, as desirably the proportion of problematic areas should be as small as possible, so that it would not dramatically alter established policies for protected areas in Estonia.

Based on the assumption that the problematic aspect (danger of becoming extinct) to a settlement is expressed simultaneously by size, overly large proportion of the elderly and overly rapid population decline, there are 20 such settlements out of 269, i.e. 7.4% in protected areas in Estonia. There has been no building activity in these settlements in the past decades and the total number of living rooms is also small. The total proportion of such settlements in Estonia as a whole is 4.5%; therefore the problem is significantly more serious for protected settlements.

If we extend the endangered state of a settlement so that a settlement is considered to be in danger of becoming rapidly empty when the number of inhabitants is below 5, or if in a settlement with less than 7 inhabitants the proportion of people aged 65 or older is more than 50%, or in a settlement with less than 7 inhabitants the average annual population decline in the past decade is at least -2% or more, then the number of such settlements in Estonia is more than twice as large: 17.8% in pro-

tected areas and 11.1% in Estonia in general. Some settlements can be excluded from the list based on the number of houses and intensity of the construction of new living rooms. In protected areas, this is true for two settlements (Natturi and Lauuli) which are both established summer holiday areas where settlement is not in danger and restrictions could be left in force. The proportion of settlements serving as summer holiday areas in Estonia in general is approximately the same. By keeping in mind the problem of disappearing rural settlement as a whole and based on the aforementioned calculations, we recommend relieving protective restrictions in about one fifth of the settlements located in protected areas (in 46 settlements, i.e.17%).

Review of stakeholders' attitudes towards protection regime and practices in the example of Lahemaa National Park

In order to find out stakeholders' attitudes, we conducted structured interviews in LNP. The following is an overview of the main findings of the survey.

In general, as the LNP has existed for such a long time (founded in 1971), the lifestyle of local residents has become adjusted to it. Residents of the LNP enjoy living there; their social circle considers it to be a place worth living and it is subjectively estimated that the status of protected area also increases the value of real estate (buildings, land under buildings). It was found that the value of profit yielding land (agricultural land, forest), on the other hand, decreases due to its location in the protected area⁵.

Local residents of the LNP do not generally question the necessity of the national park; however, they often do not understand what exactly is being protected and for what reason. The aims of protection and conservation zones are clearly defined in official documents; however, in protection practice and in the nature, boundaries are not so clear. Many decisions that affect local residents' freedom of action and opportunities are subjective and depend on the official making the decision. 60% of respondents found that the protection regime did not take the interests of permanent residents into sufficient consideration; only 12.5% of respondents found that the interests of permanent residents are sufficiently taken into account.

The most serious problems are considered to be peripheralisation and social problems. At the same time, respondents do not favour rapid growth

(by founding new tourist objects, new business, or increased number of visitors) nor foreign immigration and the extensive construction of summer cottages. However, moderate growth at a medium pace was considered to be positive.

Regarding the landscape, the most annoying factor is considered to be “poor health” of forests (Figure 3), but also overgrowth of agricultural land and littering (allegedly by visitors and holidaymakers). What the respondents valued the most and considered worthy of protection in the LNP were the primeval forests, more specifically “forest milieu”; people would like to see “beautiful”, traditionally coppiced forests (Figure 4). Respondents do not have a lot of contact with protected species and individual objects and therefore do not worry about these.

Residents of the LNP had a clearly negative attitude towards restrictions related to real estate, land use and logging; other restrictions are not directly felt (except for a few single instances concerning fishing). Whereas the restrictions related to real estate and land use affected the residents’ own activities and freedom of action, then restrictions related to logging were seen more in relation to the general unmaintained state of forests, not insufficient logging. Regarding nature conservation restrictions, 84% of respondents found that they were sufficient in scope and 16% had no opinion. General relief of protection restrictions was seen as irrelevant; what was considered to be important was a decrease in restrictions for permanent residents of protected areas and the provision of financial subsidies.

Among other things, we also studied the residents’ willingness to maintain the landscapes of their home region; it was found that 100% of respondents would agree to do this. Half of them (51%) are willing to do that if their costs would be covered or they would obtain a financial benefit from this work.

At present, local inhabitants feel that they are forced to meet unreasonably and unfairly high expectations: on the one hand, they are “protected objects” and are expected to continue the traditional way of life; on the other hand however, performance of this activity of public interest is not sufficiently supported. Thus, 59.4% of the respondents found that the present system of subsidies is not sufficient; 34.4% had no opinion and just 6.2% evaluated the present system of subsidies as sufficient. Accord-

ing to the respondents, the situation could be improved by specifically developed financial subsidies, some compensatory measures (road maintenance, social services etc.) and a consultation service to help them cope with the restrictions in the national park.

In spite of the restrictions and complications, the majority of respondents preferred the status of the protected area to be maintained. When asked about the possible abolishment of the protected area, 78% of respondents were negative, 9% saw it as positive and the rest remained neutral. Although the proportion of supporters of the protected area was large, the interviews also revealed the main reason why the residents would consider abolishing the protected area or remained indifferent towards it. For permanent residents, the LNP has always been the prime example of a traditional, well-maintained, aesthetical and beautiful cultural landscape (see Figure 5), which is also one of the protection aims of the LNP. People have been proud of it and therefore also made allowances in their lifestyle. In practice, however, the boundaries of protection aims and conservation zones have become blurred and the increasing amount of untended agricultural and forest areas no longer support the idea of landscape maintenance. Therefore, locals find no point to the protected area and feel disappointed in it (Figure 1). If the current situation continues, disappointment in the LNP will increase, which could result in significantly less efficient cooperation between the managers of the protected area and local residents.

