

RE-SCALING LANDSCAPE. RE-SCALING IDENTITY

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Abstract. To understand the bonds cultural groups living in Estonia have with their cultural landscape and why they identify themselves with a particular territory (region), the general process of presenting the landscape role in their identity needs to be analysed. Scales of landscape and regional identity of cultural groups are examined as belonging to different historical social formation periods, including nowadays, also taking into account the identity and physical setting relationship, as well as the results of questionnaires and previous studies. The tendency is that becoming more open the society is influenced by globalisation, new technologies and freedom of movement, thus changing both the identities and landscapes scales.

Keywords: landscape, regional identity, cultural groups.

Introduction

To understand the bonds cultural groups living in Estonia have with their cultural landscape and why they identify themselves with a particular territory (region), the general process comprising the landscape role in their identity needs to be analysed.

According to Cosgrove (1998), every social formation produces new symbolic landscapes. In Estonian case, estate landscape, farm landscape, collective landscape and postmodern landscape could be distinguished (Sooväli *et al.* 2003). Moreover, the social formation is influencing social groups by changing their structure and collective identity. On the other hand, an important reference for identity construction is physical environment.

Scales of landscape and regional identity of cultural groups are analysed according to different historical social formation periods including nowadays, taking into account the identity and physical setting relationship, as well as the results of questionnaires and previous studies. The tendency is that by becoming more open the society is influenced by globalisation, new technologies and freedom of movement, thus contributing to change of both identity and landscape scales.

Landscape and Identity

“The core of identity in a general sense rests on human being’s need to obtain and hold stability and security” (Ruutsoo 1999). Territory is one of the essential sources of it. Within identity related to territory in general, the landscape *per se* holds a remarkable perceptual value.

“Landscape is definitely one of the factors that give rise to a feeling of belonging to and familiarity with a certain place, where one is aware of his/her surroundings and feels at home. In this way landscape is a part of our identity” (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

According to the European Landscape Convention, “Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (Council of Europe 2000). Individual perception is extremely important in defining the qualities of a landscape, but at the same time landscape remains a collective phenomenon (Lindström 2011).

The human use of the earth, relationship between society and the land is an obvious point of departure when looking for material foundation of the landscape idea (Cosgrove 1998). Landscapes can express the virtues of a particular political or social community when self-consciously designed (Shama 1995). Landscape changes (ex. the proportion of agricultural land) mirror socio-economical changes (Mander, Palang 1994).

Diverse cultures have diverse landscapes (Lindström 2011), because landscapes are culture products which simultaneously both create and recreate culture (Crang 1998). Humans are not only born into their surroundings, but also create and duplicate that environment (Palang *et al.* 2007). Landscape being shaped through time is necessarily a historical phenomenon, a pattern of historical memory, preserving both visible and invisible traces of what has been or is valued (natural and cultural heritage) by millennia-long

human cultures (Lindström 2011; Palang *et al.* 2007). These traces can be interpreted and are used to build an identity (Lindström 2011).

Landscapes change continuously being the expression of the dynamic interaction between natural and cultural forces in the environment (Antrop 2005). Similarly to the landscape, the concentricity of territorial identity has a dynamic dimension – it changes in a course of time (Jürgenson 2004).

In the context of human-landscape interactions, values function in two ways: shaping humans' use of their land resources and being main formative source for perception of a landscape. Value systems are culture-specific and form key mechanisms of collective identity (Buchecker *et al.* 2009). "National identity [...] would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a homeland" (Shama 1995).

The main purpose of the current study is to examine the landscape scale changes, changes in population structure and roles of different cultural groups in environment. This will reveal the ties with landscape supposedly constructed through time and the scale, at which territorial units (global or local) emerge in today's identity of cultural groups. Analysis of environmental roles in different periods leads to better understanding of levels and extent of different groups' connection to the landscape, as this is important in making landscape planning and management decisions.

Analysing interactions with landscape by different groups through time and nowadays regional identity, different social formations and major changes in Estonian landscape, landscape role in each cultural group's identity and scale of the group identity and scale of landscape helps to understand deeper relationships between a particular group and it's surrounding landscape.

