

Much ado about doing nothing

The conflicts about the Black Forest National Park as a call for integrating forgotten understandings of nature

Alexander Hoffmann

Master Thesis Series in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science,
No 2015:037

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University
International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science
(30hp/credits)



LUCSUS

Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Much ado about doing nothing

The conflicts about the Black Forest National Park as a call
for integrating forgotten understandings of nature

Alexander Hoffmann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International
Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science

Submitted Autumn 2015

Supervisor: Chad Boda, LUCSUS, Lund University

Abstract

The Black Forest National Park (NP), Germany, opened in 2014 after intense societal disputes, complicated by changing political factors, scientific conservation debates, and multi-level decision-making structures. I argue that value conflicts over fundamentally opposed views on nature underlie these disputes, and that integrating these views in future NP planning may improve the sustainability of conservation efforts. Through addressing cultural, social and emotional dimensions of nature, in addition to scientific and economic concerns, conservation can gain wider public support.

By analyzing qualitative semi-structured stakeholder interviews with both supporters and opponents, alongside newspaper articles, findings show that understandings of nature differ between interest groups. Proponents emphasized ecological benefits and contributions to protecting biodiversity and habitats; meanwhile, opponents feared consequences for daily life, the economy, aesthetics, livelihood and homeland identity, revealing that forests of cultural landscapes can represent more than a natural resource.

The thesis situates the Black Forest debates in a broader context, incorporating historical forest use, the forest myth, morality, wilderness ideas, previous conflicts and current political charging, complementing previous natural scientific studies of the NP and quantitative analysis of its public support. The thesis contributes to sustainability science by recommending how to improve participation in and acceptance of NP planning.

Keywords: conservation, National Park, understandings of nature, Black Forest, participation

Word count: 14,000

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Chad Boda, who tirelessly guided me towards achieving my best possible results in this research endeavor. His valuable comments helped me find my way through the thesis writing. Thanks to all my interview partners who devoted so much of their precious time into my research project as well as the contacts I emailed or talked to at the Wissensdialog Schwarzwald congress.

Thanks to Amanda Elgh and the LUCSUS team for taking good care of me and all LUMES students during their stay in Lund. Thanks to all my classmates for providing me with inspiring thoughts during the past two years. I would like to thank especially Christoph Aberle, Luise Heinrich, and Abi Brady for their generous comments to drafts of this thesis. Thanks also to all the friends with whom I talked about my project, for instance at the youth congresses in Stuttgart and Osnabrück. Thanks to everyone for their patience and the encouraging words I received. And especially, thanks to my parents and my brother for hosting and supporting me with all their means during the research process.

Table of Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	Conflicts in conservation	4
2.1	Theoretical entry point.....	6
3	Methodology and Methods.....	9
3.1	Qualitative Approach	9
3.2	Interviews.....	10
3.2.1	<i>Structuredness of the interview situation: Why expert interviews?.....</i>	<i>10</i>
3.2.2	<i>The questionnaire: Why semi-structured interviews with open questions? ..</i>	<i>10</i>
3.3	Research design	11
4	Conflict in the Black Forest in the past and present	13
4.1	The Black Forest.....	13
4.2	Forest use in the BIF and its depiction in the forest myth	14
5	The current conflict about the BIF NP: Facts and arguments.....	16
5.1	Identification of the NP site.....	16
5.2	Reasons and core arguments.....	17
5.2.1	<i>Conservation science predictions in the BIF case.....</i>	<i>19</i>
5.2.2	<i>Comparison with the Bavarian Forest NP</i>	<i>20</i>
6	Thesis notion: Different understandings of nature	21
6.1	Competing patterns of justifying which sites shall be protected	23
6.2	The Heimat (homeland) movement's relation to conservation.....	25

6.3	German Forest and its history as a hotly debated terrain	25
7	A changed political climate influencing the NP	27
8	The BIF NP participation process and its limits	29
8.1	Course of events	29
8.2	Participation assessment.....	30
8.3	Analysis from a Habermasian perspective and recommendations for the future	31
8.4	NP acceptance during the conflict.....	33
8.5	NP acceptance today.....	33
9	Results and analysis from direct material.....	35
9.1	Emotional drivers: the aspect of participation	36
9.2	Cultural drivers: the aspects religion, homeland and identity.....	39
9.3	Perception and communication barriers in the NP's communication.....	40
9.4	Group processes and social identity.....	41
9.5	Interim summary	41
10	Integrating two approaches to nature for the advancement of sustainability.....	43
10.1	Fischer, Ury and Pattons's model of principled negotiation.....	43
10.2	Conserving cultural and natural landscapes	44
10.3	Future development.....	46
11	Conclusion.....	47
12	Annex.....	48

12.1	Guiding remarks on the German political system	48
12.2	Conservation in Germany: From Natural Monuments to National Parks.....	48
13	References	52

List of figures

	page
Figure 1. Model of opposition to PAs in Germany, illustrating the interactions between the four factors and the opposition phenomenon (Stoll-Kleemann, 2001)	7
Figure 2. Matrix depicting the research design of this thesis: two levels, two attitudes (own work)	11
Figure 3. Location of the BIF and the NP in South-West Germany (own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, based on Sitacuisses, 2014; Kjunix, 2012; NordNordWest, 2015)	13
Figure 4. “Greetings from the BIF”, the controversial postcard depicting forest dieback in the region (Schweizer, 1984)	15
Figure 5. Location of the NP search area within the BIF, of which only the two parts West of Baiersbronn have been selected (adapted from MLR BW, 2011)	16
Figure 6. Sign against the NP in Baiersbronn, imitating Stuttgart 21 resistance signs (own photography, 2015, June 30)	28
Figure 7. Milestones of the BIF NP, indicating three phases (own work, based based on Nationalpark-Schwarzwald-Dialog, 2014; Wagschal, Eith & Wehner, 2013)	29
Figure 8. Surveyed assessment of the NP. Local residents (orange areas) more often Consider the park bad than state average (blue). Also statewide respondents’ more frequent positive assessments suggest an on-going difference in perception (own work, data from Blinkert, 2015)	34
Figure 9. Proponents showed their positive feelings towards the NP by this gingerbread heart (own photography)	38
Figure 10. The Heimat display case at Baiersbronn tourist centre, containing local wine, beer, pretzel, newspaper, a football, poem, rock, and basketry and forestry items, signifying cultural values (own photography, 2015, April 24)	39

For figure sources, see reference list.

List of tables

	page
Table 1. Interview partners corresponding to the research design (own work)	12
Table 2. Key facts about the NP (own work, partially based on Böhr, 2014, October 20-23)	17
Table 3. Arguments and their ethical bases in the NP debate, showing that arguments stem from six categories and all have ethical dimensions (own work, compiled after Potthast & Berg, 2013)	18
Table 4. Contrary conservation worldviews expressing diverging understandings of nature (compiled after Piechocki, 2011, p.14)	21
Table 5. Frequency of key terms, indicating that the respondents emphasized different justification patterns (own work)	36
Table 6. Sources of conflict in the BIF NP case, using Stoll-Kleemann's (2001) driving factors of opposition, and selected points of intervention in green (own work)	42
Table 7. Earlier approaches to nature relations (according to Piechocki, 2001)	44

Acronyms

BIF	Black Forest
BW	Baden-Württemberg, South-West German federal state
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CDU	Christian Democratic Party, Conservatives
FDP	Free Democratic Party, Liberals
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MLR	Ministry for Rural Affairs and Consumer Protection Baden-Württemberg
NABU	Conservation NGO "Naturschutzbund"
NLPG	National Park Act
NP	National Park
PA	Protected Area
RQ	Research question
SPD	Social Democratic Party
SQ	Sub-question
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
WDPA	World Database on Protected Areas
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

1 Introduction

In early 2014, the first National Park (NP) in the South-West German state of Baden-Württemberg opened after long societal and political disputes. Proponents regarded the Black Forest (BIF) NP as a unique chance for conservation and argued that, although small in size (10,062 ha; National Park Act §1 NLPG), it would contribute to protecting biodiversity and ecosystems. Meanwhile, opponents feared potential consequences of “doing nothing”, i.e. humans not intervening in the forest, and pointed to risks for the economy, aesthetics, and homeland identity. The two groups did not seem to speak the same language, leading not only to political controversy, but also to mutual hate, threatening and defamation in the communities and resistance to the NP (Krause, 2014, April 17). This thesis argues that power struggles over fundamentally opposed understandings of nature (cf. Piechocki, 2011) lie at the core of these disputes, and suggests that acknowledging and integrating these opposing views into future conservation planning can improve the robustness and sustainability of conservation in contested places by balancing the ecological, economic and social dimension.

There has been much development since 1872, when the first NP in the world, Yellowstone in the US, was designated. Nowadays, NPs are regarded as the most effective, successful and best-known category of Protected Areas (PAs; Knapp & Jeschke, 2013), preserving species and habitats (Luick & Reif, 2013). NPs are said to combine nature exempt from use pressure with visitor support, increasing social welfare, marking major tourist destinations, providing recreation and health, and offering a remedy for city dweller’s alienation from nature through urbanization (Knapp & Jeschke, 2013).

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has developed six Protected Area Management Categories, ranked by levels of protection. NPs, classified as Category II, are defined as *“large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large-scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area, which also provide a foundation for environmentally and culturally compatible, spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational, and visitor opportunities”* (IUCN, 2014, January 15). NPs are distinguished from other IUCN PA categories like nature parks or biosphere reserves by not keeping up traditional patterns of use, but actively improving, developing and preserving habitats (Luick & Reif, 2013).

NPs are structured into zones, serving different functions. Firstly, there are management zones where humans actively and permanently intervene, for instance to keep land open as specific habitats for species. Secondly, in development zones intervention only occurs temporarily to accelerate the forest conversion. Thirdly, NPs have core zones totally free of use, where natural processes run in uncontrolled ways (Knapp & Jeschke, 2013).

In general, PAs as the superordinate category to NPs are a key instrument for conservation, and reportedly provide eleven social gains, adding therapeutic, cultural, artistic, and aesthetic value, identity, existence, and peace value to those aforementioned (Harmon, 2004). Many of these share the challenge of precise measurement, making them prone to being ignored (Tranel & Hall, 2003). Promisingly, the contemporary framing of ecosystem services (Haines-Young & Potschin, 2013) increases attention to intangible values as *cultural services* (cf. Munoz-Blanco, von Essen & Hoffmann, 2015).

Given all these described benefits of PAs, why was conflict so tense about the BIF NP? This way, my research questions emerged:

RQ: Why does conflict develop over the establishment of PAs, and why over the BIF NP in particular?

SQ1: What are the various *reasons* for supporting or rejecting the BIF NP?

SQ2: How are these reasons linked to the socio-cultural *context*?

SQ3: How can a better understanding of the *sources of conflict* help inform for sustainable conservation *planning* in the future?

This thesis aims to contribute to answering these questions by linking academic literature, newspaper articles and stakeholder interviews. I will provide explanations for the BIF disputes and, drawing on this understanding, derive suggestions to reduce conflict potential in conservation projects. A key instrument, I will propose, could be integrating widespread cultural comprehensions of nature into the planning process by giving room for emotional or aesthetic considerations, which would allow people to emotionally commit to conservation, and balance economic, ecological and social dimensions of sustainability in a new way.

Inclusionary conservation planning gains relevance as the number of PAs has recently significantly risen. It reached 209,000 PAs in the World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA) in 2014, comprising 14% of the earth's terrestrial and 3.41% of its marine area (Deguignet et al., 2014). By 2020, numbers shall rise to 17 and 10%, respectively, according to the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity (Convention on Biological Diversity (CDB), 2010).

With the rise in PAs, a spread into settled land becomes more likely and conflict potential rises. To accommodate the various expectations (Mose & Weixlbaumer, 2007), the issue of participation in conservation is gaining relevance.

To start my study, I first highlight existing problems with conservation, and show later how they have appeared in the debate concerning the BIF NP's establishment. I present my methodology in chapter 3, before turning to the BIF in chapter 4 and the NP case in chapter 5. In chapter 6, I introduce concepts and older debates about desirable forestry, morals, worldviews in general and understandings of nature in particular, in which the NP conflict rooted. I then turn to the course of events in chapter 8. My analysis of interview and materials in chapter 9 will show how the opposition against this NP shares characteristics of earlier resistance against PAs, which I illustrate using Stoll-Kleemann's (2001) environmental psychological opposition model. Conclusion and suggestions for integration of two approaches to nature round off the work.

2 Conflicts in conservation

In this section, I present three existing tensions in nature conservation derived from analyzed PA literature. In view of the rise of PAs, the question arises what consequences the increasing trend of conservation will have on social, economic and ecological sustainability.

First, *why* does society want to protect nature? The academic answers vary between two poles: The ecocentric perspective assigns inherent value to nature itself (cf. Taylor, 2011). It protects animals and plants for their own intactness, which it shares with the holistic position (Gorke, 2006). By contrast, the opposite, anthropocentric view argues that nature shall be protected for human needs, because value for humans can be derived (cf. Passmore, 1980; Ott, 2010). In the stakeholder interviews we will see that anthropocentric positions are more represented by the NP's opponents.

Second, *which nature* does society want to protect? As Reichholf (2010) notes, societies have to determine a point of time whose nature they strive for, since nature has always been changing, and humans have intervened in ecosystems for centuries. This is closely connected to the debate within conservation discussing the conservation of natural processes versus the conservation of a state of sites. Some habitats can only exist because they are used, pasturelands and heathlands not grazed, for instance, will turn into forest again in temperate climate (BUND.net, 2015, n.d.). If these habitats shall be preserved, humans need to constantly intervene. The idea of conservation of processes, by contrast, demands doing nothing from humans, and leaving nature entirely to its own evolution. The latter being the stated goal of the BIF NP, it contrasted sharply with locals' views of nature, as I demonstrate later on.

Third, the *role of local residents* in conservation is particularly disputed. Shall people be allowed to live within PAs? Who allows or forbids and on which grounds? This is where the power theme becomes most obvious. Till mid-20th century, displacement was common (cf. Neumann, 1998), but Adams and Hutton (2007) point to both the progress in recognition (IUCN Kinshasa Resolution) and deficits in implementation. While this problematic dichotomy between conservation and livelihoods (which, to a slighter degree, affected the timber industry in the BIF) is often described for developing countries (cf. West, Igoe & Brockington, 2006), the social scientific analysis of NPs in industrialized countries, including Germany, is less present, except for the US with its Native American population (cf. Adams & Hutton, 2007). This is reflected in West et al.'s (2006, p.258) understanding of the "lack of European regions in the literature [as] a relative lack of hardship created by Protected Areas on this continent". Also, people living near NPs have been less prominent in the literature than people displaced (cf. West et al., 2006, p.259). Truly, displacement is usually beyond imagination in Europe. The BIF NP was

designed excluding settlements. However, parks have effects on local communities on this continent as well; for instance, they change the social nature of people's surroundings (West et al., 2006, p.261), involve economic job changes, social identity issues regarding the influx of tourists (Kim, Uysal & Sirgy, 2012), as well as feelings of restrained liberty, and group dynamics (cf. Stoll-Kleemann, 2001).

I position this specific BIF case in the general trend towards a risen demand for more participatory democracy (cf. Schmidt, 2008), helped by the rise of new media. In Baden-Württemberg, people articulated that they wanted more direct influence on politics (Wagschal, 2013a), and the BIF NP became a test ground of this government's promise (cf. chapter 8).

The next part provides the theoretical starting points that I draw from, and relates this work to the literature body.