Possible Measures: Implications for Managers and Policy Makers

It can be estimated on the basis of the survey that the attitude of the inhabitants of the LNP towards developing the national park is conservative, pragmatic and mostly supportive, which corresponds very well with the ideology of the national park and the need to protect cultural landscapes. Such attitudes favour developing long-term strategic plans, finding financial support for such plans and implementing strategic measures.

According to the need to support regional development without damaging the values in protected areas, we outline four strategic approaches to managing cultural landscapes in landscape conservation areas and national parks. In outlining these approaches, we have relied on the methodology and calculations presented above, according to which it would be appropriate to reduce restrictions in approximately one fifth of the settlements located in protected areas. We have also relied on the existing nationally

defined institutional division of responsibilities (management of protected areas – Environmental Board, visitor management – State Forest Management Centre etc.), known development issues and the attitudes of inhabitants of Lahemaa region and our previous experience in communicating with operating managers of protected areas and stakeholders.

Policy 1. General relief of restrictions in existing limited management zones. The relief would mostly concern restrictions on constructing new residential buildings for non-seasonal residents and buildings for primary production (such as fishery, agriculture, forestry) and tourism, where these do not conflict with the protection and development aims of the protected area.

The advantage of this approach is its organizational simplicity and clarity: it is possible to utilise the previously defined zones, without carrying out time-consuming analyses of different protected areas and the location specificity of different protected areas and settlements situated there.

As a potential disadvantage, it has to be mentioned that this approach might not be sensitive enough towards individual protected areas and the socio-economic situation and individual characteristics related to demographic viability in individual settlements in such areas, thereby giving differing results in other locales.

Policy 2. Relief of restrictions in existing limited management zones by individual settlements. Restrictions are reduced in individual settlements which are selected based on their current and predicted viability. This is an improvement on Policy 1 which adds the aspect of territorial constraint. With Policy 2, the methodology of selecting endangered settlements proposed in this article (see section Demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas of Estonia) or any other methodology used to assess the viability of settlements can be applied in the most straightforward manner.

Policy 2 enables the specific characteristics of individual protected areas and settlements located there to be taken into greater consideration, thereby substantially directing local development. The greatest danger regarding the selection of settlements where restrictions are to be relieved is posed by areas with low populations and loss of cultural landscapes. Thus, there is nothing to lose by relieving restrictions, as the pressure

from economic activity is weak in any case. Relative legal and administrative clarity is guaranteed by the fact that the boundaries of limited management zones and the settlements located there are already fixed.

A disadvantage of Policy 2 is its substantial (disputable value positions, the question of whether demographic forecasts for small units are valid etc.) and political vulnerability. Therefore, selection might not be possible to implement by administrative measures only, but a legal status with political instruments should be applied.

Policy 3. Active landscape patronage. Administrating and managing maintenance “from above” by concluding landscape management contracts and directing and intermediating subsidies according to plan (mowing, coppicing, thinning, creation and maintenance of recreational infrastructure, maintenance of traditional architecture etc.) and clearly in the favour of local population, e.g. by setting landscape maintenance obligation as the criterion for receiving building rights. The administration of protected areas assumes a greater social and political responsibility than it has done so far and approaches local municipalities by involving these more closely in the development and implementation of protection management and by considerably closer integration of nature conservation policy with municipal development plans, strategies and statutory plans.

This approach would allow for better mobilisation of local potential (permanent population and businesses) by giving them a chance to earn additional income and thereby guaranteeing the continuing attractiveness of the cultural landscapes. The survey we carried out in Lahemaa showed that respondents took a lively interest in contributing to landscape management.

Implementing this policy is difficult or impossible in places where viable permanent settlement /population has already completely or almost completely disappeared as there is no one left to involve. The managers of protected areas might also be worried about the quality control of services acquired in such manner. The policy is contrary to the ideology of open market economy and difficult to “sell” politically in Estonia as many people might be reminded of Soviet era collective farms. Bringing the management of protected areas closer to local municipalities and integrating them might also be complicated by the fact that nature conser-

vation is generally considered to be the responsibility of the state, i.e. the central government (EMÜ report, 2014) and small and overburdened local municipalities are not interested in taking on additional tasks.

Policy 4. Act without acting. At first sight, it seems as if no action is taken; there are no changes implemented in regulations or administrative structure. However, in order to improve the use of cultural landscapes for protection purposes, a flexible case by case approach is applied by tacit agreement: concessions are made or a blind eye is turned regarding economic activity in limited management zones with endangered population. Intentional undermanning and underfunding of protected areas can also be applied as *de facto* “relief of restrictions”.

Policy 4 can also be implemented by intentionally favouring selected activities, target groups or persons which are important from the perspective of preservation of cultural landscapes, especially concerning activities related to primary sector (e.g. no architectural restrictions are applied to the construction of housing for the purpose of sheep farming but such restrictions do apply to buildings for pig farming or tourism purposes).

The advantage of Policy 4 is the fact that it is easy and inexpensive to implement – there is no need to change anything, resources should only be directed to shaping public attitudes through daily work and dissemination of information and current landscape monitoring is continued. It could be clearly felt that Lahemaa residents, especially resource owners and processors latently supported this policy and to an extent this is how things function: there were quite a few respondents claiming that there was always a way to get things done if needed (although it was said to be time and energy consuming) and that was strongly dependent on the attitude of the local or responsible official working for the protected area (EMÜ report, 2014).

The negative aspect to this policy is the organization becoming increasingly unsystematic and a general weakening of law-abiding attitudes, possible corruption and power abuse and associated problems.