Social Context

Estonian society is multiethnic (consists of 142 different ethnic groups according to the population census 2000). Ethnical composition of population was changing in the course of time, major ethnical groups living on Estonian territory were Estonians, Russians and Germans (see Fig. 1) (Statistics Estonia 2011). Estonian ethnical group size within Estonia, besides other reasons, was changing due to emigration and deportation. For example, there was a considerable number, more than 200,000, of Estonians living abroad in the year 1917 (see Fig. 2) (Tammuru *et al.* 2010). Ethnical Russians do not form a homogenous group, as its members came to Estonia at different times and under

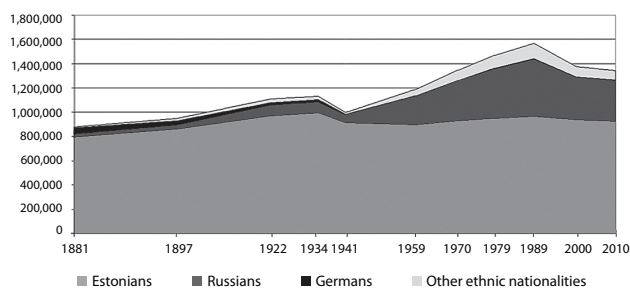


Fig. 1. Changes in ethnical composition of Estonia. Data source - Statistics Estonia (<http://www.stat.ee/56811>)

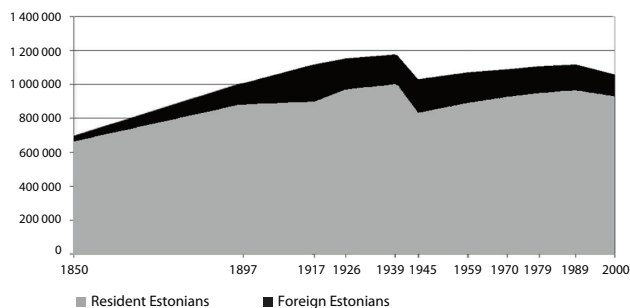


Fig. 2. Changes in the number of Estonians living in Estonia (Resident Estonians) and abroad (Foreign Estonians). Data source - Tammuru *et al.* 2010

different circumstances. The majority of Russian-speaking population moved to Estonian territory in Soviet times from other parts of the former Soviet Union (having diverse ethnical backgrounds). Before that, there were other Russian-speaking habitats, mostly the so-called intelligentsia, and as a separate group – Russian Old Believers. The number of Germans decreased drastically after the WWII; most of the German population came from the Baltic-German landlords and their hers. Because of the possible differences in interactions with Estonian landscape within each ethnical group, this paper focuses on the subgroups, which are named cultural groups.

The comparison of environmental roles of cultural groups will enable us to observe the extent each particular group was influencing landscape, describe interactions with that landscape and regional identity. Environmental role is seen as a role which is related to someone's relationship with his/ her physical surroundings (Canter 1977).

Estate Landscapes (before 1919)

Period before the middle of the 19th century was characterized by urban growth, but not major urbanisation; at this time 12 main towns were established in Estonia (Tammuru 2003).

In the first half of the 19th century parish-level contacts were important, mostly taking place in the parish

church, pub and centre of parish, where a graveyard was situated. These contacts developed and shaped common traits in the local material and mental culture (Jürgenson 2004). Until the 19th century, the time for peasants was mostly dependable on their natural environment and nature rhythms (Pärdis 2000).

By the second half of the 19th century, parishes were replaced by rural municipalities (Jürgenson 2004). This time brought the first major urbanisation drive due to demographic transition and industrialisation (Tammaru 2003). During the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century connection with their own country, Estonia, emerged in the consciousness of Estonians through national movement. At the same time ethnonym *eestlane* (Estonian) was introduced. Before, Estonians perceived themselves as countrymen, different from the squires (Jürgenson 2004). Since the 1860s, when the first national awakening occurred, one can speak of Estonian national identity (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

After 1861 every peasant was allowed to buy land, so such buying and renting was massive, being profitable for Baltic-Germans, but in most cases only marginal areas were distributed (Mander, Palang 1998). At this period land meant power, control and was an icon of freedom for Estonians. The dream of owning and cultivating land was definitely one of the driving forces for Estonians in their fight for freedom (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