2.1 Theoretical entry point

Academic publications on the BIF NP have, due to its young age, been not many (until late 2014) and have been limited to a German-speaking audience. Moreover, they predominantly focus on biological, economic and technical viewpoints of conservation. Building on these materials, as well as interviews I conducted myself, I aim to draw a more social scientific and holistic picture of the value conflicts involved in this debate. I argue that the citizen involvement in the BIF case, and its limitations, have some implications for the audience of sustainability science.

Sustainability science often deals with stakeholders and argues to involve them deeply (Lang et al., 2012). Superficial solutions like compensating stakeholders financially, as suggested in the weak sustainability concept, or shifting pollution, are not widely accepted (Garvare & Isaksson, 2001). Comprehension of actors' behaviors requires evaluating invisible reasons that are more difficult to measure, such as beliefs, concerns, value systems and identity. Understandings of nature are a form of worldviews, but this concept is used differently by different people. For my purpose, I see understandings of nature as belief systems, as they are not accessible to being proven right or wrong. Values can then be derived from these beliefs.

This thesis investigates social effects of conservation (cf. Piechocki, 2010; Körner, 2004). It examines conflicts about the environment, analyzes different perceptions of nature and reality, as they are and as people imagine them to be. This entangles a brief look at environmental psychological ideas (Potthast & Berg, 2013; Stoll-Kleemann, 2001). Strongly drawing on the tradition of Environmental History (Radkau, 2000; Imort, 2005; Hughes, 2006), I build on understanding the past as well as people's opinions to comprehend the present.

Many studies in social scientific analysis tend to either follow the naturalist path, expressed in environmental determinism, or a sociocentric path, paired with social constructivism (Groß, 2006). Informed by the debate about social construction of nature (cf. Cronon, 1995c; Soulé, 1995a), I take a third *dialectic approach* for this study as an intermediary path which dialectically joins these strings (Brand, 1998). I believe that material reality has significant impact on people's thinking, but only in the integration of socially preconceived ideas can material impacts explain behavioral outcomes. Within the epistemology of Critical realism (cf. Proctor, 1998), which supports me in searching for hidden structural explanations in order to change them (cf. Bryman, 2008, p.692-693), my argument includes some aspects of framings and participation theory.

The sustainability science nexus of interactions between social and ecological systems has played a key role in the debate about transforming the cultural (i.e., man-made) landscape of the BIF into a NP; for example did the nutrient-poor soils of the region sustain forest better than grain, and led to large forestry activity over centuries, which in turn shaped customs and forest-related social identity.

For my analysis, I follow the conceptual model put forward by Stoll-Kleemann (2001; figure 1). It uses four factors, the interplay of which lead to the observed local opposition to PAs in Germany.

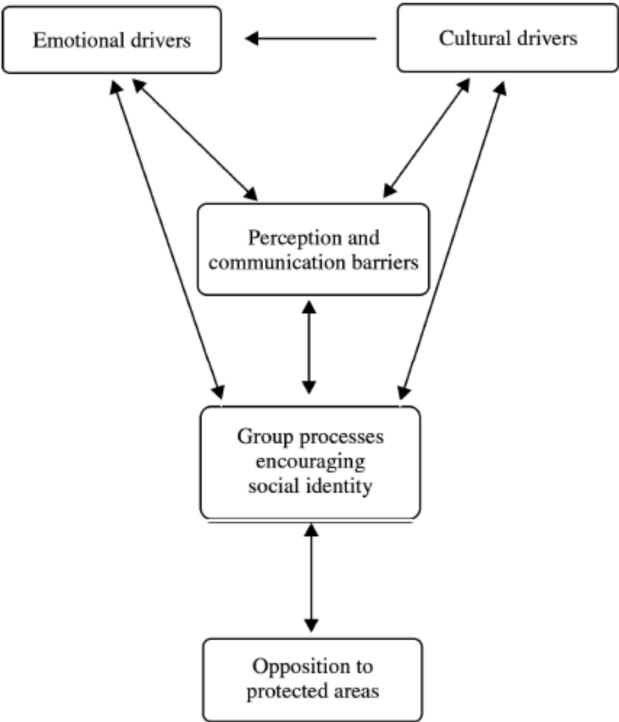


Figure 1. Model of opposition to PAs in Germany, illustrating the interactions between the four factors and the opposition phenomenon (Stoll-Kleemann, 2001)

The first factor, emotional drivers, involve fears, feelings of insecurity, perceived threats and restrictions to personal liberty. Information and involvement can mitigate these problems. Next, cultural drivers entail professional or traditional values (Stoll-Kleemann, 2001, p.378), and in my take, religious value orientations, too. These are not broken up easily, and solutions need to find conservation arguments within the opponent’s worldviews, I deduce, or negotiated compromises. Third, perception and communication barriers appear from discrepancies between ways of argumentation, as given in the two aforementioned drivers. Conceptions can diverge, e.g. if politicians, (NP) administrations or interest groups think of nature as wilderness, whereas the opponents perceive nature as their cultivated garden without weeds. Fourth, social identity theory describes group

processes based on social roles, discrimination, and in- and out-groups (Stoll-Kleemann, 2001, p.379), appearing especially in the rural context. Leading figures provide assessments, rebelling against which can strain social status, bonds and integration. Taken together, these four factors reinforce opposition patterns. In the analysis, I show what these factors have meant for the BIF case, and that these critical variables should be addressed to reduce resistance perceived as unjustified.

Simply applying a governance structure on a perceived natural science problem like a NP without considering social interactions can cause implementation difficulties. Although participation has played a significant role in the NP designation process, an intense conflict occurred. Before investigating this phenomenon, let me introduce my methodology.

3 Methodology and Methods

In this section I describe how I approached my research questions, why I decided for such a design, and discuss some theoretical implications. First I outline what made me choose a qualitative approach, before explaining how I conducted interviews with central key stakeholders.

3.1 Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach has been selected to be most appropriate for this research endeavor. I am not aware of any comparable case study; yet, there have been a series of quantitative surveys and analyses in the context of the NP BIF (Blinkert, 2015; Forsa, 2012; Emnid, 2013; Rieger, 2013, March 11).

Qualitative research excellently complements these fairly well-researched aspects. Understanding contexts allows us to gain fresh insights into the root of the conflicts.

As underlying reasons do not fit into quantitative questionnaire cells, they usually remain hidden (Stephenson, 1998). However, it is this motivational knowledge that I aim to derive to answer my research questions qualitatively. Functioning even with small sets of participants, I overcome the need to evaluate preconceived assumptions in large-n studies. Well aware of the social desirability of answers, I avoided asking people in the streets, since they would answer in ways not to be perceived as outsiders (cf. Druckman, 2005). This is why I preferred face-to-face interviews, in closed rooms if possible, and not announcing my research through media or in public meetings.

Interviews allow me a more direct, own access to information than publications, not mediated by journalists' interpretations. The specific type of information, revealing motivations, is best accessible in face-to-face interviews (cf. Leslie & O'Reilly, 1999). Questions can also start reflection processes in respondents and open further unexpected context knowledge. Finally, media coverage has decreased, decreasing relevant published material.

My interviews are complemented by document analysis. I analyze historical literature from two local libraries that can provide reasons why people have such attitudes. I also engage with newspaper articles, mainly to reconstruct the 2011 and 2013 situation (since respondents might portray their behavior differently in retrospect). Observations from my field visits and information brochures round off my sources. Documents are used to gather information about events, interviews for evaluations and confirmation of personal experiences, and observations of symbols revealing not outspoken attitudes.

3.2 Interviews

Following Atteslander (2003), three dimensions are to be predefined for an interview: the interview situation, the questionnaire, and the question type.

3.2.1 Structuredness of the interview situation: Why expert interviews?

To gather data, I conducted systematically prepared and target-oriented oral interviews, besides document analysis. The interviews were recorded and, with interviewee's consent, selectively transcribed (cf. Atteslander, 2003, p.157). I chose to ask stakeholder experts to generate context knowledge, where experts describe phenomena of a group they are (usually) part of (Meuser & Nagel, 2005, p.75). Researchers can then infer to a bigger group, as applied here. Expert interviews allow exploring structures and gaining group context knowledge, which I considered relevant for understanding group-specific reasoning and classification.

I chose interviews with low formality in line with my qualitative approach (Atteslander, 2003, p.159). Consequently, interviews are social interactions providing stimuli, to which the interviewees respond, mediated by their norms (Atteslander, 2003, pp.122-124). Through high commonalities in communication, meaning similar language, manners, and awareness, I tried to achieve a higher motivation and less misunderstandings (Atteslander, 2003, pp.142-143). I chose personal face-to-face contact to the interviewees, not to lose richness of interaction (cf. Rowley, 2012).

3.2.2 The questionnaire: Why semi-structured interviews with open questions?

Among the spectrum of qualitative interviews (Atteslander, 2003, p.145), *guided interviews*, as a form of *semi-structured interviews*, were chosen. The talk develops from pre-formulated questions, which the interviewer can rephrase, add or skip, to which the interviewee answers freely (Bryman, 2008, p.196). I intended to retain the flexibility to adapt to the respondent's structure of thought, revealing data as well. This is to understand data not as isolated, but connected (Atteslander, 2003, p.144). Additionally, some recurring questions have been chosen for comparability. This selected combined method ensures openness, being key to qualitative research (Mayer, 2013), with coherence through the set of pre-formulated questions.

Capturing the interviewee's experience-base also depends on the interviewer's thematic comprehension (Atteslander, 2003) to explain questions, see linkages in respondents' answers and react to them (Mayer, 2013). Therefore, intensive preparation preceded the construction of interview guides and interviews.

Open-ended questions, as chosen, refrain from an ex-ante categorization of answers and allow more analytical depth. However, they mean higher demands for the respondent, concerning linguistic and social competences, time, reaction to the interview atmosphere, and ability to remember facts instead of recognizing them; yet these conditions given, they allow a more natural talk (Atteslander, 2003).

3.3 Research design

For the interviews, stakeholders from major organizations and associations active in the NP conflict (table 1) have been selected in purposive sampling (cf. Silverman, 2010). I decided for a research design intersecting the pro and con NP camps with the state and local levels. I assumed respondents with conservative party membership to have more conservative understandings of nature (hypothesis; cf. table 4, p.21). The respondent were chosen to cover a maximal extract of the richness of reality on a small sample. I attempted to get in contact with the respective experts. My initial choice of interviewees aimed to cover all four of the following quadrants of Figure 2.



Figure 2. Matrix depicting the research design of this thesis: two levels, two attitudes (own work)

This classification of interviewees, however, proved not to be fully possible any longer. Since 2013, when media coverage peaked, general orientations had shifted. The conflict decreased. It proved more difficult than expected to find people opposing the BIF NP, unlike 2013 when opponents led public opinion in the villages. Furthermore, several contacts refused to be interviewed.

Meuser and Nagel (2005) suggest second-line interviewees, which describe positions below the heads of hierarchy. I did so where possible, as the medium positions are rather available for research and have the best position for expert knowledge that neither their heads of hierarchy nor employees hold.

Table 1. Interview partners corresponding to the research design (own work)

Interview partners				
Interviewee	Association	Place of Meeting	Date (2015)	Main topics
Ingrid Eberhardt-Schad	NABU Baden-Württemberg	Office, Stuttgart	April 21	Local reactions and fears
Friederike Schneider	Freundeskreis Nationalpark, Municipal Council Baiersbronn	Café, Baiersbronn	April 24	Holding a minority position in a Black Forest village
Dr. Markus Rösler	Green Party, MdL*	telephone	June 3	Political proceedings
Dr. Patrick Rapp	CDU Conservative Party, MdL*	State Parliament, Stuttgart	June 18	Alternative "Citizen NP"
Michael Ruf	Mayor Baiersbronn, CDU	Town hall office, Baiersbronn	June 30	Effects on the municipality

*MdL: Member of State Parliament

Having introduced my approach, I now present the case study area.

4 Conflict in the Black Forest in the past and present

4.1 The Black Forest

The Black Forest (Schwarzwald, from Romans' Latin 'silva nigra') is a secondary mountain range in South-West Germany (figure 3), reaching 1,164m altitude in its Northern part. It falls steep toward West, where vast forest zones, glacially formed lakes and high moors are found. The BIF was formed by tectonic movements and glaciers of the ice ages; settlements of beech, oak, fir, and spruce grew in the habitat of wolves, lynxes, and bears (Gartner, 2007). The BIF covers 6,000 km², stretching 170 km north-south, but at maximum 50 km east-west (Lorenz, 2001).

The federal state of Baden-Württemberg, in which the BIF is located, has a population density of 297 inhab./km², well above the German average of 220 (Statistische Ämter, 2015, July 3). The BIF itself is a sparsely populated region¹ (160 inhab./km²) located between highly urbanized districts like Karlsruhe (293,000 inhabitants) and Stuttgart (594,000; Statistisches Landesamt BW, 2014b).



Figure 3. Location of the BIF and the NP in South-West Germany
(own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, based on Sitacuisses, 2014; Kjunix, 2012; NordNordWest, 2015)

¹ electoral district Calw (Statistisches Landesamt BW, 2014a, n.d.)

4.2 Forest use in the BIF and its depiction in the forest myth

Environmental problems in the BIF are not a new phenomenon. Previous conflicts have informed the NP debate, and have become part of a collective memory. Located in central Europe, the region has faced many environmental problems, even before Industrial Revolution.

After monks, farmers settled in the BIF, cut fields into the forest, but stayed in the valleys, where they also had waterways to trade timber via the Rhine tributaries. Over centuries, the wood was used for ship-building in the prosperous cities along the Rhine, especially in 17th-century Netherlands as a major colonial and trade power, until the last raft drifted down the Murg River in 1913 (Scheifele, 2001).

Due to the high use, reinforced by charcoal piling, glass and metal production, the original tree cover of the BIF disappeared. Since by about 1800, the Southern BIF had only 10% wood cover remaining, the Forest Law of Baden of 1833 ordered firs to be planted statewide, creating monoculture problems (Gartner, 2007). Nevertheless, the BIF is again among the largest continuous forest areas in Germany (Blessing, 2014).

In subsequent Romanticism, the German forest became mystically charged. Glorified for giving spiritual strength and as the seat of German gods (Schoenichen, 1954, p.35), the forest myth evolved. The dark green firs, suiting so well the name BIF, became part of the “brand”. A symbolic BIF image shaped, also known overseas (Blessing, 2014). The well-known writer Mark Twain noted: “One cannot describe those noble woods, nor the feeling with which they inspire him. ... And everywhere they are such dense woods, and so still, and so piney and fragrant.” (Twain, 1880 [2014], Chapter XXII). The region’s depiction as a natural idyll remains until today, letting some people argue that the NP is just a premium label. Former minister Vetter noted that the BIF was known internationally as a NP, although it was none (Link, 2013, May 7).

However,

“foreign visitors are frequently surprised to find that the famous Black Forest is not the sublime sylvan wilderness they imagined it to be. ... [Can] the supposedly forest-minded Germans ... not see the glaring contradiction in celebrating the Black Forest as their quintessential Nature when in fact it is an enormous, rigidly patterned spruce plantation”? (Imort, 2005, p.56).

This real world has little to do with the Romanticist image of nature that Nationalist artists, poets and writers used to construct a symbol of Germandom throughout the 19th century (Imort, 2005), describing Germans as the free forest people (Riehl & Ipsen, 1935 [1853], p.80). Wilhelmine foresters even saw German society’s character mirrored in the stratified structure of their orderly forests.

What did the forest myth mean for the BIF? Already in the early 19th century, it made tourism an important source of income; luxury hotels and tourist infrastructure developed, offering spa stays, thermal springs and hiking (Osterloh, 2001). The balls hat, glassworks and cuckoo-clocks became renowned souvenirs (Maurer, 2013).