Conclusions and discussion

This article encourages discussion of the value of protected areas and rural cultural landscapes in general, with the aim of helping the managers

of protected areas to shape more efficient and conscious policies to manage cultural landscapes of protected areas and to set priorities regarding protection management and allocation of resources.

Based on demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas, we found that in the current socio-economic and demographic conditions, protection management practice does not guarantee the sustainability of cultural landscapes in limited management zones in Estonia's protected areas, as human activity is practically vanishing in these zones. This finding was also supported by our analysis of related material and protection management practices, and the fieldwork and survey conducted in Lahemaa National Park. We found that in order to guarantee permanent human settlement, which is the key factor to the preservation of cultural landscapes, and to preserve valuable rural landscapes at least partially, it would be useful to relieve legal and practical restrictions set on human activity in the limited management zones of protected areas.

Based on a demographic and settlement analysis of protected areas in Estonia, we proposed a methodology for narrowing down the sample of settlements for assessing settlement policies and where restrictions in limited management zones should be reduced. In designing the methodology the demographic age structure of settlements, cultural and environmental value of the built-up area, presumable settlement pressure and regional centres were taken into consideration, thus highlighting areas where it would be appropriate to reduce restrictions and where not. We found that protection restrictions could be relieved in approximately 20% of settlements situated in Estonia's protected areas, altogether 46 villages and hamlets.

In addition to a general demographic analysis of Estonian protected areas, we carried out a survey regarding protection regimes in Lahemaa National Park. Based on this, we proposed four potential policies for relieving restrictions:

1. General relief of restrictions in existing limited management zones.
2. Relief of restrictions in existing limited management zones by individual settlements with endangered population.
3. Active landscape patronage which motivates local population and includes them in landscape management by top-down administration.
4. An "act without acting" where seemingly nothing is done but the actual enforcement of restrictions and supervision are silently reduced.

In practical protection management, location-specific circumstances and the political acceptability of measures will probably also have to be taken into consideration on a case-by-case basis. With additional resources, it would be advisable to have a more detailed selection model for settlements with endangered populations in limited management zones. The authors acknowledge that the foundation of the methodology that is proposed for selecting endangered and preferable settlements are subjective in nature and disputable from a different value position. There is need for further research along two avenues. The first is a question of the technical validity of the methodology. As the results were calculated using hamlets as principal territorial base units, their boundaries do not correspond to those of protected areas, e.g. different regimes of protection. This means there are still questions about the connection between the impact restrictions and settlement vitality. Therefore there a recalculation should be performed. Secondly, the indicators chosen for the methodology should be tested in depth in Estonia and in neighbouring countries in the region.

The aim of this article is to contribute to the discussion of sustainable management of cultural landscapes. We are pleased if we have been able to support key institutions and persons of protected areas in Estonia and more broadly within a global context to make more informed and efficient management decisions.

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qid=74748fe3d38744c2bb99ac59a0827cf6&ss=sub&pn=1&st=s-b&ptb=7C1D5B94-C913-4597-A922-84EF4F5BF93A&t-pr=&si=pconvFF&redirect=mPWsrdz9heamc8iHEHldEcftaofX-Wot2y1vBC96DDmoCWUBmbzYSWc3rqpWQcPZg%2Bg-PGGaW%2B65AfOnHld%2FW3RSdz5hrgOKEDAJUaJ8T-9TU%3D&ord=2& (Accessed 20 August 2014).

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Figures



Figure 1. Cultural landscape in Sagadi limited management zone in Lahemaa National Park is characteristic of Northern Estonia – open and well-maintained. Photograph by Järv, H. (2014)

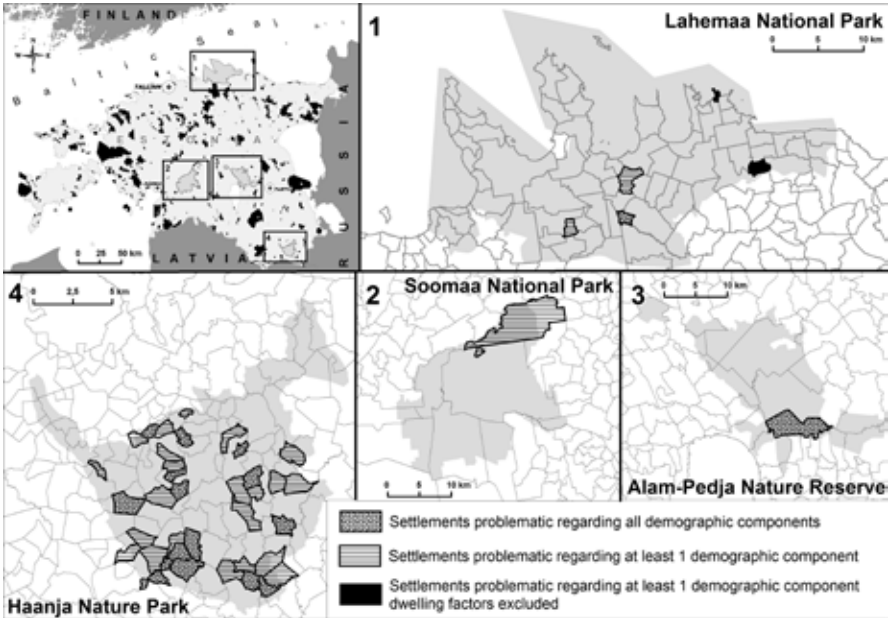


Figure 2. Location of the protected areas of Estonia and problematic settlements within the four studied protected areas