Homeland (*kodumaa*) and fatherland (*isamaa*), which had been used as synonymous in Estonian before, by the end of the 19th century obtained a different meaning: homeland gained predominance (for naming Estonia) and fatherland was used for the Russian Tsarist Empire (Jürgenson 2004). This shows that Estonians at that time acknowledged their connection to the land and Estonian land became very important as their home land. Patriotic poetry of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th dealing with Estonian territoriality had a strong nature-related component (Jürgenson 2004). Landscape symbols were also carried in the Song of Songs Festivals (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

According to Mertelsmann (2005), Estonians opposed themselves to culturally different manor owners, who mainly were Baltic-Germans. Then population of Germans was the highest in Estonia comparing to other periods (see Fig. 1). But at the same time, according to Laas (sited in Jürgenson 2004), manors with owners of foreign origin provided the territorial boundaries, within which communication between people was stronger due to work-related networks. Communication could be considered a base for Estonians' regional identification connected to the manor

territory (beside country). Manor landscape clearly differed from the surroundings (traditional small-scale agricultural landscape) in alleys, parks, buildings of different scale, but as their impact lasted for centuries, manor landscape became usual for Estonians. Manor owners were main decision makers in landscape changing, shaping it according to their values and thus simultaneously developed some ties with their owned territory.

Russian community in Estonia before 1919 consisted mostly of newcomers from other parts of the Russian Empire for rather a short period. That is the reason why Russians living on Estonian territory had no time to create ties with places and did not develop local place-based identity. Russians coming to Estonia perceived themselves as a part of Russian ethnical group ruling in Russian Empire (Исаков 2008). Relations between Estonians and Russians were rather undefined until the russification process, in which Estonians saw a threat to their newly established identity (Mertelsmann 2005).

Another group from Russia, Russian Old Believers, came to Estonia starting from the late 17th century and settled mainly on the western coast of the Lake Peipus. Religion had been a basis for the Lake Peipus Old Believers' identity for centuries. Being against the Orthodox Church reformation, they sought for asylum in Estonia, which was on the periphery of the Russian Empire. But in the 19th century when authorities tried to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church in the region, some Old Believers' rituals were made illegal and there were even attempts to change the Old Believers' customs (Plaat 2005). This segment of ethnic Russians changed their occupation after coming to Estonia: in Russia they used to work in agriculture, but after settling in Estonia they became fishermen and owned small gardens (Исаков 2008), probably because of not suitable land for agriculture near the Lake Peipus. So landscape changed Russian Old Believers' lifestyle. Moreover, the Old Believers' settings changed landscape, as a result of introducing traditional settlement pattern and objects. Russian Old Believers had isolated lifestyles and differentiated themselves from other population (Plaat 2005).

Farm Landscapes (1919–1945)

The period is characterized by the slowing down rate of urbanization, as well as spreading the town network. By the Second World War only a third of the population lived in urban areas (Tammaru 2003). But despite that, Estonians formed two social groups with different identities: that of urbanites and farmers. For both groups of Estonians the agrarian landscape with small farmsteads, cared fields and

pastures was regarded as the idyllic image expressing the very Estonianness (Sooväli *et al.* 2003). Earlier dominant scale in the landscape remained. With the national independence gained, Estonian national identity raised.

The land that previously was owned by Baltic-German landlords was nationalised in 1919. This nationalisation was accompanied with constantly growing number of applicants for the land and by 1924 all land was distributed (Mander, Palang 1998). Simultaneously German population decreased, but Estonians got their dream, i.e. the land. Landscape symbols were pictured on the introduced currency - *kroon*. (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

The number of Russians in this period increased because of immigration from Russia and changed borders of Estonia after the Treaty of Tartu (Исаков 2008). During this period Russians living in Estonia recognized themselves as a minority for the first time. Russians identified themselves as an ethnic cultural group different from Russians in the Soviet Union or emigrant Russians in other countries (Исаков 2005). Russians' scale of identity dropped from empire to local (country) level. Community of Russians living in Estonia was formed and actively participating in the society life.