Despite the strong brand, mass tourism shifted away as journeys abroad became more affordable. The region was hit hard in the 1980s, when acidic rain caused forest dieback (von Wilpert, 2015). In response, a postcard depicting a BIF girl wearing a gas mask was published by a small print shop (Figure 4). It sparked controversy and hostile reactions, and was perceived as an attack on tourism and the German forest myth, while others saw it as a call to protect the forest (von Detten, 2013).



Figure 4. "Greetings from the BIF", the controversial postcard depicting forest dieback in the region (Schweizer, 1984)

Establishing two nature parks around 2000 did not shift this tourism trend sufficiently, and the cultural landscapes they protect face too much forest growth to protect endangered species requiring open landscapes (Gartner, 2007).

Conflicts of use have had a long tradition in the BIF and Baden-Württemberg. Millers, rafters and fishermen fought for the rivers. The straightening "correction" cut off the Upper Rhine's meandering bends. Around 1900, hydropower dams caused the impressive rapids along the High Rhine to disappear. In the 1920s, storage hydropower was developed in Lake Schluchsee. Around World War II, a planned Wutach gorge dam was stopped by a broad coalition of homeland protection groups (Chaney, 2008). Although people from these struggles are hardly around anymore, institutionalist theory suggests that societal actors have learned from these conflicts, and that the disputes are likely to have left traces in institutional structures (cf. Rittberger, 2013, p.87).

Let me introduce the recent BIF NP debate next.

5 The current conflict about the BIF NP: Facts and arguments

5.1 Identification of the NP site

The idea of a BIF NP bases on older plans but gained momentum after a government change from Conservatives (CDU) to Green-Reds². In 2011, the newly-formed government decided to evaluate the designation of a NP in the Northern BIF. An evaluation of possible sites from a conservation perspective by the environmental NGO NABU BW (2011) had identified the Northern BIF as best-suited by the following criteria professed to stem from IUCN criteria and German Conservation Law (§24 BNatSchG). NABU's determination of sites happened stepwise to find undissected low-traffic areas, with at least 10,000 ha, a majority share of forest, a high share of publicly owned land, continuous forest, and international relevance of species and habitats (NABU BW, 2011). The Ministry for Rural Affairs and Consumer Protection Baden-Württemberg (MLR) determined a search area (Figure 5, green) for close investigation around existing PAs and Natura 2000 sites (red and yellow).

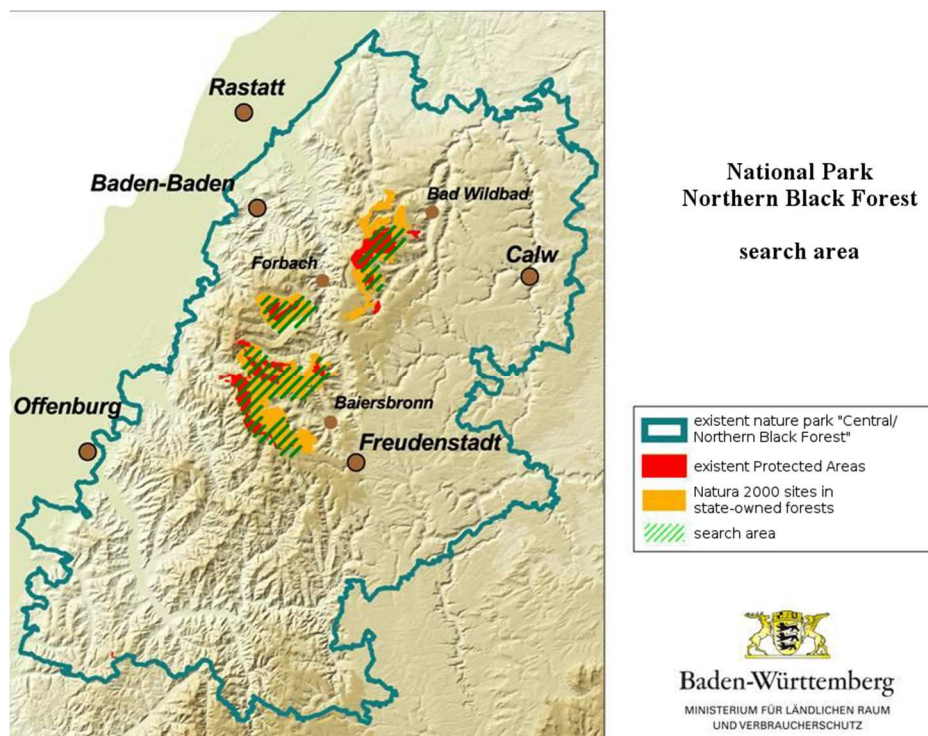


Figure 5. Location of the NP search area within the BIF, of which only the two parts west of Baiersbronn have been selected (adapted from MLR BW, 2011)

² For guiding remarks on the German political system, see the annex.

Within the designated search area (green), the MLR examined three sites: Ruhestein, Hoher Ochsenkopf and Kaltenbronn, of which two years later, after investigations and a long participation process, the North-Eastern part, Kaltenbronn, was not incorporated into the NP (Allgöwer, 2013, June 4). Thus the NP consists of two separated entities, encompassing 10,062 ha (cf. Table 2). The final NP boundaries have been designed to avoid municipalities of public resistance.

Table 2. Key facts about the NP (own work, partially based on Böhr, 2014, October 20-23)

Key facts about the National Park	
size	10,062 ha (=100,62 km ² =0,7% of forest in Baden-Württemberg)
established	2014, Jan. 1
opposition	majority of CDU (conservatives), FDP (liberals), wood-processing industry (exemptions)
proponents	SPD (Social Democrats), Greens, some CDU deputies
ownership	state forest, municipal forest (cities of Baden-Baden, Bühl)
National target	5% of forest as natural forest until 2020 (national strategy for biological diversity). Baden-Württemberg is at below 2%.

In order to analyze potential consequences, the MLR ordered an *expert investigation* of the three potential sites in March 2012, which the auditing and consultancy companies PricewaterhouseCoopers and ö:konzept (2013) conducted, based on information from 30 academic partners, regional working groups and other stakeholders. It aimed to address the 2,000 questions collected from participants in the participation process. The results were presented in April 2013, and included both socioeconomic and nature conservation perspectives. To date, it provides the most comprehensive list of arguments for and against the NP. Major findings included that negative effects for the regional forestry and wood industry were not to be expected (PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013).

With this scientific assessment supposedly clearly demonstrating the lack of negative impacts, why have conflicts still occurred? Arguments were far broader, as I will present in the following section, before introducing the concept of different conservation worldviews in the next chapter.

5.2 Reasons and core arguments

Proponents and opponents of the NP have put forward a wide range of arguments, many of which appeared in the public debate and in my interviews. Besides classical economic and conservation arguments, strikingly frequent religious and ethical considerations and those referring to cultural values like homeland (Heimat) appeared. Table 3 provides an overview of the most common categories and their ethical content present in all of them. It answers SQ1: *What are the various reasons for supporting or rejecting the BIF NP?*

Table 3. Arguments and their ethical bases in the NP debate, showing that arguments stem from six categories and all have ethical dimensions (own work, compiled after Potthast & Berg, 2013)

Categories and overview of arguments

This is a non-exhaustive list. For a more comprehensive one, see Pricewaterhouse & ö:konzept (2013).

Types of arguments:



	Used pro NP	neutral or contested arguments	Used against the NP
Arguments indirectly moral	Economic arguments		
	+ economic revitalisation	° shift in use of forest	- restricting the supply chain of wood
	+ regional sustainability	° redistribution of jobs (industry sectors)	- timber imports need to rise
	Political Arguments		
	+ participation	° affected people and authorities involved	- land use conflicts
	+ open-ended discourse	° institutions for decision-making exist	- how strong/relevant is the resistance?
	+ democratic decisions	° transparency, procedures	- in competition with the existent nature park
	+ decisions taken in dialogue	° size of the NP scope of effect?	
	Cultural (Heimat) Arguments		
	+ if the NP is enriching the homeland	° feelings of origin ° chosen homeland ° social homeland ° mental home ° utopian ° subjective	- just pretended as a political strategy? - bundling of concepts - claimed loss of Heimat - negation of achievements of earlier generations - valuable treeless plateaus require constant use - concern about cultural monuments
	Aesthetic arguments		
	+ wilderness as an ideal		- orderly forest as an ideal
	Conservation arguments		
	+ no separation of humans/nature		- nature not per se better
+ building relation betw. humans & nature		- nature undisturbed by NP tourism	
+ process protection		- small size of the NP	
+ habitats in need of protection		- intervention essential for some species	
Arguments directly moral	Ethical arguments		
	+ role model function (credibility)	° inherent problem what to value (inclusion problem: everything, sentient beings, ...)	- fostered forest is a bequest package - tradition a value per se?
	+ promoting biodiversity, leave wild nature		
	+ promoting good human life? (if wilderness is part thereof)	° responsibility for future generations: they deserve both to make their own choices	- decreasing good human life ? (if access limitation is conceived negatively)
	Religious arguments		
	+ responsibility for the creation	° religious arguments not universal, they apply to religious Christians only	- not any use morally wrong?
	+ stewardship		
+ Earth to share with animals → habitats	° ← 1st Moses 1, 26-28 (Genesis) dualistic →	- God gave the human Earth for their use reign	

All these arguments share a common value base, and are either directly or indirectly moral.

From an economic point of view, for instance, the NP is beneficial. Though 3% less timber will be harvested in Northern BIF (Wiegert, 2015, January 13), the remaining timber sale from forest restructuring will outnumber the expected NP costs for administration of 1.1 million Euro a year (PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013, p.7). Furthermore, the NP has received additional funding of initially 7.2 million Euro from the government (SWR, 2014, November 25). Seeing the

region's proclaimed need for economic development, revenues and jobs form a major favoring argument, foremost in the tourism sector.

However, despite the deep ethical considerations by actors (table 3), and ethics a constituent of sustainability thought, the NP relations to sustainable development remain problematic. While villagers could gain more prosperity, increased tourism can also harm local nature through additional noise and emissions from traffic, contributing to climate change and pressure on habitats (UNEP, n.d.). As species have retreated to these remote habitats for calmness, more visitors can disturb animals by their presence, noise, and smell (INTOSAI, 2013). The justified desire for prosperity from tourism is likely to cause further contradictions to the intention of conservation (cf. Buckley, 2012).

5.2.1 Conservation science predictions in the BIF case

Conservation science has been derived from the fields of biology, ecology, landscape planning and forestry. With the rise of PAs worldwide, and a deepening understanding of natural processes during the 20th century, conservation science gained influence. Awareness campaigns by IUCN, mainstreaming of conservation into policies and rising consciousness in society through phenomena like forest dieback strengthened conservation science.

A key function of conservation science is predicting which management approach will lead to which composition of species in a given area over long time. In the BIF case, the expert investigation (PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013) predicts that if left to itself, the diversification of the commercial forest will take 30 years, and allows a natural development on 80% of the area afterwards, despite firs currently growing on 60% of the NP area. The NP will also stabilize species diversity, and even meet IUCN criteria.

These natural scientific and economic facts are portrayed as unambiguous and in favor of the NP establishment (cf. PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013). However, even within conservation science doubts are raised as to which conservation to do. Shall wildlife management keep numbers of animals sustainable?

In the BIF, conservation science encountered what they labelled *ignorance of facts* (Luick & Reif, 2013) – as not scientifically rational. Yet, ideas of identity not represented in the studies were touched, letting some authors criticize a domination of conservation by natural science (Adams & Hutton, 2007, p.166). Seeing the NP planning proceed, emotions ran high, and locals claimed a loss of homeland.

5.2.2 Comparison with the Bavarian Forest NP

Interestingly, the current arguments about the BIF repeat those (even ones proven wrong) from Germany's first NP in the Bavarian Forest, making me doubt whether stakeholders have learned from it. The Bavarian Forest NP, created in 1970, shares many characteristics with the current case. Political conflict was immense; the location comprised the peaks of a medium mountain range; and the forest cover had been closely fostered over centuries. Arguments included assumed threats to local jobs in the timber industry, and forest use versus economic opportunities through tourism (Chaney, 2008).

However, the Bavarian Forest NP also showed some differences: The tourism sector was started from scratch, as the Bavarian forest represented a hardly visited, sparsely-settled and remote corner at the republic's edge in need of economic opportunities. Neither could the Bavarian Forest NP build on the 40 years of experience of German NPs and 150 years of local tourism, nor on thorough conservationists' support. Furthermore, the understanding of conservation differed immensely from the current one. E.g., reintroducing animals once found in the 'German forest' was discussed, though this would have meant releasing non-native species into the ecosystems and continuous human intervention (Chaney, 2008).

Having seen how the forest has both been a centuries-old productive good and a reference point, and arguments are reflecting this strong cultural relevance, while the expert investigation does not position itself on these, I now propose a possible explanation: Different understandings of nature.

6 Thesis notion: Different understandings of nature

Let us now move on to SQ2: *How are these reasons linked to the socio-cultural context?* We will see that it is deeply embedded. To do so, a look into socio-cultural understandings of *nature* will be provided next.

What is nature? Simplistic definitions argue it was non-culture (cf. Uggla, 2010), but this only shifts the problem further. Nature remains to be viewed differently by conservative and liberal forces (table 4). Different worldviews determine different nature-culture relations (cf. Hoffmann, 2014) and lead to different approaches to conservation. Which nature is worth to be protected? And for what reason? It also depends on who has the power to define.

Table 4. Contrary conservation worldviews expressing diverging understandings of nature (compiled after Piechocki, 2011, p.14)

	Conservative conservation conceptions	Liberal-progressive conservation conceptions
<i>origin</i>	... in the Heimat movement (since late 19 th century opposition to industrial-urban modernity)	... in early 19 th -century discussions about useful and harmful species (utility)
<i>nature</i>	... is a fixed whole , foremost a landscape.	... is a constantly changing ' open system '.
<i>worldview</i>	The world is a stable , but not unchangeable order , structured in landscape entities with specific uniqueness.	The world is in continuous evolutionary change , i.e. dynamic innovation.
<i>symbolism</i>	Landscape is a symbol of harmonic unity of nature and culture.	Ever-changing nature is a symbol of freedom .
<i>protection</i>	Maintenance of historically grown and acquainted cultural landscapes is central to conservative conservation.	Laborious maintenance of scenery is viewed critically because it contradicts the dynamics of evolution .
<i>diversity</i>	Diversity and uniqueness are central to holism. Diversity is always typical (Heimat-related) and expresses a grown whole (community of life, scenery).	Diversity is viewed instrumentally . Diversity means plurality and openness (without metaphysical targets).
<i>landscape</i>	... is an organic, scenic wholeness (superorganism).	... is defined and analyzed primarily scientifically .
<i>Heimat</i>	The need for Heimat is fundamental for conservation .	The need for Heimat is widely ignored as a subjective feeling of some individuals.

Cronon (1995a) proclaims that we need to rethink nature as it is a highly cultural concept, deeply entangled in human history and we should investigate what we actually mean when we say 'nature'. As Cronon, I believe that this is strongly shaped by our time, place, and culture. Depending on which lens of our own ideas we are looking through, we can encounter its symbolic value, moral implications, and even its virtual representations. These lenses lend the power to emphasize certain aspects.

Soulé and Lease (1995) regard such constructionist ideas as destructive to nature. They fear the consequences for animals and habitats, and took it as an attack on ecology. I suggest that we should not shut ourselves off to any these ideas, and evaluate if they can help us understand and mitigate the current conflicts about conservation.