Figure 3. Unmanaged forest due to the protection regime in the Palmse park forest limited management zone of the LNP. In the foreground, there is a naturally fallen tree. Locals call these “taiga traps”. Photograph by Järv, H. (2014)



Figure 4. What the residents of the LNP value most about their national park is the “forest milieu”, meaning “beautiful” i.e., non-intensively managed forest. The photo shows a recently ‘cleaned’ spruce forest in the Palmse park forest limited management zone. Photograph by Järv, H. (2014)



Figure 5. Overgrowth of landscape disturbs the local residents and undermines the image of Lahemaa both in the eyes of the locals and tourists. The photo on the left shows a pasture grazed at the moment; the photo on the right shows a pasture that has not been grazed for some years, on the border of the LNP near Sagadi. Photograph by Järv, H. (2014)

Tables

Table 1. Demographic indicators of rural settlements in Estonia (as of 2011)

	Number of settlements		Proportion in total number of settlements, %	
	Estonia, total	Settlements in protected areas	Estonia, total	Settlements in protected areas
Settlements with less than 5 inhabitants	389	40	8.4	14.9
Settlements with average annual change in population in period 2000–2011 below -2%	1749	105	37.8	39.0
Settlements with at least 50% of residents aged 65 and older	428	39	9.3	14.5
Settlements with less than 5 living rooms built in period 2001–2011	4041	237	87.4	88.1
Settlements with less than 10 living rooms	1124	93	24.3	34.6
Total settlements	4621	269	100.0	100.0

Source: Census 2011 (www.stat.ee)

Table 2. Endangered rural settlements in Estonia

	Number of settlements		Proportion in total number of settlements, %	
	Estonia, total	Settlements in protected areas	Estonia, total	Settlements in protected areas
Number of settlements problematic regarding all demographic components	207	20	4.5	7.4
Number of settlements problematic regarding at least 1 demographic component	515	48	11.1	17.8

Number of settlements problematic regarding at least 1 demographic component; excluding those with at least 10 living rooms or those where at least 5 living rooms were built in period 2000–2011	487	46	10.5	17.1
Total	4621	269	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Settlements problematic regarding all demographic components. (2.) Settlements problematic regarding at least 1 demographic component. (3.) Settlements problematic regarding at least 1 demographic component and with at least 10 living rooms

Settlement category	Protected area	Settlement	Parish
1.	Alam-Pedja Nature Reserve	Palupõhja	Puhja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Muna	Rõuge
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Kotka	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Vorstimäe	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Murdõmäe	Rõuge
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Andsumäe	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Saluora	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Kahru	Rõuge
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Vastsekivi	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Saagri	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Peedo	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Kaluka	Rõuge
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Mahtja	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Palanumäe	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Ala-Suhka	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Mõõlu	Rõuge
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Vaarkali	Haanja
1.	Haanja Nature Park	Aabra	Rõuge
1.	Lahemaa National Park	Kolgu	Kuusalu
1.	Lahemaa National Park	Aasumetsa	Vihula
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Haki	Rõuge

2.	Haanja Nature Park	Kuuda	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Hapsu	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Haavistu	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Käpa	Vastseliina
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Hotõmäe	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Vakari	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Kähri	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Jugu	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Udsali	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Pausakunnu	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Tiidu	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	6463 Puspur	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Tuuka	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Ortumäe	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Kirbu	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Kurgjärve	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Kokõ	Rõuge
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Vaalimäe	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Leoski	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Resto	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Purka	Haanja
2.	Haanja Nature Park	Holdi	Haanja
2.	Lahemaa National Park	Tõugu	Vihula
2.	Lahemaa National Park	Murksi	Kuusalu
2.	Soomaa National Park	Karjasoo	Suure-Jaani
3.	Lahemaa National Park	Natturi	Vihula
3.	Lahemaa National Park	Lauli	Vihula

Notes

- 1 By post-productivistic countryside we mean a reality where agricultural production in many rural areas has been reduced to a marginal source of income and employment (Evans et al., 2002; Phillips, 2005).
- 2 Conservation zones and reserves are secondary for the present analysis as there is generally no economic activity there – there are only few cases when the protection regime of protected

areas prescribes grassland maintenance in limited management zones.

- 3 The factors in question have been outlined in more detail in Kliimask et al., 2014; only a short summary is presented here.
- 4 We use the definition of a 30 km commuting zone, derived from research by Novak et al., 2013.
- 5 There has also been previous research about connections between national parks and settlements that indicates the possibility that protective prescriptions change the value of registered immovables both regarding their agricultural and forest management function and create a precondition for their price increase, both as summer holiday areas and new residential regions. This, in turn, might bring about changes in the social structure of the population (Vollmer, 2006). Nevertheless, this refers to the fact that protection management measures may have indirect effects on the community's ability to cope, its structure and settlement behaviour, even if the measures concern areas that have never found significant use for economic purposes.

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II. Research and development

Main fields of study:

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Work carried out within the field:

- Kihnu cultural space tourism carrying capacity assessment, requested by the Estonian Ministry of the Environment, 01.09.2004–30.11.2004 (principal investigator).
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- Building restrictions and a proposal for protection of riparian zones in Karula National Park, requested by Karula National Park, duration 01.08.– 15.09.2002 (principal investigator).