Russian Old Believers had real opportunities for free development. 12 Old Believers' congregations were functioning on the western bank of the Lake Peipus, Tallinn and Tartu (Plaat 2005).

Collective Landscapes (1945–1991)

The period is characterized by the changing scales of landscapes: industrialisation, urbanisation and agricultural large-scale production.

The collectivisation was finished after the Great Deportation in 1949, when the majority of farmers who managed to escape it joined collective farms (Mander, Palang 1994). Landscape was changed not only by collective farms, but also by massive urban population growth: by the year 1991, 71% of population lived in urban areas. Such urban population increase was not the result of rural-to-urban migration (it was not high after the collectivization). Urban growth and stability in rural society was caused by in-migration from other parts of former Soviet Union (Tammaru 2003). By the end of the Soviet period, two distinct areas had emerged around larger cities: industrial satellite towns with mainly urban apartments and high concentrations of non-Estonian populations (Russian and others) and rural areas dominated by agricultural activities with mainly detached housing and a low presence of non-Estonian populations (Tammaru *et al.* 2011). In 1989, 90%

of non-Estonians lived in urban areas (mainly in the largest cities) as compared to 60 percent of Estonians (Kontuly, Tammaru 2006).

Estonians who moved to towns could neither identify themselves with vast fields in the countryside, nor with urban life-style (Sooväli *et al.* 2003). Estonians felt deprived of land because of rapid changes in social development, land ownership and foreign rule. In Soviet times land was perceived as a resource, having no intrinsic value and not privately owned.

Foreign Estonians together with other Baltic nations living abroad tried to fight for regaining the independence of their home country. They opposed themselves to anything that was considered Soviet.

In difference to Russians living in Estonia before the WWII, the newcomers were favoured by the Soviet rule and got opportunity to live and work in the newly build urban areas (Исаков 2005). After annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union, all Russian organizations and newspapers active before the WWII were closed and majority of Russians living in Estonia before the WWII were repressed together with Estonians (Исаков 2008).

During the Soviet rule, the new-coming Russian-speaking population actively participated in the process of landscape changing by taking part in industrialization, production and mining activities, which left visible traces on the country tissue. These people coming to Estonian territory were strangers, and even this new-order urban modern environment did not support communication and failed to make any ties with the landscape. However Russians perceived this land as their own, because it was considered everybody's land and mostly identified themselves with soviet Russian people (biggest group in the Soviet Union), being proud of living in economically better developed region – the Baltic States.

Kolkhozes founded near the settlements of Russian Old Believers were unsuccessful, only some collective fisheries worked until the end of the Soviet rule (Исаков 2005). The Old Believers tried to preserve their life-styles and stay on the same land. During the Soviet period the number of Old Believers' dropped to 600 people in 1989 (there were more than 5,000 in 1934) (Plaat 2005).

Postmodern Landscapes (1991–...)

After regaining the independence, from 1991 on, the process opposite to nationalization started and the land once collectivized was gradually returned to its former owners or their heirs (Mander, Palang 1994). Urban growth decreased due to emigration of the population (at the first, mostly

Russian-speaking). Internal migration to rural areas increased, but natural urban population growth turned negative (Tammaru 2003).

“Rural landscapes seem to have lost their value in Estonians’ eyes. Contacts with rural land are disappearing and to many urbanites the rural landscape is rather an uncomfortable obstacle between two cities, a place to throw garbage to or is related to a former poor life” (Sooväli *et al.* 2003). Reintroduced *kroon* banknotes carrying landscape symbols (*ibid*), are planned to be replaced with Euro currency. “Soviet land use created the landscape, which had nothing Estonians wanted to identify themselves with. At present, rural landscapes have no clear expression in the symbolism of Estonian nationalism” (Sooväli *et al.* 2003).

Some researches are already concerned that living in freedom may lead to devaluation of Estonian identity (Jürgenson 2004). Due to globalization, greater amount of choices is available and this is enriching on the individual level, but destroying diversity on the national (Cowen 2004). The opening up of the geo-cultural space of Estonia has created a supra-national, global pattern of self-designation (Vihalemm, Masso 2007). But on the other hand, there is a possibility that thanks to the integration into a space of global flows (‘logic of space of flows’) a sense of (national) rootedness (‘logic of space of places’) gains its momentum in progressive terms (Antonsich 2009).