Chaney (2008) believes that *nature* in Germany is mainly a *cultural landscape* constantly shaped in centuries and its outstanding characteristic to locals and outsiders alike. For example, US-Major Charles Kindleberger noted that “the lack of any waste land, the trimness of cultivated forests free from underbrush and with spaced trees growing straight and tall, make the scenery ... something quite magical and apart.” (Chaney, 2008, p.1)

The changing visions of nature have left visible traces in this landscape, and so have the economy, political decisions and social relations of days gone by (Chaney, 2008). Mitchell (2005, p. 49) stresses that “the landscape is both an outcome and the medium of social relations”. Landscapes were designed in ways their rulers wanted them to look like, through (financial) resources, work, and legislation, thus they demonstrate the *power to design*. You can still see this in the German verb “schaffen”, meaning “to work, to create”, so “Landschaft” (landscape) means “created land”.

Even wilderness can be seen as a human construction, with wilderness as both a chance for environmental awareness (through emotional attachment) as well as a risk to sustainability. Cronon (1995b) sees wilderness and the wilderness experience as a cultural invention, drawing on ideas of the sublime and the frontier, permitting us to escape from our ecological responsibility. To me, this means people satisfy their recreational needs far from home, and neglect or sacrifice their local environments, harming the planet twice through emissions and local pollution, getting off-track from sustainability.

Seeing humans and nature as opposite poles, Cronon (1995b) elaborates, leads to a too high standard about wilderness, and ignoring our human-shaped landscapes. Americans believe wilderness must be pristine to be nature, Cronon adds. To some BIF dwellers, it seems reversed: fostered forest is nature. Without judging this, I encourage thinking of the pros and cons of wilderness, and endorse Cronon’s conclusion that we should acknowledge the whole continuum to strive for critical self-consciousness.

In the next section, I present the logics of the homeland movement as an alternative to conservation science, which understandings of nature can build on. I later demonstrate how these worldviews appeared in the BIF case in chapter 9.

6.1 Competing patterns of justifying which sites shall be protected

The BIF NP conflicts did not appear from scratch. Rather, long existing societal cleavages about conservation broke up again. One of them is how broad protection of nature shall be understood.

Körner (2007) argues that nature is more than rational, goal-oriented environment, as it represents a societal symbol of meaning. The concept of *uniqueness* lets conservation extend beyond technocratic environmental protection, and makes nature worth protecting. However, the idea of nature's uniqueness had been ignored during the past century as a hollow bourgeois middle class and Nazi idea, Körner adds, and has been replaced by the synonymous term *typicality* (derived from architecture).

These parts also constitute the term homeland ('Heimat'), which is frequently found in the BIF and also relates to a conservative-national worldview. Standing for a social ideal of nature, it aims for the *cultural landscape* which combines *uniqueness* and *use*, Körner elaborates. Therefore, new elements and changes to a landscape are not generally tabooed, but have to blend in harmoniously. Landscape is like a monument, it expresses a cultural spirit and can be designed, fulfil functional needs and yet be enriched by further additions. Attitudes like these can be subsumed as *natural protection in a broader sense* (Körner, 2004, pp.77-79). The concept has provided a basis for rural identification, and has been used to block large-scale interventions into landscape. Opponents see the NP as such an imposed megaproject, and used Heimat ideas for cultural and aesthetic arguments.

While the English "homeland" has a wider geographic scope, German "Heimat" usually refers to the rural familiar vicinity of one's village, the surrounding valleys, mountains and villages, the locals and their traditions. Heimat builds on the preservation of rural villagescape, architecture and regional landscape, providing feelings of security (Radkau, 2000). By contrast, with no historic and Heimat identity given through medieval cities and buildings, the US built its national identity mainly on nature, especially the sublime mountains and wilderness of the West, Radkau indicates. The difference explains why the German Heimat movement has no counterpart in the US – and also why homeland seems more culturally restricted than Heimat.

Natural protection in the narrow sense, by contrast, focuses on ecological relations and biological functions. Conserving biotopes and species, based on scientific understandings, is central. However, it can become static and merely preserving. With its reliable scientific 'facts', politicians like to take apparently objective and legitimized decisions, as requested in a democracy (Körner, 2004, p.82). Emotional and aesthetic considerations cannot be dealt with intersubjectively, and have therefore been neglected.

Along with the 'scientification' of conservation, a problem of acceptance of conservation measures in the population emerged (Körner, 2004). Scientific language and results could not be understood universally, and common people grumbled that their feelings would not be respected and heard. The everyday life experiences often failed to meet the scientific results, and livelihoods of people were hardly taken up in studies, so that "the deficit in acceptance manifests in massive resistance of the population against measures of nature conservation" (Schulte, 2001, in: Körner, 2004, p.78). However, conservation needs appreciation by society in order to work (Schulte, 2001).

Resistance to conservation from conservatives might surprise, since protecting natural heritage is a [politically] conservative task, former environmental minister Töpfer remarked (Koch-Widmann, 2013, May 7). However, non-conservationists, often conservative people, oppose conservation projects, so administrations may approach it differently to raise acceptance for conservation projects. To do so, Schulte (2001) lists information and participation, economic issues, general attitude towards conservation, respect to perceptions of nature, management of interests, willingness to change.

Most importantly, coordinated solutions linking macro and micro levels are necessary, since as Hägerstrand (1995) points out, the larger the spatial level of environmental problems is, the bigger the cognitive distance grows between the legislators and the implementers. By entangling communication, he continues, cooperation and consensus-seeking, hierarchical spatial and functional domains can be linked. Let aside that conservation might also be used for blockades (Reichholf, 2010), joint analysis and common evaluation are required to turn concernment not into fears but success, trust, and mutual learning (Schulte, 2001).

Reviving a homeland theme makes sense because people can emotionally attach to it (Piechocki, 2010), but is politically precarious and has to reflect on the antidemocratic nationalist traditions it has been used for, letting progressive theories use "*lifeworld*" synonymously of "*homeland*" (Körner, 2004, p.78). It shows that this cultural and emotional dimension is still deemed relevant, as shown in Stoll-Kleemann's (2001) model earlier. The affective binding is what makes the homeland theme distinctive, as it incorporates "cultural interests, as present in the homeland ideal, and the social ideal of nature relating to pragmatic everyday needs" (Körner, 2004, p.78, about Radkau, 2000, Piechocki, 2001).

Illustrating this importance, Piechocki (2001) reminds us that conservation evolved because the cultural landscape disappeared. The conservative understanding of nature hardly refers to science, but emotional affect (cf. landscape in table 4), and logically, people with strict conservative conservation worldviews are rarely convinced by (natural) scientific studies. Science is seen as a value statement, not as a neutral observer, and politicized.

6.2 The Heimat (homeland) movement's relation to conservation

The Romanticist idealization of the forest bore the root to both conservation and homeland protection; yet while the former field emerged as an academic discipline, homeland protection shows attributes of a social movement believing in ideas, aesthetics, harmony and civic ethics. Despite the Heimat movement's popularity in Imperial Germany, its successes remained partial, resulting in the protection of singular monumental trees or buildings (Radkau, 2000, pp.265-266) but the destruction of attractive natural sites, causing feelings of loss (Piechocki, 2001).

Imort (2005) stresses that conservation gained social and political influence from the more established Heimat movement, and an alternative concept to the materialistic scientific forestry was shaped: sustainable forestry, which promoted managing the forest organism, i.e. ecosystem, and diversifying the forest. First a minority view, the Nazis seized the concept's ideological potential for propaganda. Abandoned after World War II for ideological reasons, not before the acidic rains of the 1980s did forest administrations see the full advantage of resistant, diverse close-to-nature forests (Imort, 2005).

Political alignment of conservation changed repeatedly from the early-20th century German Youth Movement (of nature-facing Scouts casting off social restrictions), to Heimat movement, with and without political support to the civil society realm and back. While the National Socialist Party used it for their purpose of racial justifications, in the decades afterwards conservationists lacked a mass movement (Chaney, 2008). By the 1970s a transition occurred, conservation gained prominence and shifted from a political conservative, often nationalist issue to the political left. Nowadays we see that trends towards sustainability become more mainstream and are politically widely shared (German energy shift, e.g.) but miss cultural references.

"In fact, one could see it as a weakness on the part of contemporary environmental movement that it no longer has, to the same degree as the old nature protection movement, a foundation in fervent love for Heimat and in the attachment to a familiar image of one's native land. For it is only such a guiding image that can be infused with popular support and desire"

(Radkau & Dunlap, 2008, p.236).

6.3 German Forest and its history as a hotly debated terrain

Views on forest in Germany have for decades been controversial, even splitting forestry academics, and highly emotionally charged.

The forest marks a recurrent theme in German environmental history, often symbolizing power (Radkau, 2005). Who controls the forest? Deforestation since the Middle Ages caused counter-

reactions, namely scientific forestry, whose ecologic consequences the BIF NP aims to address. In the High Middle Ages, territorial lords competed to clear forest to extend their scope of territory and power, causing the heaviest landscape change in history according to Radkau (2000). Facing wood shortages in the late-18th century, claims of principals to forests were constructed, derived from mining and hunting privileges, Radkau continues and adds that unlike colonial powers supplying timber from the periphery, the perceived wood shortage required German states to care better for their own local natural resources to supply their mining and saline industry. Forest decrees were systematically introduced and effectively enforced by professional, bureaucratic institutions (like sustainability 'inventor' *von Carlowitz*), further extending state power and institutionalizing conflicts (Radkau, 2005). For a comprehensive account on conservation in Germany from natural monuments to NPs, see annex 12.2.

However, public economic considerations won over sustainability concerns, resulting in introducing scientific forestry with monoculture age-class forests in the 1700s. Bringing 'German order' into the forests by turning them into plantations (sacrificing their sublimeness) satisfied Enlightenment's idea of symmetry and uniformity and increased the states' income (Imort, 2005).

In turn, monocultures created ecological problems, worse and shrinking habitats for species, and susceptibility to forest dieback and climate change effects. These concerns let NP ideas spark also in South-West Germany, as I describe in the following chapter.

7 A changed political climate influencing the NP

A major factor for the analysis of a newly-created NP is the change of institutional settings. A little shift can result in an enabling condition for a project of this magnitude. To me, these changing power structures mean economic, societal and foremost political factors. The distribution of authority shifted in the lead up to the BIF NP, from top-down to a more shared authority (in the NP Council).

After successful NP establishments in former East Germany, a first attempt to create a NP in Baden-Württemberg was made in 1991-92. Landscape ecologist Volker Späth suggested creating a NP in the BIF. It was welcomed and promoted by two state ministers; but through the 1992 election, the project lost momentum and Governor Teufel (CDU) blocked it (M. Rösler, personal communication, 2015, June 3). An expert investigation was not initiated. A parliamentary vote failed, and the idea went off the agenda, Rösler reported.

A decade later under Governor Oettinger (CDU) large conservation projects slowly regained political support. A biosphere reserve was designated, and preparations to the BIF NP began. Yet, the 2011 elections with their turmoil prevented parliament and government from continuing. The political situation in the federal state was tense, with mass demonstrations and harsh verbal attacks.

The state elections in Baden-Württemberg on March 27, 2011, marked a very close race and eventually led to a change in government. For the first time in 60 years, the CDU did not get into government, but was defeated by Greens and Social Democrats (SPD).

Four major factors have influenced this shift (cf. Wagschal, 2013b; Roth, 2013). The first was the unpopular large-scale construction project of *Stuttgart 21* about building a new underground central station. It has been mainly disputed for an inner-city park, and an ever-increasing price of at least 6.5 billion Euros (Schwarz, 2015, June 16). Second, the impression of being ignored by the government, a lack of transparency and insufficient *participation* made citizens resist the Stuttgart 21 project, culminating in mass demonstrations of 150,000 protestors (Spiegel-online, 2010, October 9) and a protest camp being cleared by police injuring 160 (Süddeutsche, 2014, November 26). Third, the nuclear catastrophe in *Fukushima*, Japan, two weeks before the election fueled Germany's nuclear debate. Angela Merkel's moratorium on nuclear power was then criticized for either being false-faced or too volatile. Fourth, *suspicion of unconstitutional behavior* (not confirmed) against Governor Mappus (CDU) about utility shares caused more controversy (Hägler & Kelnberger, 2014, October 29).

The events changed citizen-government relations: They increased demands for co-determination, bottom-up approaches, political involvement, and likely reduced trust in the government; but

government sympathizers rejected rebels taking political decisions in the streets. These aspects reappeared in the NP planning (cf. figure 6). Analysts observed a strong city-countryside divide, as well as an age divide (Wehner, 2013).



Figure 6. Sign against the NP in Baiersbronn, imitating Stuttgart 21 resistance signs
(own photography, 2015, June 30)

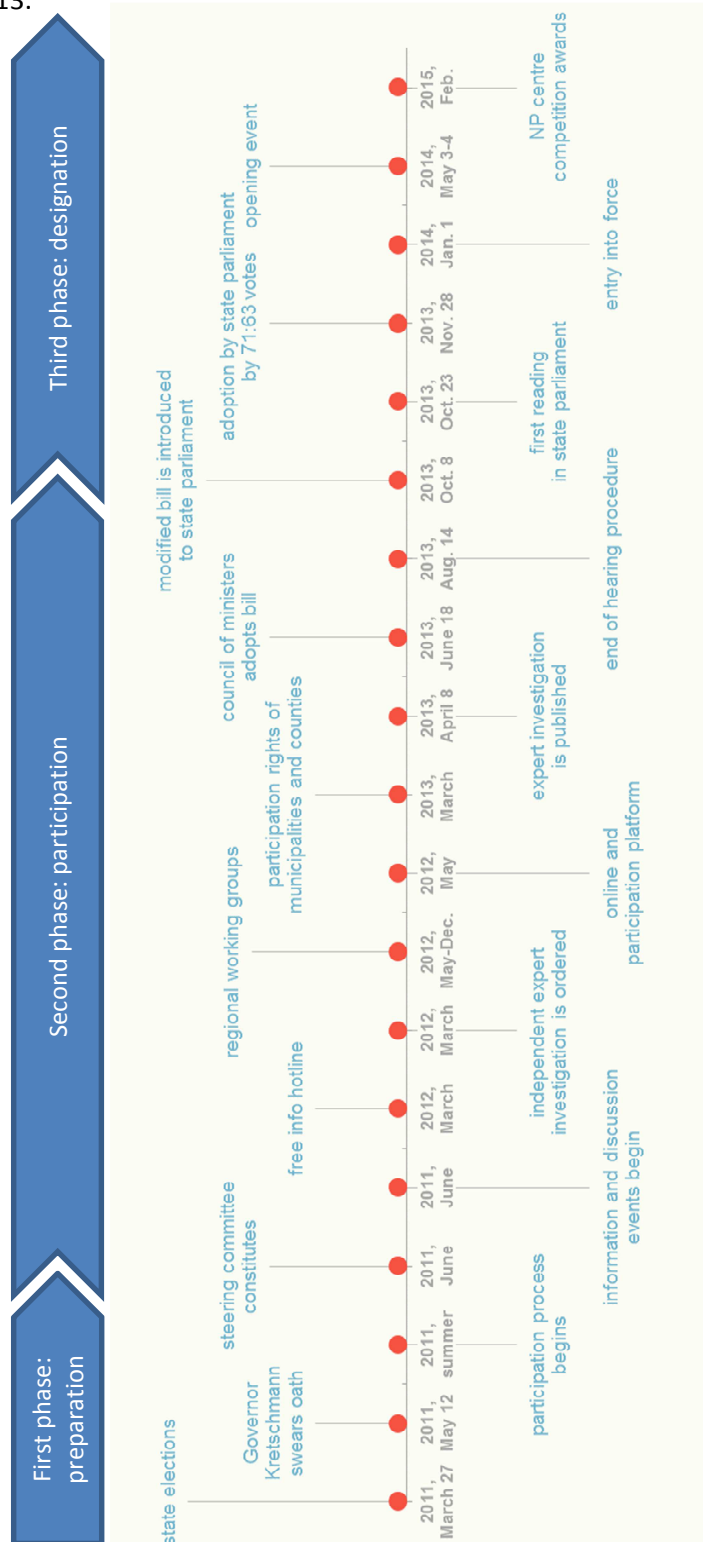
Although the NP was in the planning phase, it was not a major topic in the election campaigns. Only the liberals had announced their refusal as they did not see a sufficiently large continuous area without disturbing the balance between humans, environment and local economy (Welt-N24, 2011, August 18). With the 2011 government change, the NP idea received a strong impulse and was included in the coalition treaty of the green-red state government: “We strive to set up a National Park and are thus seeking dialogue with all local actors” (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Baden-Württemberg & SPD Baden-Württemberg, 2011, pp.37-38). The new government decided to demonstrate how their “*new politics of being heard*” should look like. Thus, a public participation process was started. The following section describes the creation of the NP, the highs and lows of public participation and how the NP conflict emerged.