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Work carried out within the field:

- Master's level curriculum for the Inherited Crafts, Viljandi: UT VCA (member of the working team).
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- Estonian Native Woodworking: vocational studies curriculum. Curriculum team Applied Arts and Skilled Handicraft. Decree no. 78 by the Minister of Education and Science as of December 29, 2008, taking force on January 12th, 2009. Available from: <http://lex.and-mevara.ee/estlex/kehtivad/AktTekst.jsp?id=97590> (ESF programme 1.1. project no 1.0101-0176, 'Development of curricula for vocational educational institutions'.)
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- Development of Land-Use Scenarios in Agriculture and their Impact on Bird Populations. ETF 2004, 582 776 EEK, 1.01.2004–31.12.2007 (doctoral student).
- Study grant from UNESCO (The UNESCO Fellowships Programme in support of Priority Programme Areas (2004–2005)” – Request No. 404-1) for self-improvement. Individual curriculum, in the field of traditional log building at the Finnish Log Tradition Centre. Duration 10.01.–25.03.2005 (principal executor).

Other academic organisational and specialised activities.

- Development of the Viljandi County craft cluster 2007–2008. A project within the framework of the programme of the Republic of Estonia for the development of regional colleges as regional competence centers. Development and internal supervision.
- Initiation and arrangement of the open lecture series ‘Omakultuuriakadeemia’ [‘The academy of genuine Estonian culture’] at the UT VCA from 2007.
- The initiation and arrangement of the seminar series Culture and Nature at the University of Tartu (later ‘Text and Nature’ at the Estonian Literary Society) 1996.

III. Administrative work and other duties

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- Chainsaw carving. Pre-conference workshop (THE INTERNATIONAL LOG BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION 35th Annual Conference – Whitefish, Montana, USA 31.03.2008–3.04.2008).
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Haridus
2003–2011 doktoriõpingud maastikuarhitektuuri erialal, Põllumajandus- ja keskkonnainstituut, Eesti Maaülikool;
1999–2003 Eesti Põllumajandusülikool, loodusteaduse magister maastikuarhitektuuri erialal;
1991–1997 Tartu Ülikool 1997, *baccalaureus artium* eesti kirjanduse erialal;
1989–1991 Tallinna 20. keskkool (1991).
Keelteoskus: eesti, soome, inglise, vene.
Teenistuskäik:
2013–... eelretsenseeritud aasta-ajakirja *Studia Vernacula* peatoimetaja. Ajakirja avaldab Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia;
2005–... TÜ Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia (TÜ VKA), rahvusliku ehituse õppekava hoidja, lektor;
2007–2008 TU VKA, rahvusliku käsitöö osakond, teadur;
1995–2005 vabakutseline ehitustöölaine;
1996–1997 Tartu Vaba Waldorf-kool, eesti keele ja kirjanduse õpetaja;
1995–1996 Tartu Kristlik Kodu, poiste tööõpetuse õpetaja, maja-hoidja.

II. Teaduslik ja arendustegevus

Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:

Kultuuri ja looduskeskkonna suhted. Keskkonnameetmete ja -seaduste teostumine ja vastuvõtt kogukondade tasemel. Ühiskondlike väärtuste väljendumine ja rakendamine planeerimistegevuses ja seadustes. Kaasamise meetodid keskkonnakorralduses ja kogukonnaarendusprojektides.

Valdkonnas teostatud tööd:

- Kihnu kultuuriruumi turismitaluvushinnang, tellija: Eesti Vabariigi Keskkonnaministeerium: 01.09.2004–30.11.2004 (põhitäitja). (http://www.kihnuvald.ee/avalikud/Kihnu%20taluvusuuring_2004.pdf), 3.05.2007.
- Kultuuripärandi kaitse kontseptsioon kaitsealadele, tellija: Karula Hoiu Ühing, 01.05.2003-01.04.2004 (põhitäitja). http://www.karularahvuspark.ee/files/doc/KHU/KONTSEPT_8.pdf, 3.05.2007.
- Karula Rahvusparki ehituspiirangute ja kaldakaitsevööndite ettepanek, tellija: Karula Rahvuspark, kestus 01.08.- 15.09.2002 (põhitäitja).

Rahvapärane ehitus ja käsitöö. Rahvusliku ehituse ja puukäsitöö õppekavade (TÜ VKA rahvuslik ehitus, Olustvere TMK rahvuslik puutööndus, palkehittäja) koostamine ja arendamine, käsitööliste andmestikud, pärandtehnoloogiauurid, pärandiuuringud.

Valdkonnas teostatud tööd:

- Pärandtehnoloogia magistriõppekava väljatöötamine, TÜ VKA (töörühma liige) projekti PÄRTEL raames (2011). Finantseerija: SA Archimedes.
- Viljandimaa pärandoskajate andmebaasi koostamise juhtimine 2008; finantseerija: Ettevõtluse Arendamise Sihtasutus. <http://www.rahvuslik.kultuur.edu.ee/>, 26.05.2009.
- Rahvuslik puutööndus: õppekava. Õppekavarühm Tarbekunst ja oskuskäsitöö. Haridus- ja teadusministri 29.12.2008 määrus nr 78, jõustumiskuupäev 12.01.2009 <http://lex.andmevara.ee/estlex/kehtivad/AktTekst.jsp?id=97590> (ESF meede 1.1. projekt nr 1.0101-0176 „Kutseõppeasutuste õppekavade arendus”). Täispikk käsikiri Riikliku Eksami- ja Kvalifikatsioonikeskuse valduses.
- Eesti Vabariigi Siseministeeriumi „Regionaalsete kolledžite kui piirkondlike kompetentsikeskuste arendamise programmi“ raames TÜ VKA projekti Viljandimaa käsitööklastrit väljaarendamine koostamine ja sisuline juhendamine. Finantseerija: Ettevõtluse Arendamise Sihtasutus
- Viljandimaa pärandehitusoskajate ja -teadjate andmebaasi koostamine, finantseerija: Eesti Kultuurkapital, Rahvakultuuri sihtkapital, 01.08.2003-30.09.2003 (põhitäitja). <http://www.kultuur.edu.ee/193462>, 3.05.2007.
- Rahvusliku ehituse eriala õppekava, tellija: Viljandi Kultuurikolledž 01.03.2002-31.01.2003 (põhitäitja).