Suburbanisation process found in Estonia is ethnically selective. Cities and urban areas in the suburban ring are becoming more ethnically concentrated by minorities. Rural municipalities in the suburban ring will remain residential locations for ethnic Estonians and those minorities that have established close ties with the majority population in their host society (Tammaru *et al.* 2011).

The position of Russians in the newly independent country has changed dramatically; of being the largest ethnic group in the former Soviet Union they suddenly became a minority group in the independent countries (Laitin 1998 cited in Tammaru *et al.* 2011). Emigration helped Russians to avoid downgrading of their social position and impacted on redistribution of population, reducing counter-urbanization tendencies and creating favourable conditions for urbanization within Estonia (Tammaru 2003).

After regaining the independence, foreign Estonians have lost a necessity to fight against the Soviet regime and got possibilities to visit or settle in Estonia.

Landscapes became diverse in scales. As in other parts of Europe, landscapes in Estonia have changed, both physically and perceptually, due to the altered ways of life of the locals and dissemination of romantic attitudes towards nature (Wang 2000). Environmental roles have also chan-

ged drastically in recent years due to urbanisation and rural population decrease. With increased use of cars, landscape is perceived in different scale and from other perspective. At the same time there are differences emerging on the cultural scale, due to globalization and because the scale of the regional identity for some groups has been broadening (see the quantitative study below).

Quantitative Study of Regional Identity

In order to describe the scale of territorial identity of cultural groups related to Estonia, the results of the Eurobarometer (EB) Survey and Estonian Literary Museum’s (ELM) Questionnaire “Music and Identity” were compared. The comparison of the two studies can give more insights into the regional identity, because while EB analyzes Estonian population as a whole, in the ELM Survey views of different cultural groups can be compared.

The Eurobarometer Survey included regional attachment question (No 54): People may feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country or to Europe. Please tell me how attached you feel to: “Your region”/ “Your country”/ “Your city/town/village” and “Europe”. The set of responses included: “Very attached”, “Fairly attached”, “Not very attached”, “Not at all attached”, “Don’t know”. For current study data of 3 surveys conducted in 10/2004, 06/2005 and 05/2006 was downloaded from the Eurobarometer interactive search system (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/index_en.cfm). Each year survey results available on the website in percents were calculated from approximately 1,000 face-to-face interviews held in Estonia. The Eurobarometer Survey was previously used for studying scales of identity (see Antonsich 2009).

The Estonian Literary Museum’s Questionnaire “Music and Identity” data was used in its comparison with EB Surveys. Data for study was obtained from 09/2008 to 12/2009 as web-based or paper questionnaires in three languages: Estonian, Russian, and English. The Questionnaire consisted of the four sub-sections: Ethnic Identity, Estonian National Identity, Multidimensional Identity and Psychological Adaptation. In the current study five statements on the regional identity from the Multicultural Identity scale were used. Respondents of the Questionnaire were asked to decide about each statement (group) how important it was for them personally. Statements analysed in this study include following regional identities: “world citizen”, “European”, “Baltic person” (“person of the Baltic origin” – in English version and “person living in the Baltic countries” – Russian language version), “person living in

Estonia” and “inhabitant of my own region”. Set of provided answers was: “I oppose myself to this group”, “Not valid for me”, “I belong to the group, but it is not important for me”, “This group is important for me”, “This group is very important for me”. Data from the Questionnaire provided an opportunity to separate answers of three cultural groups: Foreign Estonians, Resident Estonians and Russians living in Estonia (Table 1).

Table 1. The number of respondents of the ELM Questionnaire by cultural groups

Foreign Estonians (F)	181
Russians living in Estonia (R)	585
Resident Estonians (E)	887
Total	1,653

As the Eurobarometer Survey data was available in percentage out of the total amount of respondents to enable comparison, data from the ELM Questionnaire was converted in the same way. During the analysis, the results showing attachment to similar regional identity groups within two studies were compared.