8 The BIF NP participation process and its limits

8.1 Course of events

Figure 7 provides an overview of milestone events since the government leading up to the NP in its current state. After short preparations, a two year-long participation process followed, before state parliament adopted the plans in November 2013.

Figure 7. Milestones of the BIF NP, indicating three phases till the opening (own work, based on Nationalpark-Schwarzwald-Dialog, 2014; Wagschal, Eith & Wehner, 2013)



Although political parties were strongly involved with the majority of Greens and SPD favoring a NP, it was more than a party conflict (Wachinger, Hilpert & Renn, 2013, p.127). Civil society became strongly engaged, with conservancy NGOs as NABU and BUND closely aligned with the government on the one hand, and on the other hand wood industry, hunters association, private forest owners and local deputies (mayor, council members). The CDU was divided, but a majority opposed.

In summer 2011, the BIF conflict seemed to build up, and the government chose to begin a participation process. This reflects that participation is often “emerging out of the recognition of the shortcomings of top-down development approaches” (cf. Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p.5). To mitigate, the Ministry (MLR) sought advice on a participation process with the communication institute Dialogik.

Dialogik suggested three steps, which were soon implemented: a citizen consultation, stakeholder involvement through a workshop, and an expert investigation. The steps aimed at informing the public, learning about wishes and concerns, preparation of the expert investigation mandate. Although this approach was not exceptional, it had hardly been implemented on such vast and scattered levels before. The citizen consultation comprised 120,000 postcards and brochures sent to households, from which 2,000 questions and suggestions were received by the Ministry (Nationalpark-Schwarzwald-Dialog, 2014), and the stakeholder workshop involved 350 invited participants from the area, including authorities, organizations, forestry, and agriculture. Citizens needed to sign up within a few days. The event, which took place in Bad Wildbad close to the designated area on September 24, 2011, was also broadcasted online and was accompanied by demonstrating supporters and opponents, who were then invited to join the event instead. In six working groups (conservation; tourism; municipal development; societal interests; forestry and agriculture; local economy) the participants formulated questions which the expert investigation, described in chapter 5.1 (p.17), answered.

8.2 Participation assessment

Participation processes are subject to conditions, some of which have been violated in the BIF case. Firstly, status changes shall generally be ruled out during mediations. This was not kept in the NP case, causing irritation in the public, Wachinger et al. (2013) note. Participants expected a neutral expert investigation to be published, providing recommendations to the state parliament. Due to the comprehensive layout, the expert investigation required 18 months. Big societal pressure during this time made forestry institutes organize further stakeholder workshops beyond the original participation process recommended. Advancing planning during this phase was perceived as betrayal by NP opponents, Wachinger et al. say, similar to when in November 2012 Governor Kretschmann

reminded the conflict parties that the final decision would be taken by state parliament. The researchers consider the point of time of this public announcement poorly chosen, since the loss of trust in the participation process also made the expert investigation (PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013) appear potentially biased, and damaged the trustworthiness of the participation process.

Secondly, the contestation became more of a value conflict than a conflict about facts, and the factual basis of consequences of the NP was quite undisputed (Wachinger et al., 2013): Without intervention, nature will change the forest structure over a long time. Successions of fir growth and die-off (likely caused by bark beetle and climate change) will occur. The main conflict lies in the desirability of this cycle (Wachinger et al., 2013, p.127).

Cleavages did even run within camps; e.g., supporters of species protection advocated for keeping areas clear through intervention, while advocates of process conservation wanted to leave it all to nature. “*What do we want?*” mattered most. This relates to MLR minister Bonde’s question: Should we protect pristine forest on other continents or is it our duty to protect home forests in a wealthy country, too, due to credibility? (Link, 2013, May 7).

Value conflicts, Wachinger et al. (2013) note, are partially accessible to a mediation, requiring a broad societal discourse and involvement of citizens, which has been attempted. Success remained little, and my following comparison with Habermas’s discourse ethics attempts to explain why.

8.3 Analysis from a Habermasian perspective and recommendations for the future

Both sides were eager to claim the “truth” about what is morally good regarding the NP. Yet, following Habermas (1984), truth is a process requiring a consensus (cf. Reese-Schäfer, 2001). The participation process aimed at a consensus, but failed to calm down the protests. Though not every consensus can be considered truth, as truth requires a consensus of all reasonable people over time, approaching ultimate opinion is by applying the conditions of an ideal situation of speech in the public sphere. These are (1) equal chances to talk and open discourses (communicative speech), (2) equal chances to make claims and criticize (constative speech), (3) equal chances to express attitudes, feelings, and wishes (representative speech), and (4) equal chances to exercise the aforementioned rights (1)-(3) without coercion, i.e. being free to order, resist, demand and provide accountability (regulative speech). It is common that in real life, compulsions to act occur.

The presented participation process fell short of meeting Habermas’s criteria: While participants wanted to discuss *whether* to found a NP, the government wanted to discuss *how* to design it. The

function of the participation should have been clear from the beginning. Wachinger et al. (2013) conclude that the participation process got stuck half way through, and that this mistake probably made future participation processes more difficult.

Habermas's second condition of claims and critique seems widely fulfilled, while the third was violated when extremist opponents in the villages threatened proponents. The fourth condition was disregarded since there was a clear center of authority: the government. A democratically elected government majority can prescribe things; yet then there is no balance of power between the government, determining how much participation is appropriate, and the governed, not endowed with the right. I think it was wise for the government to step back and assume the role of a moderator to enable consensus-finding between proponents and opponents, yet it left this role too early, which made the participation process shift towards an imbalance. Optimal situations of speech require fair and enforced rules and reason.

Contrastingly, the presentations of the NP expert investigation in April 2013, and consultations in the municipalities involved, turned into public mud-slinging. State politicians were torn amid cheering and hooting, threats and offences, and only massive police escorts prevented the situation from escalating (Bernklau, 2013, April 10). As a result, the state government lost control of steering the process. Supportive NGOs and resisting local mayors alike underpinned their positions by statewide opinion polls (chapter 8.4) and local citizen surveys, respectively. According to Wachinger et al. (2013), however, these forms fell behind the original level of participation, due to the lacking possibility to provide reasons, conditions, and detailed positions in surveys, lacking nuances which are necessary to find solutions. Vast conflicts shall be split up in slices factually or territorially distinct, which can then be solved independently.

As outlined earlier, science itself has been pocketed and politicized by both conflict parties (though stronger by the proponents). Thus, scientists are not in the position to sufficiently solve or mediate this conflict. Luick and Reif (2013) identified large discrepancies between the presentation of arguments by lobbying groups and allegedly unprejudiced scientific facts, said to be objective by itself and neutral in terms of values. They criticize the "abuse of scientific work as a political lever" (Luick & Reif, 2013, p.37), achieved through 'dubious scientific justifications' to reach a preconceived position, easily ignoring causal chains.

For the future, Wachinger et al. (2013) recommend the scope of new participation to be determined in advance, to ensure transparent communication and inclusion of all relevant decision-makers. This,

however, raises questions: Who qualifies as a stakeholder? Are residents and distant users equal in rights? The researchers argue to include those for whom the NP has an ideal value as well.

To summarize, future participation shall be meaningful and unambiguous, as we have seen from Habermas's ideal situation of speech, and have a clear aim. It should be granted a mandate by the state parliament to implement whatever the mediation agrees on. Wachinger et al. further recommend a citizen forum space, foreclosing status changes and ensuring confidentiality of results until their official release.

8.4 NP acceptance during the conflict

In four representative state-wide surveys published in 2012 and 2013, funded by Greenpeace, WWF, NABU and the MLR state ministry, each found 64-69% of respondents in favor of a NP, and around 25% against (Böhr, 2014, October 20-23).

The Forsa (2012) survey for Greenpeace found that 42% wanted more PAs in Germany, and 41% endorsed the current number, with hardly any variation between regions, but young people more in favor of conservation. Older people are said to have been more imprinted by orderly forests, have often worked in or planted the forest themselves, and they also vote more conservatively (Brenner, 2013). The older age structure of many BIF villages might also explain some difference.

The Emnid (2013) survey for WWF found that though 43% considered the NP harmful to forestry, 72% said it would fit well to Baden-Württemberg (Emnid, 2013).

Municipal referenda were held in seven local municipalities, and resulted in large majorities against a NP in all municipalities (range 63-87%, at turnout over 60% on average; Wiegert, 2013, May 20).

8.5 NP acceptance today

How is acceptance among the population now two years later? In this societal situation I conducted my research. Blinkert's (2015) data surveying the assessment of the NP point to a small, but constant divide among the statewide sample (74% are satisfied with the citizen participation) and the residents around the park (68%). 63% and 50%, respectively, see the BIF NP positively (Figure 8, ratings 1-3 summed up). Overall, 12% reported their attitude towards the NP has improved. Expectations vary slightly, too, especially regarding conservation (residents expect less) and an orderly look (higher expectations). Differences are most striking on whether conservation is exaggerated (16 and 32%) and whether people feel personally restricted (5 and 15%; Blinkert, 2015).

Hence, locals remain more critical towards the NP, but numbers are far lower than in the municipal referenda of May 2013 (chapter 8.4) reaching up to 87% opponents.

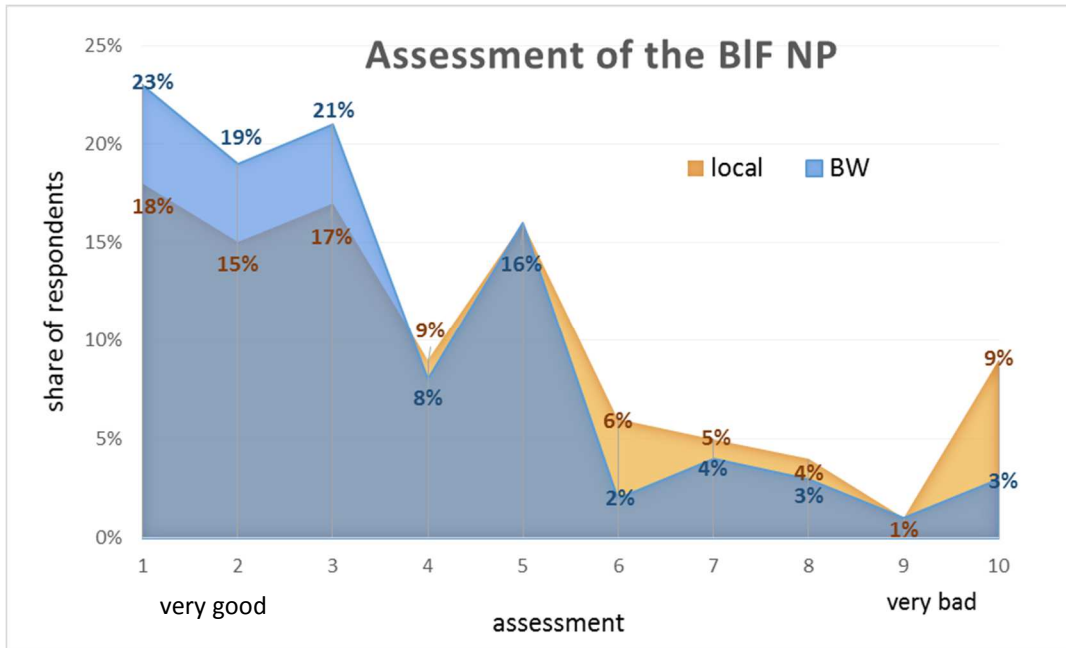


Figure 8. Surveyed assessment of the NP. Local residents (orange areas) more often consider the park bad than state average (blue). Also statewide respondents' more frequent positive assessments suggest an on-going difference in perception (own work, data from Blinkert, 2015)

9 Results and analysis from direct material

This chapter evaluates the interviews conducted and direct documents assessed. Stakeholder references to understandings of nature will be closely assessed.

Overall, newspapers reported continuously throughout the conflict and set up phase and discussed local politics detailedly. Freudenstadt district, where opposition was strongest, attracted most media attention. The local newspapers were in the forefront of reporting about the municipal referenda. They hardly took sides and allowed both opponents and proponents to comment (cf. Haier, Blaich & Alt, 2013, May 13a). The decisive question, in my judgement based on my research, is the normative one about power: Who has the control, the right to use the forest and to determine its fate? This was hardly discussed in the media, though both sides claimed this right. Within the municipalities, this right seems implicitly and explicitly attributed to the locals in advance, as manifested in the name of the initiative against, "*Our Northern BIF*", while the proponents speak generally, "*Friends of NP BIF*".

The interviewees approached the conflict from a variety of angles, but still showed similarities. Taught in forestry, landscape planning, geography, and administration, they represent various backgrounds. Given the immense disputes, I was surprised to find that consensus prevailed that the NP's main task is process protection, which is in line with the literature. Everybody also felt, according to their role, well-informed and considered information accessible.

All interviewees saw humans as a part of nature, but as expected, conservative party members stressed the use of nature more, arguing emphatically for tourism and industry. As P. Rapp (CDU) noted: "We need to unite protection and use" (personal communication, 2015, June 18). The difference of attitude towards nature is also represented by the use of certain key terms like "tourism" or "use" depicted in table 5.

Table 5. Frequency of key terms, indicating that the respondents emphasized different justification patterns (own work)

term	Frequency of use of terms			Rapp CDU Party	Ruf Mayor (CDU)
	Eberhardt-Schad NABU (NGO)	Schneider NP friends	Rösler* Green Party		
Tourism	2	1	1	11	17
Religion	-12	-11	2	0	1
Use	-13	-1	8	10	6

Numbers indicate the frequency of appearance of words including the different word forms and formations. This table gives tentative results only and shall be interpreted with care. Negative numbers indicate use of the term to reject the respective term/concept.

**For Mr. Rösler, due to technical problems, numbers according to notes. Actual number can be higher.*

P. Rapp (personal communication, 2015, June 18) feels the area has been preserved too much. He sees the NP as an experiment, rather than a trend. “Our society starts believing that we must completely prohibit any use. Placing all areas under nature conservation in panic does ultimately not help us.”