Saadud uurimistoetused ja lepingud (finantseerija, programm, maksumus, tähtaeg).

- Pärandtehnoloogia rakenduskeskuse väljaarendamine (PÄRTEL). Finantseerija: SA Archimedes: Kõrgkoolide koostöö ja innovatsiooni arendamine, alameede Kõrgkoolide ja ettevõtete koostöö, 2010–2015 (ekspert, projekti koostava töörühma liige).
- Antropogeensed mõjud biotoopidele ja maastikele: biootilised ja abiootilised markerid. SF 2007. 1305000,00 EEK, 01.01.2007–31.12.2012 (doktorant).
- Põllumajandusliku maakasutuse arengustsenaariumid ja nende mõju linnustikule (*Development of land-use scenarios in agriculture and their impact to bird populations*). ETF 2004, 582 776 EEK, 1.01.2004–31.12.2007 (doktorant).
- Öppetootus UNESCOlt (*UNESCO Fellowships Programme in support of Priority Programme Areas (2004-2005)*) – Request No. 404-1) enesetäienduseks individuaalõppeprogrami alusel ajavahemikus 10.01.-25.03.2005 traditsioonilise palkehituse vallas Soome palgipärändikeskuse (*Finnish Log Tradition Center*) juures (põhitäitja).

Muu teaduslik organisatsiooniline ja erialane tegevus.

- TÜ VKA rahvusliku käsitöö osakonna projekti „Viljandimaa käsitööklatri väljaarendamine“ väljatöötamine, projekti sisuline juhendamine. Finantseerija: Ettevõtluse Arendamise Sihtasutus Eesti Vabariigi Siseministeeriumi „Regionaalsete kolledžite kui piirkondlike kompetentsikeskuste arendamise programmi“ raames.
- Avalike loengute sarja „Omakultuuriakadeemia“ algatamine ja korraldamine TÜ VKA alates 2007.
- Seminarisarja „Kultuur ja loodus“ idee algatamine ja organiseerimine Tartu Ülikooli juures (hilisem „Tekst ja loodus“ Eesti Kirjan-duse Seltsi juures) 1996.

III. Administratiivtöö ja muud kohustused

- Piret Kärtneri raamatu „Üliõpilaste uurimistöõde juhendamine ja tagasidestamine“ nõukoja töös osalemine ja raamatu käsikirja retsens-eerimine programmi PRIMUS tegevuse Õppejõudude õpetamis- ja juhendamisoskuste arendamine raames (01.03.2010–31.05.2010).
- Parts, P-K. 2009. Self-evaluation report for the accreditation of the curriculum in Estonian Native Construction (applied higher educa-tion) [Eneseanalüüsi aruanne rahvusliku ehituse õppekava (raken-duskõrgharidusõpe) akrediteerimisel]. University of Tartu Viljandi

Culture Academy. Manuscript at the Department of Native Estonian Crafts of Viljandi Culture Academy (aruande koostamine töörühma juht).

- 2007–2008 – Maaehituse ja –maamaastike riikliku arengukava koostavas ja rakendavas ümarlauas osalemine.
- 2007 – UNESCO vaimse ja suulise kultuuripärandi konventsiooni rakendamise ümarlauas osalemine.
- Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia nõukogu liige. 2007 – ...
- 2007 – Riikliku Eksami- ja Kvalifikatsioonikeskuse projekti 1.0101-0176 “Kutseõppeasutuste õppekavade arendus” puutöömeistri töörühma esimees.

IV. Erialane enesetäiendus

- Akadeemiline inglise keel (English for Academics), 2010. TÜ keelekeskuse täiendkoolitusprogramm (FLKE.TK.036, 16 tundi, 0,5 EAP, 08.09.2010–29.09.2010).
- Üliõpilaste uurimistöde juhendamine e-õppe toel, 2010. TÜ Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia täiendkoolitusprogramm (P2VK. TK.172, 78 tundi, 3 EAP, 03.02.2010–05.06.2010).
- E-kursus – ideest teostuseni (E-course – planning and practical design) 2009. (TÜ avatud ülikooli keskuse täiendkoolitusprogramm P2AV.TK064, 120 tundi, 3 AP).
- Üliõpilastööde juhendamine ja tagasiside andmine, 2009. TÜ haridusteaduskonna täiendkoolitusprogramm (HTHT:TK.053, 20 tundi).
- Chainsaw carving. Pre-conference workshop (INTERNATIONAL LOG BUILDERS’ ASSOCIATION 35th Annual Conference – Whitefish, Montana, USA 31.03.2008–3.04.2008).
- Kuidas õpetada täiskasvanuid? Täiendkoolitusprogramm EFC meetme 1.1 projekti Võrdsed Õppimisvõimalused Igale tahtjale raames (26.03.–27.03.2007).
- Palkehitustehnika kursus Soome Palgipärandkeskuse (Suomen Hirsiperinnekeskus) ja Alppisalvos OY juures UNESCO stipendiaadina (taotlus nr 404.1 in the framework of UNESCO Fellowships Programme in support of Priority Programme Areas 2004/2005).
- Landscape as Heritage, course for doctoral students from place-related disciplines, SLU, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Alnarp, Sweden (2004).
- PhD Master Class on Interdisciplinarity and Transdisciplinarity in Landscape Studies, Baccveven, Holland (2004).