Results

The Eurobarometer Survey results (see Fig. 3) showed that attachment to Estonia was the highest; as the majority of respondents chose answers “very attached” or “fairly attached”, which displayed strong national identity of Estonian inhabitants. Also Antonsich (2009) has found that differently from widely spread assumptions that “in the age of globalisation, re-scaling of the nation-state, both in economic and political-institutional terms, is not accompanied by a rescaling of national identity”. But analyzing similar identity level item in the ELM Questionnaire, of a “person living in Estonia”, it became clear that different cultural groups differed in their feeling of belonging to this group. Estonians perceived a notion of being Estonian inhabitant as more important compared with Russians or foreign Estonians. The latter felt it was more important to be “person of Estonian origin” (this statement was not included in the current study because of its unclear regional dimension).

In setting the sequence of the Survey items, to which the residents of Estonia felt the most attached to, according to the EB Survey, the majority of respondents in this group indicated they felt “very attached” to Estonia (country level) and this response was followed by the smallest territorial unit in the questionnaire – city/town/village. These were followed by attachment to the region. And finally, attachment to Europe was claimed by the smallest amount of respondents.

Unfortunately, the ELM questionnaire did not contain town or village level attachment indicator, therefore there is no opportunity to compare the EB and ELM results for this measure. However there are a lot of similarities between the results of the EB survey (Fig. 3) and results of the ELM questionnaire in the Resident Estonians group (Fig. 4) as far as the items of Europe, country and region are concerned. In this context, it could be assumed that the EB city/town/village item could represent also views of Resident Estonians.

In the ELM results the Russian minority (see Fig. 5) seemed to have the highest feeling of belonging to the Europeans in contrast to other groups, which were analysed in the current study. “Being European” was also the most important for Foreign Estonians (see Fig. 6), but in the group of Foreign Estonians more persons than in the Russian minority group also did not feel belonging to Europeans. High percentage of the Foreign Estonians and Russians’ feeling of belonging to Europeans can be explained by their need for otherness. Both Russians and Foreign Estonians live in the Diasporas and are trying to maintain their identity under minority conditions. Those Foreign Estonians living to the East or West from Estonia in the non-European countries probably found an important source of otherness from the majority of their host-society in the Survey notion of being “European”. “Being European” for

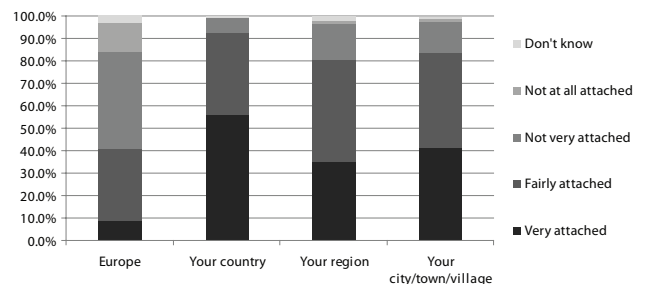


Fig. 3. Estonians attachment to regions. The Eurobarometer Survey results

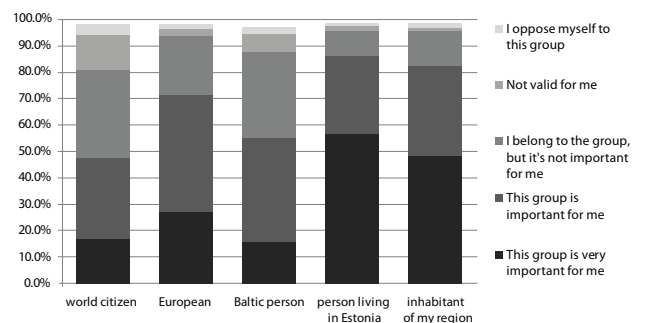


Fig. 4. Resident Estonians' feeling of belonging to regional groups. The ELM questionnaire results

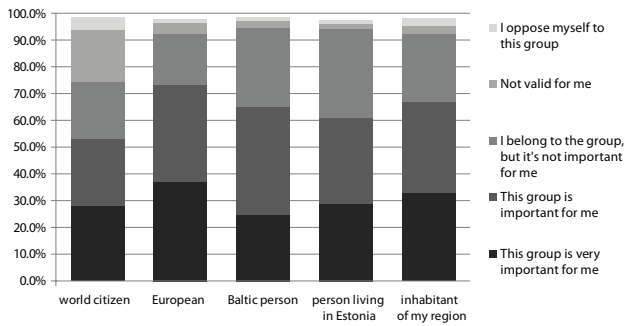


Fig. 5. Estonian Russians' feeling of belonging to regional groups. The ELM questionnaire results