Although the stakeholders acknowledge the same intent of the NP, they project different aspirations and side benefits into the NP, since they have not noted much effect yet. „Not much has changed by now. Everything used by the NP has been there before“ (M. Ruf, personal communication, 2015, June 30). Especially species have not been so systematically been searched for before. Furthermore, the increased attention and media presence was noted.

With these circumstances, I approach SQ3: *How can a better understanding of the sources of conflict help inform for sustainable conservation planning in the future?* Therefore, I go back to Stoll-Kleemann’s (2001) model to identify drivers of opposition first. All of the described four factors occurred in the BIF case, through which I go one by one.

9.1 Emotional drivers: the aspect of participation

Stoll-Kleemann’s (2001) first factor are emotional drivers. Emotions in the BIF mean a close entanglement and attachment to the forest. “The emotional reasons always play a role in Germany; this is anchored in cultural history. ... It always gets highly emotional because *forest* means something else to everyone, because of their living environment and life experience.” (P. Rapp, personal communication, 2015, June 18).

While authors generally claim a love of the Germans to the forest (Imort, 2005, p.55), in the BIF this relationship is even closer since many people own and foster their forest, and have planted large stretches with their own hands in the post-war reforestation (M. Ruf, personal communication, 2014,

June 30). This practical experience makes people identify with forest (cf. Braun, 2000) as part of their home region, and creates strong feelings and bonds to the imprinted look. It forms an example of the interweaving of emotional, cognitive and behavioral dimension creating place attachment and social identity (Altman, 1992).

Seemingly unemotional at first glance, the conflict further involves tensions between governance levels. However, municipalities felt powerless as despite their (unbinding) referenda the NP had been implemented legally and democratically correctly (M. Ruf, personal communication, 2015, June 30). Yet emotions played in. „Participation is not co-determination“, Schneider (personal communication, 2015, April 24) noted, adding she even felt proud that Baiersbronn’s nature is so valuable that it has been chosen to represent the whole state. Rösler (personal communication, 2015, June 3), however, stressed that only two of seven opposing municipalities any longer border the NP. Opposition politician Rapp recalls the government claiming “that 70% of Baden-Württemberg inhabitants are in favor, although 80% of the [local] affected inhabitants had voted differently. That’s not enough legitimation, i.e. if participation, then it must be open and honest“ (P. Rapp, personal communication, 2015, June 18).

The problem of finding the appropriate geographic scope of effect (locals concerned or statewide benefits and state property) is illustrated by the surveys (Forsa, 2012; Emnid, 2013), and provides hints for an urban-rural divide. The recreational interest of city-dwellers, expressed in the wilderness motto, clashes with some locals’ interest in continued forest use. This constellation, a state government driving conservation against locals demanding economic development opportunities, notably reverses a typical 19th-century conflict, where technical megaprojects were imposed on rural communities demonstrating the state’s faith in technology in pursuit of economic ends (cf. Gudermann, 2005). Both seem to forget that “even extensively used areas have played an important role ... [for] rural societies.” (Gudermann, 2005, p.50).

From analyzing the media coverage, I derived a sense of the tension in 2013. Local newspapers skeptically commented the NP: “Seven directly-affected municipalities requested the voice of their citizens. Seven times, the green-red dream project failed loudly.” (Haier, Blaich & Alt, 2013, May 13b).

State government action is often set in contrast to local initiatives, which spread their message by signs, flyers, advertisements, through media and gatherings. This way local campaigns construct claims of a legitimate resistance against the impositions by a far-removed power.

Emotions can also be triggered by geographic features. What people have always been used to, provides another powerful motif against change – yet this uncertainty what exactly will happen is what

constitutes process protection (Reichholf, 2010, p.78). Do we accept timber felled by blowdowns and snow breakage?, conservationist Bibelriether asked (Koch-Widmann, 2013, May 7). Interviewee I. Eberhardt-Schad (personal communication, 2015, April 21) pointed out that unlike other NPs, the BIF NP mainly contains coniferous trees and thus bears a risk of bark beetles. The threat and fear of bare trees only worked in this connection of natural patterns and human mindsets. In response, proponents started a campaign positively charging the NP (figure 9).



Figure 9. Proponents showed their positive feelings towards the NP by this gingerbread heart (own photography, 2015, March 29)

Nevertheless, different demands appeared. Except for P. Rapp, who requested more honest participation, all interviewees rated the participation process above-average, though M. Ruf pointed out this only applies to *how* the NP should be designed:

“One must regard the process on two levels: Many citizens demanded to discuss the whether [to establish the park]... Relatively late it turned out that the state government actually never wanted to discuss about the whether, ... only the how. Certainly [the NP] would come. And from the perspective of the how it was actually a very exemplary process.”

(M. Ruf, personal communication, 2015, June 30).

9.2 Cultural drivers: the aspects religion, homeland and identity

Stoll-Kleemann's (2001) second factor are cultural drivers. In the BIF region, they are omnipresent. Wood has been used for centuries and supplied locals with a continuous income in the meagre region. The trade to far-away regions earned them prestige and gave meaning to their sustained efforts to produce valuable timber. Scientific forestry, as a means to ensure quality and quantity, sustained this livelihood. Tourism, as the subsequent main industry, draws strongly on the forest image as well, which is at the core of the 'brand' BIF. People living in Baiersbronn feel strongly attached to the forest, mayor Ruf calling the two "inseparably linked", since "forest always plays a role" (M. Ruf, personal communication, 2015, June 30).

Regarding religious arguments, I. Eberhardt-Schad (personal communication, 2015, April 21) pointed to a strongly perceived difference between municipalities located in former Baden and Württemberg. Baden, renowned for its liberal and democratic citizens (cf. German Revolution of 1848), had more open and rational debates about the NP than the districts in former Württemberg, foremost Freudenstadt district, including Baiersbronn. This formerly remote place is likely to have attracted strictly religious people, explaining the frequent use of religious arguments about the NP.

Although the exhibition in the NP center does not portray the place as ahistorical (unlike, e.g., some Swedish NPs; Mels, 2002), the communication in brochures, website, and media, focuses strongly on the wilderness motto, sometimes admittedly framed as advertised tomorrow's wilderness (cf. MLR, 2015, July 3), meaning a site where pristine natural forest is allowed to grow undisturbedly within the coming decades.

The patriotic (Heimat) dimension is ignored as well, as a counter-reaction to its earlier propagandist use. This, however, impedes their reflective debate. Yet, a strong local patriotic pride persists in the villages. On my visit to Baiersbronn, I encountered a display case filled with what people considered Heimat (Figure 10). The objects show what people of the Northern BIF identify with. Many stand for the connection of a natural product refined by human skills using cultural knowledge. The beer, for instance, takes the local product grain and turns it by fermentation into a valued product. Similarly, with the forestry and sawing equipment workers turn a growing tree into a board and, then, a cabinet. Other items I interpret as representing a community cohesion (the football, the newspaper). The fact that people have chosen these objects hints to what they consider cultural values they are proud of.



Figure 10. The Heimat display case at Baiersbronn tourist centre, containing local wine, beer, pretzel, newspaper, a football, poem, rock, and basketry and forestry items, signifying cultural values (own photography, 2015, April 24)

9.3 Perception and communication barriers in the NP's communication

Stoll-Kleemann's third factor is perception and communications barriers. As perceptions follow understandings of nature (Piechocki, 2001, p.14), it has been underestimated that terms like nature and wilderness convey different messages to people with differing worldviews.

The NP's communication has mainly played the ecological card, reflected in its motto "eine Spur wilder" (meaning both 'a shade wilder', at the same time literally referring to 'animal tracks'), revealing the ambition to create advertised 'jungles of tomorrow' (MLR, 2015, July 3). This fits well with dominant public opinion that Germany should provide more wilderness, illustrating the romantic longing for pristine nature. A 2013 survey on nature consciousness found that 42% of Germans would like to see more wilderness, whereas only 23% prioritize economic development (Bundesamt für Naturschutz, 2014).

These numbers, however, would not describe opponents like many Baiersbronn citizens. They, too, want to protect nature, which for them is not wilderness but the ordered forest (M. Ruf, personal communication, 2015, June 30). This cultural landscape, they argue, is worth to be protected, but not

under a glass dome, like P. Rapp (personal communication, 2015, June 18) noted. If planners pointed additionally more to the cultural dimension, they could potentially reach a larger audience.

9.4 Group processes and social identity

Stoll-Kleemann's fourth factor, group processes encouraging social identity, describe interactions between the individuals living in the local communities. How politics is done there, how opinions develop, which impact social norms generate, are further relevant issues.

Considering its omnipresence, it is not surprising that people identify with the forest and forestry. Their periodic referral to being the state's most densely-forested municipality (82%) demonstrates locals' pride. Another way of praising the local identity and self-consciousness is also reflected in associations like the Murgschifferschaft, a guild-like organization that dominated timber trade. Though they possess large forest stretches, they are reported by council member F. Schneider (personal communication, 2015, April 24) as not dominating local life, contrary to other interviewees' assumptions about influential private players, and feelings of a conspiracy against the NP.

Leading figures may have marked the village's opinion early on and dissenters could not deviate any more without challenging social ties and authority. Noteworthy, some supporters did not appear by names in the newspaper (Haier, Blaich & Alt, 2013, May 13a), assumingly fearing harassment, social exclusion, or threatening. An analysis of political decision-making structures at village-level, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

9.5 Interim summary

Regarding the research questions, we now found out that pre-existing cultural barriers like different understandings of nature and intense forest relationships were reinforced by exaggerated expectations towards the participation process, to which the government waited long to clarify. When revealed, this caused an emotional outbreak and strong local opposition. This was probably again reinforced by local social group coherence processes, and the uniting perception to defend their Heimat. Scientific arguments did not reach their goal to calm conflicts as the local debate rested on emotional, cultural and often religious levels, and science was regarded as biased per se. Positive emotional charging by proponents assumingly came too late. With the parliament's decision, and stakeholders' participatory integration in the NP administration structure (chapter 10), a more pragmatic phase began that currently lasts.

Reviewing the diverse *sources of conflict*, it comes to identifying possible points of intervention. Many of the factors presented are either impossible to alter (at least in a manageable time span), require substantial further research (leading figures, local political decision-making) or they are part of cultural heritage that should not be touched (identity, religion).

This way, I identified two points of intervention: Dealing with the dissatisfaction caused by the participation process, and carefully evaluating the wilderness marketing. With the understanding of the *sources of conflict*, we can now derive ideas for improving sustainable *conservation planning* (SQ3).

Table 6. Sources of conflict in the BIF NP case, using Stoll-Kleemann’s (2001) driving factors of opposition, and selected points of intervention in green (own work).

sources of conflict in the Black Forest NP case	
driving factors	disputed aspects
emotional	forest attachment, dissatisfactory participation
cultural	religion, homeland, identity
perception and communication	wilderness concept
group processes	leading figures, outsider thinking

10 Integrating two approaches to nature for the advancement of sustainability

Meaningful, unambiguous participation, based on Habermas's ideal situation of speech, can be one central possible improvement for the future (cf. chapter 8.3). Another recommendation I suggest is integrating cultural arguments into account in conservation, not least to create emotional attachment. I will elaborate this in this chapter, and emphasize that this goes along with acknowledging the risk of wilderness communication, i.e. loss of ecological responsibility for non-pristine cultural landscapes. Protecting both cultural and natural landscapes therefore is essential in my view. Around the BIF NP, this requires cooperation between both NP friends and opponents. How do we get them to work together again? This is where the following Harvard model of principled negotiation may help.

10.1 Fischer, Ury and Patton's model of principled negotiation

One possible way to find compromises under such difficult circumstances of entrenched communication is Fischer, Ury and Patton's (2011) Harvard Model of principled negotiation. Widely used in handling conflicts, it comprises four stages, advising conflict parties how to discuss in respectful ways. This includes not bargaining about positions but underlying interests, and to seek solutions together, by developing alternatives. It also entails separating the person from the problem, distinguishing emotions and rational thought, and appreciation of any contributions. It intends to build agreements even between 'difficult' opponents in gridlocked negotiations.

Conflict parties acted divergently. For them, an opinion and the person were usually one, resulting in personal offences. Fischer, Ury and Patton's model could have helped keeping both supporters and opponents on board and in constructive dialogue, by discussing positions instead of opinions or people, and to coordinate these positions in non-confrontative manners. Few stakeholders, and none of my interviewees, would vehemently reject the general idea of a NP, but the geographic layout and occurrence made them oppose it. Better coordinating interests can reveal that conflict is reducible, so I suggest attempting this concept under the supervision of an experienced coach. This way, building a joint group of NP stakeholders (cf. Stoll-Kleemann, 2001) might succeed, serving local and state interests alike.

10.2 Conserving cultural and natural landscapes

Conservation is generally facing multiple challenges. Conservation is a multi-level task (of political and geographical levels), involving planning, weighing, coordination, cooperation of stakeholders, authorities and volunteer organizations, with spatial consequences - for instance on habitats (Benz, Koch, Suck & Fizek, 2008). This makes conservation a societal, rather than a merely scientific, task.

The ecological justification of conservation alone cannot include large shares of local communities. Even more, “the expulsion of the cultural dimension of conservation has contributed decisively to the population’s much-mourned deficit in acceptance. Without a reclamation of cultural patterns of acceptance it is not possible to meet people where their biggest sensitivity for nature lies: in the possibility to experience grown cultural homeland landscapes.” (Piechocki, 2010, p.14).

Similarly, Governor Kretschmann pointed out already in 2012 that conservation is a cultural task and an ethical duty, and that protection should work through, with and by use (W. Kretschmann, speech, 2012, Jan. 6). At the same time, we should not be distracted as intervening in nature is not automatically bad, as Reichholf (2010) notes.

Already in earlier eras, nature was not limited to its ecological description, but has incorporated cultural aspects (Table 7). Even beyond aesthetic and emotional meaning, for which Piechocki (2001) pleads, people recognized religious motifs of symbolic or mythic meaning in it.

While a romantic perception of nature might be popular within one group, others might demand ecological justifications. Society should accept that people see different natures and want to protect these for different reasons. Politics would be wise to provide sites for each of them. Cultural landscape and strictly protected reserves *both have their specific legitimacy*. In forests, e.g., Reichholf (2010) argues, species require both areas of dead wood as well as clear-cuts. P. Rapp (personal communication, 2015, June 18) also suggests to “show both functions. The cultural landscape as well as the wilderness ... Simply show the people that we need both.”

Table 7. Earlier approaches to nature relations (according to Piechocki, 2001).

Approaches to nature			
own work, compiled after Piechocki (2001, pp.9-10)			
Approach towards nature	Dominant period	Central idea	Example
Natural scientific approach	since 19th century	ressources as independent parts	planet can be changed and exploited
Aesthetic approach	1600-1900	holistic thinking	landscape as a superorganism
Symbolic approach	Middle Ages	indicative message	river as symbol for life, sun for divine glory
Mythic approach	Antiquity	religion by experience	taboo to climb mountains, sacred grove

Table 7 shows how people have understood nature in metaphoric ways for millennia. Our contemporary ecological read is relatively modern. I disagree with Reichholf (2010) who suggests dropping ecology completely as a justification for conservation because the romantic nature perception suffices for personal nature experience, but I think ecological arguments should be supplemented by cultural-aesthetic and emotional dimensions.

Piechocki (2001) reminds us of the impossibility and illusionary character of the promise of modernity, i.e. Enlightenment's idea of a world humans can fully design, that was stopped by limited natural resources. So has mastery of nature, building on the dominant natural technical nature relation, become a destructive force and misses an ethical scale, he adds. I consider regaining traditional understandings of nature, especially the aesthetic one, a useful addition to ecological considerations, whereas Piechocki (2001) already sees the renaissance of nature philosophy and aesthetics under way, allowing a more holistic nature experience by all senses as well as its cultural context.