- Üks semester vahetusüliõpilasena Jyväskylä Ülikoolis soome keele ja kultuuri alal (1995).

V. Tunnustused

- II preemia põllumajandustööde valdkonnas Eesti üliõpilaste teadustööde 2004. A riiklikul konkursil teadustöö „Väärtuse määramine maastikul“ eest.

22.05.2015

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Publications in high-level peer-reviewed research journals, books or collections

1. The Evaluation of Landscape: Nature Morte or Living Landscape? (Submitted to *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*).
2. Parts, P.-K., Rennu, M., Jääts, L., Matsin, A., Metslang, J. 2011. Developing Sustainable Heritage-Based Livelihoods: an initial study of artisans and their crafts in Viljandi County, Estonia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(5) September 2011, 401–425.
3. Parts, P.-K., Sepp, K. 2007. Assessing the Impact of Tourism: Intellectual and Economic Struggles and Landscape Changes on Kihnu Island. – Sustainable Planning and Development Conference Proceedings III. *WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment*, Vol 102, WIT Press: Southampton, Boston, 341–354.
4. Kliimask, J., Parts, P.-K., Järv, H., Sepp, K., Ward, R. 2015. Endangered Settlements and Protected Areas in Estonia – The Challenge of Maintaining Cultural Landscapes. *International Journal of Agricultural Resources, Governance and Ecology*, [In press].

Publications in other research journals, books or collections

1. Parts, P.-K., Rennu, M., Jöeste, K., 2013. Sissejuhatus. *Studia Vernacula* 2013, 10–22.
2. Parts, P.-K., Rennu, M., Jöeste, K., 2013. Introduction. *Studia Vernacula* 2013, 23–38.
3. Parts, P.-K.; Jääts, L., Matsin, A., 2009. Crafts Today: Theoretical Approaches, Economic and Political Context. *In: P.-K. Parts (ed), Traditional woodworking and building crafts in Viljandi county in 2008. Studia vernacula, 2.* Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy, 15 – 22.
4. Parts, P.-K.; Jääts, L., Matsin, A.; Metslang, J., 2009. Reasons and Methods for Collecting Information About Individuals Possessing an Inherited Craft: Previous Experience and Prospects. *In: P.-K. Parts (ed), Traditional woodworking and building crafts in Viljandi county in 2008. Studia vernacula, 2.* Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy, 23 – 36.
5. Rennu, M.; Parts, P.-K.; Jääts, L., 2009. Collecting Information About Individuals Possessing an Inherited Craft in Viljandi County: Elaboration of Principles and Content. *In: P.-K. Parts (ed), Traditional woodworking and building crafts in Viljandi county in 2008.*

- Studia vernacula*, 2. Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy, 37 – 48.
6. Parts, P.-K.; Jääts, L., Matsin, A., 2009. Oskused tänapäeval: teoreetilised arusaamad, majanduslik ja poliitiline kontekst. In: P.-K. Parts (ed), *Traditsioonilised puutöö- ja ehitusoskused Viljandimaal 2008*. Viljandi: Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia, 15 – 26.
 7. Priit-Kalev Parts, Liisi Jääts, Ave Matsin, Joosep Metslang (2009). Miks ja kuidas koguda oskajaid? Pretsedendid ja perspektiivid. In: P.-K. Parts (ed), *Traditsioonilised puutöö- ja ehitusoskused Viljandimaal 2008*. Viljandi: Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia, 27 – 50.
 8. Rennu, M., Parts, P.-K., Jääts, L., 2009. Viljandimaa pärandoskajate kogumispoliitika saamislugu ja sisu. In: P.-K. Parts (ed), *Traditsioonilised puutöö- ja ehitusoskused Viljandimaal 2008*. Viljandi: Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia, 61 – 66.
 9. Parts, P.-K. Jääts, L. etc., 2009. Viljandimaa käsitöömeistritest raketantsantropoloogia vaatenurgast. [Craftsmen of Viljandi County from the viewpoint of applied anthropology.] Akadeemia, (4), 725–745.
 10. Parts, P.-K. 2008. Vanavaralt pärandiökoloogiale: paindliku pärandihoiu poole /Outlining Heritoecology: Towards Dynamic Preservation. – *Maa-arhitektuur ja maastik. Rural architecture and rural landscape*. Pärdi, H., Lutsepp, E., Tamjärv, M. (eds.) Eesti Vabaõhumuuseumi Toimetised I [Proceedings of the Estonian Open Air Museum I]. Tallinn 2008, 167–192.
 11. Parts, P.-K. 2007. Vaateid pärandimajandusele teoorias ja praktikas. – *Muutused, erinevused ja kohanemised eesti kultuuriruumis ja selle naabruses*. [Views on the Economy of Heritage in Theory and Practice. – *Changes, Differences and Adaptations in the Estonian Cultural Space and its Neighbourhood*.] Arukask, M. (ed). Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy, pp 129–148.
 12. Parts, P.-K. 2007. Kultuurilise tootmise tehnoloogia poole: kultuuripärandi näide [Towards a technology of cultural production: The example of cultural heritage]. Akadeemia, (2), 227 – 271.
 13. Parts, P.-K. 2004. Väärtuse määratlemine maastikul. [The evaluation of landscape] *Akadeemia* 2, 236–277.

Editing scientific publications

1. Parts, P.-K. (ed). Traditsioonilised puutöö- ja ehitusoskused Viljandimaal 2008. *Studia vernacula*, vol 1, Viljandi: Tartu Ülikooli Viljandi Kultuuriakadeemia.