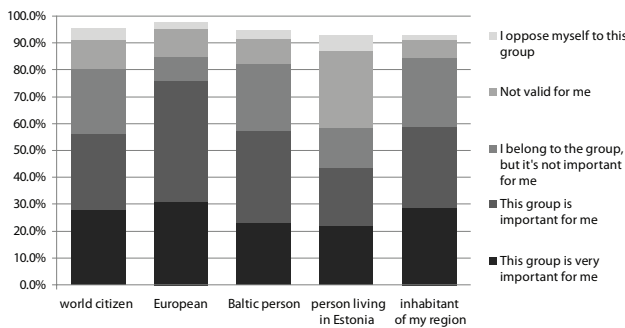


Fig. 6. Foreign Estonians' feeling of belonging to regional groups. ELM questionnaire results

the Russian group probably meant the feeling of otherness from Russians living in Russia; as “being European” is usually identified with a positive image.

The ELM questionnaire results show that different groups differ in stating the scale of importance of the region they feel belonging to. It becomes especially apparent, when comparing the responses by the Resident Estonians, who said they felt it was more important to belong to the local scale groups (first, the country and then the region), to those of the Russians living in Estonia, who did not indicate such clear differences and said they felt important to belong to Europeans and to their region. Russians in Estonia are rather regionally concentrated; thus living together with people of the same cultural group can produce a sense of regional belonging. Russians in Estonia more identify themselves with the inhabitants of a Baltic country (which may be explained by their Soviet past or the mass media influence (see Vihalemm, Masso 2003)) rather than inhabitants of Estonia or the world citizens. At the same time, it should be noted that Russians showed no big differences in self-identification as compared with the Resident Estonians between regional groups in judging their belonging.

Conclusions

There have been a lot of differences between cultural groups in interaction with their landscapes though recent history. Definitely that would influence the future, as traces in the landscape are still visible or tangible, and cultural groups try to maintain their identities. Studies of regional identity can throw some light upon people's identification with territories and values they hold. In making planning and landscape management decisions it is important to realize that people living on same territory may not share the same view of its landscape values, as they have different experiences, history narratives and play different environmental roles.

Due to rapid changes faced during the Soviet period, Estonians have got alienated from their landscapes. The Russian minority established certain ties with the urban landscape and settings they lived in during the Soviet times. It has been confirmed by a number of Russian-speakers, who stayed in Estonia disregarding the changes in their position after the country regained its independence. However even living in the independent country, Russians have been perceived as strangers and this could weaken their ties with the landscape changed within the recent years (ex some of landscapes carrying purely Estonian symbols). Small cultural groups, such as Russian Old Believers, who managed to maintain their traditional life-style, religion and interactions with landscape, are becoming even smaller due to urbanisation.

Resident Estonians and Foreign Estonians have different sense of belonging to territorial units due to their different conditions. Both these groups value their ethnic background, but while Resident Estonians seem to associate it with belonging to a certain territory, Foreign Estonians value ethnicity as their origin. For both Diasporas of Foreign Estonians and Estonian Russians living in a particular region of Estonia is important.

By combining historical background and quantitative study results, assumptions on sensitivity of different cultural groups for landscape changes could be made. The fact that members of a cultural group theoretically would be more sensitive to changes in landscapes of the region they identify with (regional identity as a mobilizing factor) or landscapes to which they developed stronger ties through the time (landscape carrying values of the group or influenced by it) should be taken a starting point. Hypothetically, Resident Estonians would be more involved in planning of changes in the landscapes carrying the traces from the times before the Soviet rule both, on the regional and country scale. For example, Estonians could consider it to be more