A basis for integrating these varying visions in the Bif NP has already been laid in consequence of the participation process. Two unique committees steering the NP have been anchored in the National Park Act (NLPG). The NP Council consists of ministerial deputies and NP administration representing the federal state, and affected municipalities and district administrators. Local district-governor Rückert (CDU), positive towards the NP, chairs the committee. The NP Advisory Committee supports the NP administration with their expertise of members like conservation organizations, forestry, timber industry, churches, agriculture, sport and tourism (Nationalpark Schwarzwald, 2015, n.d.).

10.3 Future development

As no pristine nature remains in Germany (Jeschke, 2013), the NP marks an attempt to generate it again. Complementing the already protected landscapes, the development NP will need at least 30 years to grow wild (PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept, 2013). Yet, signs are good that nature is already on its way. Wild animals are returning to the state, increasing the chance to develop the “development NP” into close-to-pristine wilderness. In April 2015, the first lynx in six years was spotted (welt.de, 2013, March 20), and in July 2015, a first wolf after 150 years (SWR, 2015, July 2). This migration increases demands for promoting acceptance of conservation.

A symbolic step to inclusion has also been the planned new NP center, which reflects cultural traditions by its reportedly “wild” wooden design, taking up traditional wood shingles (Rieger, 2015, February 22).

Building metaphoric bridges, using the established bridging fora for communication (such as the NP Advisory Committee), reaching out to the public through open events to establish an emotional connection, and letting people see and feel the positive changes for biodiversity and tourism going hand in hand may create a more positive attitude in the affected municipalities. A suitable way for everyone not to feel being the loser is giving opportunities to influence the course of the NP.

Going ahead and co-designing what there is to come, as interviewee M. Ruf (personal communication, 2015, June 30) recommended, instead of looking back to who demanded what, can further calm down the conflict. This is not to demand full agreement on every aspect, but, learning from Fischer, Ury and Patton’s (2011) model as shown, reshaping a community spirit that had been compromised when community ties broke over opinions to the NP.

11 Conclusion

The conflicts about the NP have had a unique setting: the combination of deep political embeddedness, natural exposure to pest risks (beetles), an identity built on the forest and its history as forms of cultural and emotional attachment, as well as differing worldviews nurtured the conflict, besides power issues and tensions between rural and urban areas. The dispute was aggravated by flaws during the participation process, barriers in communication and partial inability to think from other stakeholders' understandings of nature, causing *much ado about doing nothing*.

Searching for the reasons why conflict over PAs, and foremost the BIF NP, develop, using semi-structured stakeholder interviews, documents and previous literature, I showed that four factors suggested by Stoll-Kleemann (2001) are relevant here: emotional, cultural, perception and group process drivers, represented by the participation, homeland, wilderness and social identity aspects of contestation. Results indicate that with forest a constituent of identity, and views on forest *differing between conservative and liberal worldviews*, sustainability science can learn from this case *how to involve opponents better in participation for conservation by building permanent, uniting institutions to reconcile*. Initial participation only might not suffice, but continuously working towards the (re-)incorporation of forgotten social, cultural and emotional aspects, understandings of nature into the planning processes, such as varying non-scientific understandings of nature, into planning processes may calm conflicts and open conservation to a wider audience. The BIF NP is finally on a good way to gain support, since it has established two fora where stakeholders, and municipal representatives, respectively, can formally meet and meaningfully advise the NP administration.

Scientific research about the BIF NP will continue, and even increase, as the first knowledge dialogue forum between scientists and stakeholders has been established, but it would require more social scientific research to this research project. The NP's research department might take initiative here, and confirm my initial findings limited in geographic and representative scope.

I have further shown again that, as Cronon (1995c, p.51) suggested, there is not one, but many natures; and disagreement between them is inevitable. Knowing nature through work, as a commodity, or from recreation leads to highly different ways of thinking about it. We thus need to understand our differences and ask: Whose nature? (cf. Cronon, 1995c). Therefore, nature will always be contested terrain.

12 Annex

12.1 Guiding remarks on the German political system

Germany consists of 16 federal states. Nature conservation is a task assigned to the federal states, including the designation of NPs, despite the name *National* Park. There are, however, national nature conservation authorities on the federal level (Federal Agency for Nature Conservation, e.g.), especially coordinating international affairs.

Baden-Württemberg represents one of the most prosperous federal states in Germany. Baden-Württemberg has a population of 10.6 million people (Statistische Ämter, 2015, July 3). It was founded in 1952 through the unification of the former federal states of Baden and Württemberg, on whose previous border the NP area is located. While Württemberg is traditionally protestant in religion, Baden is marked by more Catholic faith.

The party system in Germany is traditionally characterized by two major parties, the Conservatives (Christian Democrats – CDU; black) and Social Democrats (SPD; red). Minor parties, at times struggling with the threshold of 5% to gain seats in parliaments, are the Greens (Die Grünen), FDP (Free Democrats, also called Liberals; yellow), and the Left Party (Linke – dark red). The 2011 state elections in Baden-Württemberg shook this political landscape. The Greens finished second (24% of votes) and reached a majority coalition with the SPD (23%) against the strongest single party CDU (39%; Brenner, 2013). It became the first coalition in German history, in which the Greens form the majority party. For the reasons and consequences of this change, see chapter 7.

12.2 Conservation in Germany: From Natural Monuments to National Parks

Well into the 20th century, vast stretches of forest in Germany were owned and profitably managed by the nobility who regarded it as a source of income. “It was (and almost still is) unthinkable in Germany to refrain from the use of a major forest area” (Jeschke, 2013, p.17). Smolczyk (2013, November 25) identified this pattern as still very present among the citizens in the NP region.

Romanticism gave conservation (both of nature and culture) a major stimulant. Nature as a symbolic, enduring element contrasted with industry’s fast economic development. The 19th century romanticized history and society preserved historical memorials, but hardly natural beauty (Jeschke, 2013, p.17).

Jeschke (2013) reports that in the late 19th century, there was basically no primeval forest left in German states; and economic development continued to be prioritized. As a counter-reaction to

technical progress, parts of the general public, guided by the German Youth Movement, turned back to the roots and began regarding nature as more than a mere economic resource again. The Industrial Revolution accelerated following German unification in 1871, and people realized the fast landscape change. Celebrities warned of a loss of *Heimat* (homeland), used to describe humanised nature serving people (Jeschke, 2013). The homeland movement grew strong, led by Ernst Rudorff, who claimed homeland as a cultural asset. These conservative values critical of civilization guided nature protection long and are still active today.

The term “*Naturschutz*” (nature protection, conservation) was used first in modern sense by Philipp Leopold Martin in 1871 (Jeschke, 2013, p.18). Seeing the advent of the American NP idea, considerations of protecting nature also began in Germany, but the densely settled and industrialized heart of Europe would not appear suited for zones excluding human use. Thus, NPs were established only in the periphery, like Northern Sweden. The German states declared *natural monuments* instead, but in his speech of March 30, 1898 the member of the Prussian House of Representatives Wilhelm Wetekamp demanded such ‘*Staatsparks*’ (NPs) to protect untouchable areas of his fatherland (Jeschke, 2013, p.19). NPs were not adopted but in 1906, the first state authority for fostering natural monuments was founded (Jeschke, 2013, p.20).

Attempts to establish NPs met opposition in all succeeding political regimes: Imperial German Empire, the democratic Weimar Republic, the totalitarian Third Reich, and also in the early democratic Federal Republic. Only in 1970 was a first NP founded, located in the Bavarian Forest at the Iron Curtain bordering Czechoslovakia.

Internationally, the London Convention marked a major step towards NPs in 1933, providing criteria in the ‘Yellowstone model’ definition of NPs, including clear boundaries, state supervision, and public enjoyment besides conservation (Chaney, 2008). Hunting was only allowed under supervision, and economic use was prohibited. A NP boom followed around the world, driven by the British colonial empire, but did not halt in front of countries as densely populated as the Netherlands (Chaney, 2008). Yet, as with Native Americans in late 19th century, NP also meant exclusion of indigenous people (cf. Mels, 2002, pp.142-143). Yet, the NP idea in Germany lagged behind. Despite ambitious plans, the war interrupted the creation of NPs. Even worse, in the Nazi era, nature reserves were misused for hunting by the elites (Chaney, 2008). The 1935 National Conservation Act was celebrated as modern, but contained plenty of loopholes (Jeschke, 2013).

After the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West) and the German Democratic Republic (East), conservation was shifted around. In the West, the constitution made it a task for the federal states; in the East, it was at the central government.

The West saw an economic miracle in the post-war years, yet, much nature got lost, and a few unprotected 'nature parks' did not help much either. Finally, with the Bavarian forest NP in 1970, the image began to shift. Until the 1970s, conservation also remained weak since all PAs knew no prohibitions of use (Jeschke, 2013, p.24). Areas were protected from common people but not from agricultural or forest use. Terminology was a general problem, which also IUCN, the international conservation hub founded in 1948, became aware of. Yet, not before 1969 did IUCN declare new and stricter standards, defining NPs as "a relatively large area not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation ..." (McNeely, Harrison & Dingwall, 1994, p.6).

In the (East) German Democratic Republic (GDR), there were no NPs nor nature parks, and a first biosphere reserve was founded in 1979 (Jeschke, 2013). First landscape protection areas, as well as nature reserves (which were really taken out of use), were designated after 1954, and the same goes for forest protection areas.

A large share of current NPs was established in the last minute of East German Republic. With the GDR in decline, a NP Program was launched, though it sounded utopian (Töpfer, 2013), and would likely not have been possible in West German administrative processes. The last (and only freely elected) parliament of the GDR, *Volkskammer*, declared five large NPs, three Nature parks, and six Biosphere reserves in 1990 (Brickwedde, 2013).

The CBD, founded in 1992, became an international inter-governmental forum to foster the concept of PAs. Their guidelines determine the upkeep of a natural state of these sites. However, people will have to accept that the course of nature cannot be halted, fixed or permanently avoided. We cannot plant real natural vegetation, nor 'make' nature; it always takes time and refrain from use to let nature do this regeneration itself (Knapp & Jeschke, 2013).

In 2005, a major step was the transfer of 125,000 ha former military training grounds into National Natural Heritage, governed by federal states, conservation organizations and foundations.

Nowadays, 34% of the forests in Germany are publicly owned (von Detten, 2013), some of which are suitable for NPs. Designs of possession vary internationally; in contrast to the Swiss NP leased by a public foundation (Swiss NP, 2015), or South Africa, where private parks constitute a major share (West et al., 2006), the territory of the BIF NP was already owned by the state and municipalities beforehand.

Neither did its establishment require resettlement of inhabitants nor expropriation. Democratically elected representatives determine the fate of NPs in Germany (Knapp & Jeschke, 2013). More sites are currently in investigation, and the Hunsrück NP was just created in spring 2015 (welt.de, 2015, May 19).

There are 16 NPs in Germany now. Furthermore, 15 UNESCO-certified Biosphere reserves exist, which Succow, Jeschke and Knapp (2013, p.10) consider a success. Yet, we should not overlook that NPs and other PAs are not an end in itself, they rather serve precious functions (Brickwedde, 2013, p.9). Succow et al. (2013, p.12) conclude that still, too much is planted and fostered, too little trust in nature's capacity to regenerate. Neither was the EU content and in March 2015, it started infringement proceedings against Germany because its designation of protection areas advanced too slowly (Zeit Online, 2015, March 25). Though NPs in Germany as in many other places are confronted with staff shortages, they are claimed to have done a splendid job, not least so as a powerful tool for rural economic development (Knapp & Jeschke, 2013, p.212).

Seeing the BIF NP in the light of a temporally short NP history in Germany, the rise of the NP idea in the present case might surprise and require explanation. Here, they included a quite unique combination of conservationists' suggestions, political resentment, citizen opposition, and finally political support after major changes in the political arena. These are elaborated on in chapter 7.

13 References

- Allgöwer, R. (2013, June 4). Der Nationalpark nimmt Gestalt an. *Stuttgarter Zeitung*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.nationalpark-nordschwarzwald-der-nationalpark-nimmt-gestalt-an.c5fdcc10-248f-410a-b40a-8acef2c4c856.html>
- Altman, I. (1992). *Place attachment. Human behavior and environment: Vol. 12*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Atkinson, D., Jackson, P., Sibley, D., & Washbourne, N. (Eds.). (2005). *Cultural geography: A critical dictionary of key concepts*. London, New York: Tauris.
- Atteslander, P. (2003). *Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung. De Gruyter Studienbuch*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Benz, A., Koch, H. J., Suck, A., & Fizek, A. (2008). *Verwaltungshandeln im Naturschutz: Herausforderungen und Folgen veränderter Rahmenbedingungen. Naturschutz und biologische Vielfalt*. Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Bundesamt für Naturschutz.
- Bernklau, S. (2013, April 10). Nationalpark: Bonde erntet Pfiffe und Buhrufe: Bad Wildbad. *Schwarzwälder Bote*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.bad-wildbad-nationalpark-bonde-erntet-pfiffe-und-buhrufe.3872bdc8-3802-4432-bf94-bec48413c82e.html>
- Blessing, K. (2014). *Die Pflanzenwelt im Schwarzwald und Nationalpark entdecken*. Reutlingen: Oertel und Spörer.
- Blinkert, B. (2015). *Pilotstudie zu Indikatoren für Akzeptanz und Ablehnung des Nationalparks Schwarzwald - Kurzfassung*. Retrieved from https://www.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/mlr/intern/dateien/PDFs/Naturschutz/Pilotstudie_Akzeptanz_Nationalpark_Kurzfassung.pdf
- Bogner, A., Littig, B., & Menz, W. (Eds.). (2005). *Das Experteninterview: Theorie, Methode, Anwendung* (2nd ed.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwiss.
- Bogner, A., & Menz, W. (2005). Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview: Erkenntnisse, Wissensformen, Interaktion. In A. Bogner, B. Littig, & W. Menz (Eds.), *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung* (2nd ed., pp. 33–70). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwiss.
- Böhr, B. (2014, October 20–23). *Partizipation und Akzeptanz im Nationalpark Schwarzwald - Bis hierher... und wie weiter?* Aus Landwirtschaft und Umwelt, Insel Vilm. Retrieved from http://biodiv.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PDF/Projekte/Boehr.pdf
- Brand, K.-W. (1998). *Soziologie und Natur: Theoretische Perspektiven. Soziologie und Ökologie: Vol. 2*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Braun, A. (2000). *Wahrnehmung von Wald und Natur. Forschung Soziologie: Vol. 58*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Brenner, C. (2013). Das Wahlverhalten der Baden-Württemberger bei der Landtagswahl 2011 - Ergebnisse der Repräsentativen Wahlstatistik. In U. Wagschal, U. Eith, & M. Wehner (Eds.), *Der historische Machtwechsel: Grün-Rot in Baden-Württemberg* (1st ed., pp. 31–42). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Brickwedde, F. (2013). Geleitwort. In M. Succow, L. Jeschke, & H. D. Knapp (Eds.), *Naturschutz in Deutschland. Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke* (p. 9). Berlin: Links.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buckley, R. (2012). Sustainable tourism: Research and reality. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 528–546.
- BUND.net, 2015, n.d. (2015, n.d.). *Wiesen und Weiden: bunte Oasen der Artenvielfalt*. Retrieved from http://www.bund.net/themen_und_projekte/biologische_vielfalt/wiesen_weiden/
- Bundesamt für Naturschutz (BfN). (2014). *Naturbewusstsein 2013: Bevölkerungsumfrage zu Natur und biologischer Vielfalt*. Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit (BMUB). Retrieved from http://www.bfn.de/fileadmin/MDB/documents/themen/gesellschaft/Naturbewusstsein/Naturbewusstsein_2013.pdf
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Baden-Württemberg, & SPD Baden-Württemberg. (2011). *Der Wechsel beginnt: Koalitionsvertrag zwischen BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN und der SPD Baden -Württemberg*. Baden-Württemberg 2011 - 2016. Stuttgart. Retrieved from <http://www.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/dateien/PDF/Koalitionsvertrag-web.pdf>
- Chaney, S. (Ed.). (2008). *Nature of the miracle years: Conservation in West Germany, 1945-1975*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). (2010). *Decision X/2, Strategic Plan for Biodiversity*. UNEP/CBD/COP/DEC/X/2. Retrieved from CBD website: <https://www.cbd.int/doc/decisions/cop-10/cop-10-dec-02-en.pdf>
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* London, New York: Zed Books.
- Cronon, W. (1995a). In Search of Nature: Introduction. In W. Cronon (Ed.), *Uncommon ground. Toward reinventing nature* (1st ed., pp. 23–68). New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Cronon, W. (1995b). The trouble with wilderness; or, Getting back to the wrong nature. In W. Cronon (Ed.), *Uncommon ground. Toward reinventing nature* (1st ed., pp. 69–90). New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