2. Parts, P.-K. (ed). Traditional woodworking and building crafts in Viljandi county in 2008. *Studia vernacula*, vol 2. Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy.
3. Parts, P.-K. (ed). Lugusid materjalidest. Stories about materials. *Studia vernacula 2013*, vol 4. Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy.
4. Parts, P.-K. (ed). Käegakatsutav. The Tangible. *Studia vernacula 2014*, vol 5. Viljandi: University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy.

Conference proceedings

1. Parts, P.-K., 2005. 'Log Academy'. Starting a Full-Time College-Level Training on Estonian Vernacular Building in Tartu University's Viljandi Culture Academy – Experience, Prospects, and Principles. – 3. *International Conference of Log House Builders and Wooden Construction Specialists (3. Starptautiskā zinātniski-praktiskā konference "Gulbūvju un koka konstrukciju būvniecība 2005" Teorija un pieredze pasaulē)*, 2005, 30–32.
2. Parts, P.-K., 2005. Kultuurilise tootmise tehnoloogia poole. [Towards a Technology of Cultural Production: The Example of Cultural Heritage]. The VI Annual Conference of Estonian Social Scientists, the section Social and Human Capital, March 2005.
3. Parts, P.-K., 2004. Väärtuse määratlemine maastikul: *nature morte* või elav maastik [The Evaluation of Landscape: *Nature morte* or Living Landscape?] The 5th Annual Conference of Estonian Social Sciences– section XV. Cultural Space and Cultural Ecology.

Popular science articles

1. Parts, P.-K., 2009. Agul ja klassitsism – pärandiökoloogia poole. – *Ehitamine miljööväärtuslikel rannaaladel*. [The Suburb and Classicism – Towards a Heritage Ecology. – *Building on Environmentally Valuable Coastal Areas*.] Muhu: Muhu vallavalitsus, Eesti Arhitektide Liit [Muhu municipal government, The Estonian Architects' Union], 9–13.
2. Parts, P.-K. and Allmann, I., 2008. Mida teha miljööväärtuslike rannaaladega? [What to Do With Environmentally Valuable Coastal Areas?] *Sirp*, 10 Oct.
3. Parts, P.-K., 2006. Kultuuripärand on poliitiline valik minevikust [Cultural Heritage is a Political Selection from the Past]. *Sirp* 15 Sept.
4. Parts, P.-K., 2006. Keskkonnaeetika ja kultuurikapitalism [Environmental Ethics and Cultural Capitalism]. *Sirp* 12 May.

APPROBATION

International conferences and meetings

Oral presentations

1. 05.10.2005. Parts, P.-K. "Log Academy". Starting a full-time college-level training on Estonian vernacular building in Tartu University's Viljandi Culture Academy – experience, prospects, and principles.
3. International Conference of Log House Builders and Wooden Construction Specialists (3. Starptautiskā zinātniski-praktiskā konference "Gulbūvju un koka konstrukciju būvniecība 2005" Teorija un pieredze pasaulē); Riga, Latvia.
2. 03.06.2004. Parts, P.-K. The Evaluation of Landscape: Nature Morte or Living Landscape? A PhD Master Class on Interdisciplinarity and Transdisciplinarity in Landscape Studies, Bacceveen, Holland (2004).
3. 07.10.2004. Parts, P.-K. The Evaluation of Landscape: Nature Morte or Living Landscape? Landscape as Heritage, a course for doctoral students from place-related disciplines, Swedish Life Sciences University, Alnarp, Sweden.

Local conferences and meetings

Oral presentations

1. 04.02.2005. Parts, P.-K. Kultuurilise tootmise tehnoloogia poole. [Towards a Technology of Cultural Production: The Example of Cultural Heritage]. The VI Annual Conference of Estonian Social Scientists, the section Social and Human Capital.
2. 13.11.2004. Parts, P.-K. Väärtuse määratlemine maastikul: nature morte või elav maastik [The Evaluation of Landscape: Nature morte or Living Landscape?] The 5th Annual Conference of Estonian Social Sciences– section XV. Cultural Space and Cultural Ecology.

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JULIA JEREMEJEVA

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AS A TREATMENT OF POSTPARTUM METRITIS AND ENDOMETRITIS,
AND POSSIBLE RELATION OF ACUTE PHASE PROTEINS
WITH SUBSEQUENT FERTILITY IN DAIRY COWS

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NAHAALUNE KASUTAMINE POEGIMISJÄRGSE METRIIDI JA ENDOMETRIIDI RAVIS
LÜPSILEHMADDEL NING TAASTIINESTUMISE VÕIMALIK HINDAMINE
AKUUTSE FAASI PROTEIINIDE MÄÄRAMISE KAUDU

Dotsent Kalle Kask

16. aprill

KADRI KASK

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MUSTLAIK-APOLLO [*Parnassius mnemosyne* (L.)]
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Professor Valdo Kuusemets

12. mai

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Dots. Emer. Jaak Pikk

15. juuni

TÕNU TÕNUTARE

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AND SOME METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN THEIR DETERMINATION
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MÕJUTAMISE VÕIMALUSTEST JA METOODILISTEST ASPEKTIDEST
NENDE MÄÄRAMISEL

Dotsent Ulvi Moor

15. juuni

PRIIT PÕLLUMÄE

ASSESSMENT OF PRIVATE FOREST OWNERS' COOPERATION IN ESTONIA
EESTI ERAMETSAOMANIKE KOOSTÖÖ ANALÜÜS

Dotsent Henn Korjus

21. august

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