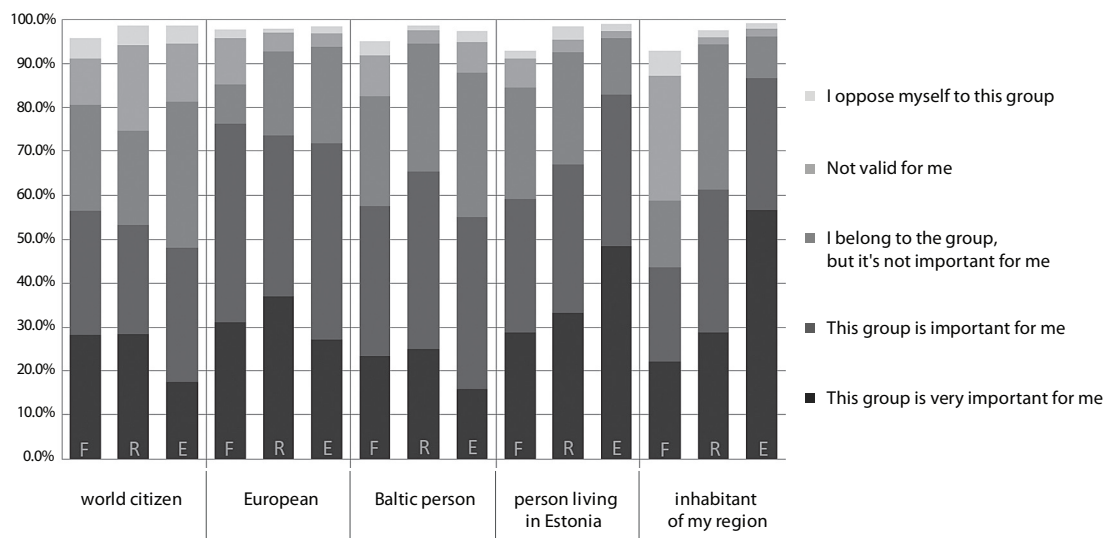


Fig. 7. Comparison of Foreign Estonians (F), Russians living in Estonia (R) and Resident Estonians (E) feelings of belonging to local regional groups. The ELM questionnaire results

important to preserve earlier field structures or manors, while Estonian Russians would not care about it. Russian group probably would be more sensitive about changes in the urban spaces of their region than on the country level. For example, there could be more participation from the Russian minority group on the county/town level and in detail planning public discussions than on the state planning level, where probably more native Estonians would be represented. Estonian Russians could value Soviet heritage landscapes higher than Estonians do and could be less sensitive about changes in rural landscapes. Russian Old Believers, being a small group, would probably be very sensitive to changes in the landscapes they inhabit and more willing to preserve the continuity of traditions while conserving the landscape. Changes in landscape according to the European standards/conventions could be more welcomed by the Russian minority (if those changes do not influence landscapes important to them) than by other groups. Foreign Estonians have no real opportunities to participate in implementation of local landscape changes, but most of them would probably value Estonian landscape of the past, of the times they left the country (before the WWII or independence years) or landscapes carrying Estonian national symbols, as well as landscapes pictured in Estonian literature or other cultural sources. As both, landscape and identity scales become diverse, relationships get influenced with the increasing amount of factors, also public participation is not exception in this sense (it can be influenced by other factors, for example income level of a population group). Examining the above-mentioned relationships could be the aim of further research.

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KEIČIANT KRAŠTOVAIZDĮ, KEIČIAMA TAPATYBĖ

J. Sulina

Santrauka

Kad suprastume tam tikros kultūrinės grupės kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio ryšį ir jos sąsają su tam tikra teritorija (regionu) Estijoje, būtina iširti suformuoto kraštovaizdžio raidos reikšmę tapatybei. Kraštovaizdžio ir kultūrinių grupių regioninės tapatybės masteliai nagrinėjami įvairiais socialiniais-istoriniais formavimosi periodais, įskaitant dabartinį, atsižvelgiant į tapatybės ir fizinės aplinkos santykius, apklausų duomenis ir ankstesnes studijas. Vyrauja tendencija, kad visuomenei tampant vis atviresnei globalizacijos įtakai, naujoms technologijoms ir judėjimo laisvei, tapatybės ir kraštovaizdžio pusiausvyra tampa vis įvairesnė.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: kraštovaizdis, teritorinė tapatybė, kultūrinės grupės.