- Cronon, W. (Ed.). (1995c). *Uncommon ground: Toward reinventing nature* (1st ed.). New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Deguignet, M., Juffe-Bignoli, D., Harrison, J., MacSharry, B., Burgess, N., & Kingston, N. (2014). *2014 United Nations List of Protected Areas*. Cambridge, UK.
- Dialogik (Ed.). (2014). *Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Risiko- und Nachhaltigkeitsforschung: Jubiläumsband 10 Jahre DIALOGIK gemeinnützige GmbH*. Stuttgart.
- Druckman, D. (2005). *Doing research: Methods of inquiry for conflict analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Emnid. (2013). *Einstellung zum Nationalpark Schwarzwald*. For World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). Retrieved from http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/Umfrage_Nationalpark_Schwarzwald.pdf
- Fischer, L. (Ed.). (2004). *Projektionsfläche Natur: Zum Zusammenhang von Naturbildern und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen*. Hamburg: Hamburg Univ. Press. Retrieved from <http://d-nb.info/1059317826/34>
- Fisher, R., Ury, W., & Patton, B. (1993). *Das Harvard-Konzept: Sachgerecht verhandeln - erfolgreich verhandeln* (11th ed.). Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus.
- Forsa. (2012). *Meinungen zum Schutz des Waldes in Baden-Württemberg*. Retrieved from <http://www.greenpeace.de/files/20120905-Waldschutz-Baden-Wuerttemberg-Forsa-Umfrage.pdf>
- Franke, N. M. (2011). *Naturschutz gegen Rechtsextremismus: Eine Argumentationshilfe*. Mainz. Retrieved from Ministerium für Umwelt, Landwirtschaft, Ernährung, Weinbau und Forsten. website: http://www.projektwerkstatt.de/aes/natsch_rechts.pdf
- Gartner, B. (2007). Lichte Zukunft. In N. Rosing (Ed.), *Wildes Deutschland. Bilder einzigartiger Naturschätze* (pp. 218–239). Hamburg: National Geographic Deutschland.
- Garvare, R., & Isaksson, R. (2001). Sustainable development: extending the scope of business excellence models. *Measuring Business Excellence*, 5(3), 11–15.
- Gorke, M. (2006). Prozessschutz aus Sicht einer holistischen Ethik. *Natur und Kultur*, 7(1), 88–107.
- Gross, M. (2006). *Natur*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Gudermann, R. (2005). Conviction and Constraint: Hydraulic engineers and agricultural amelioration projects in nineteenth-century Prussia. In T. M. Lekan & T. Zeller (Eds.), *Germany's nature. Cultural landscapes and environmental history* (pp. 33–54). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *Vorstudien und Ergänzungen zur Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (1st ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Hägerstrand, T. (1995). *A look at the political geography of environmental management*. Dublin: [Department of Geography University College Dublin].
- Hägler, M., & Kelnberger, J. (2014, October 29). Stefan Mappus: Nicht zu beweisen. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Retrieved from <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/stefan-mappus-nicht-zu-beweisen-1.2197068>
- Haier, D., Blaich, U., & Alt, A. (2013, May 13a). Siebenmal Nein zum Nationalpark. *Schwarzwälder Bote*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.nordschwarzwald-siebenmal-nein-zum-nationalpark.ce270ce4-690c-41ad-8f90-372a15c078c1.html>
- Haier, D., Blaich, U., & Alt, A. (2013, May 13b). Stoppschilder: Kommentar. *Schwarzwälder Bote*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.nordschwarzwald-siebenmal-nein-zum-nationalpark-page1.ce270ce4-690c-41ad-8f90-372a15c078c1.html>
- Haines-Young, R., & Potschin, M. (2013). *Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services (CICES): Consultation on Version 4, August-December 2012*. Report to the European Environmental Agency. Retrieved from http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cem/pdf/CICES%20V43_Revised%20Final_Report_29012013.pdf
- Harmon, D., & Putney, A. D. (Eds.). (2003). *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved from <https://books.google.de/books?id=XzptE5A3IrwC>
- Harmon, D. (2004). Intangible values of protected areas: What are they? Why do they matter? *The George Wright Forum*, 2(21), 9–22.
- Hoffmann, R. C. (2014). *An environmental history of medieval Europe* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Hughes, J. D. (2006). *What is environmental history?* Cambridge: Polity.
- Imort, M. (2005). A Sylvan People: Wilhelmine Forestry and the Forest as a Symbol of Germandom. In T. M. Lekan & T. Zeller (Eds.), *Germany's nature. Cultural landscapes and environmental history* (pp. 55–80). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- INTOSAI (International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions). (2013). *Impact of Tourism on Wildlife Conservation*. Retrieved from <http://www.environmental-auditing.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=ecrH%2BPLw7Cc%3D&tabid=128&mid=568>
- International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). (2014, January 15). *IUCN Protected Areas Categories System*. Retrieved from http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/gpap_home/gpap_quality/gpap_pacategories/

- Jeschke, L. (2013). Zwei Jahrhunderte Vorgeschichte. In M. Succow, L. Jeschke, & H. D. Knapp (Eds.), *Naturschutz in Deutschland. Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke* (pp. 16–34). Berlin: Links.
- Kim, K., Uysal, M., & Sirgy, M. J. (2013). How does tourism in a community impact the quality of life of community residents? *Tourism Management*, (36), 527–540.
- Kjunix. (2012). *Physische Karte von Baden-Württemberg mit Städten über 100 000 Einwohner*: Wikipedia. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Baden-Wuerttemberg_physisch.png
- Knapp, H. D., & Jeschke, L. (2013). Nationalparke. In M. Succow, L. Jeschke, & H. D. Knapp (Eds.), *Naturschutz in Deutschland. Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke* (pp. 202–215). Berlin: Links.
- Koch-Widmann, A. (2013, May 7). Eine Natur-Überlebensinsel. *Stuttgarter Zeitung*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.nationalpark-schwarzwald-eine-natur-ueberlebensinsel.f188029f-4654-44d8-8929-accdd3681cb3.html>
- Körner, S. (2004). Naturbilder und Heimatideale in Naturschutz und Freiraumplanung. In L. Fischer (Ed.), *Projektionsfläche Natur. Zum Zusammenhang von Naturbildern und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen* (pp. 77–103). Hamburg: Hamburg Univ. Press.
- Krause, F. (2014, April 17). Nationalpark: Vergebliche Versöhnungstour. *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/inhalt.baiersbronn-nationalpark-vergebliche-versoehnungstour.d0612951-35e2-43fc-b4f4-34851ccc2629.html>
- National Park Act (Gesetz zur Errichtung des Nationalparks Schwarzwald und zur Änderung weiterer Vorschriften - NLPG), Landtag von Baden-Württemberg 2013, November 28.
- Lang, D. J., Wiek, A., Bergmann, M., Stauffacher, M., Martens, P., Moll, P., . . . Thomas, C. J. (2012). Transdisciplinary research in sustainability science: practice, principles, and challenges. *Sustainability Science*, 7(1), 25–43.
- Lekan, T. M., & Zeller, T. (Eds.). (2005). *Germany's nature: Cultural landscapes and environmental history*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Leslie, J. C., & O'Reilly, M. F. (1999). *Behavior analysis: Foundations and applications to psychology*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Link, Fritz-Gerhard. (2013, May 7). *Experten beim Akademie-Kongress zu Großschutzgebieten: Nordschwarzwald – eine Natur-Überlebensinsel von internationaler Bedeutung*. [press release]. Stuttgart. Retrieved from <http://www4.um.baden-wuerttemberg.de/servlet/is/106017/>
- Lorenz, S. (Ed.). (2001a). *Der Nordschwarzwald: Von der Wildnis zur Wachstumsregion*. Filderstadt: Markstein.
- Lorenz, S. (2001b). Die Siedlungsentwicklung im Osten. In S. Lorenz (Ed.), *Der Nordschwarzwald. Von der Wildnis zur Wachstumsregion* (pp. 36–51). Filderstadt: Markstein.
- Lorenz, S. (2001c). Einführung. In S. Lorenz (Ed.), *Der Nordschwarzwald. Von der Wildnis zur Wachstumsregion* (pp. 10–11). Filderstadt: Markstein.
- Maurer, F. (2013). *Treibende Kräfte: Vom Leben und Arbeiten auf dem Hohen Wald; Streifzüge durch die regionale Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Ostfildern: Thorbecke.
- Mayer, H. O. (2013). *Interview und schriftliche Befragung: Grundlagen und Methoden empirischer Sozialforschung* (6th ed.). München: Oldenbourg.
- McNeely, J. A., Harrison, J., & Dingwall, P. R. (1994). *Protecting nature: Regional reviews of protected areas*. Gland: IUCN - The World Conservation Union.
- Mels, T. (2002). Nature, home, and scenery: the official spatialities of Swedish national parks. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20(2), 135–154. doi:10.1068/d14s
- Meuser, M., & Nagel, U. (2005). ExpertInneninterviews - vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht: Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion. In A. Bogner, B. Littig, & W. Menz (Eds.), *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung* (2nd ed., pp. 71–93). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwiss.
- Mitchell, D. (2005). Landscape. In D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley, & N. Washbourne (Eds.), *Cultural geography. A critical dictionary of key concepts* (pp. 49–56). London, New York: Tauris.
- MLR. (2015, July 3). *Urwälder von morgen*. Retrieved from <http://mlr.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/unsere-themen/naturschutz/schutzgebiete-vom-nationalpark-bis-zur-biosphaere/nationalpark/>
- MLR BW. (2011). *Nationalpark Nordschwarzwald: Suchraum*. Retrieved from <http://www.forstpraxis.de/baden-wuerttemberg-mo-776-glicher-nationalpark-ohne-negative-folgen-fu-776-r-holzindustrie>
- Mose, I. (Ed.). (2007). *Protected areas and regional development in Europe: Towards a new model for the 21st century*. Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate.
- Mose, I., & Weixlbaumer, N. (2007). A new paradigm for protected areas in Europe? In I. Mose (Ed.), *Protected areas and regional development in Europe. Towards a new model for the 21st century* (pp. 3–20). Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate.
- Munoz-Blanco, J., Essen, M. von, & Hoffmann, A. (2015). *Biodiversity for the present and future of humanity. A suggestion for the SDG process* (SDG.earthsystemgovernance.org Discussion Paper). Earth System Governance

- Project, Lund. Retrieved from http://sdg.earthsystemgovernance.org/sdg/sites/default/files/files/publications/ESG-SDG_DiscussionPaper_Biodiversity-for-present-and-future.pdf
- NABU BW. (2011). *Naturschutzfachliches Screening nationalparktauglicher Gebiete in Baden-Württemberg*. Stuttgart. Retrieved from https://baden-wuerttemberg.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/badenwuerttemberg/broschueren/2011-05-10_nationalpark_screening_klein.pdf
- Nationalpark Schwarzwald. (2015, n.d.). *Die Nationalpark-Verwaltung*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwald-nationalpark.de/nationalpark/organisation/>
- Nationalpark-Schwarzwald-Dialog. (2014). *Entstehung des Nationalparks Schwarzwald und Bürgerbeteiligung*. Retrieved from http://www.nationalpark-schwarzwald-dialog.de/sites/default/files/content-fragment/downloads/entstehung_des_nationalparks_schwarzwald_und_buengerbeteiligung.pdf
- Neumann, R. P. (1998). *Imposing wilderness: Struggles over livelihood and nature preservation in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- NordNordWest. (2015). *Karte der Nationalparks/Nationalparke in Deutschland*: Wikipedia. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Nationalparks_Deutschland_high.png
- Osterloh, E. (2001). Reiseberichte aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. In S. Lorenz (Ed.), *Der Nordschwarzwald. Von der Wildnis zur Wachstumsregion* (pp. 208–216). Filderstadt: Markstein.
- Ott, K. (2010). *Umweltethik zur Einführung. Zur Einführung*. Hamburg: Junius.
- Passmore, J. A. (1980). *Man's responsibility for nature: Ecological problems and western traditions*. London: Duckworth.
- Piechocki, R. (2001). *Altäre des Fortschritts und Aufklärung im 21. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.
- Piechocki, R. (2010). *Landschaft - Heimat - Wildnis: Schutz der Natur - aber welche und warum?* München: Beck.
- Potthast, T., & Berg, M. (2013). *Ethische Aspekte im Diskurs um den geplanten Nationalpark Nordschwarzwald*. Retrieved from Tübingen University International Centre for Ethics in the Sciences (IZEW) and Forest research institute (FVA)'s website: http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/index.php?eID=tx_nawsecuredl&u=0&g=0&t=1439565475&hash=b3baa27f9f344320955061615e0ca47e18ffc454&file=fileadmin/Uni_Tuebingen/Einrichtungen/IZEW/Natur_und_Nachhaltigkeit/Ethik_PolicyBrief_NLP_NSW.pdf
- PricewaterhouseCoopers & ö:konzept. (2013). *Gutachten zum potenziellen Nationalpark im Nordschwarzwald: Zusammenfassung der wesentlichen Ergebnisse des Gutachtens*. Im Auftrag des Ministeriums für Ländlichen Raum und Verbraucherschutz des Landes Baden-Württemberg. Berlin.
- Proctor, J. D. (1998). The Social Construction of Nature: Relativist Accusations, Pragmatist and Critical Realist Responses. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88(3), 352–376.
- Radkau, J. (2000). *Natur und Macht: Eine Weltgeschichte der Umwelt*. München: Beck.
- Radkau, J. (2005). Germany as a focus of European "particularities" in Environmental History. In T. M. Lekan & T. Zeller (Eds.), *Germany's nature. Cultural landscapes and environmental history* (pp. 17–32). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Radkau, J., & Dunlap, T. (2008). *Nature and power: A global history of the environment* (1st ed.). Washington, D.C., Cambridge, New York: German Historical Institute; Cambridge University Press.
- Reese-Schäfer, W. (2001). *Jürgen Habermas* (3rd ed.). *Campus-Einführungen*. Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag.
- Reichholf, J. H. (2010). *Naturschutz: Krise und Zukunft* (1st ed.). Berlin: Suhrkamp.
- Reif, A., & Luick, R. (2013). Debatten um neue Wildnis im Nordschwarzwald: Wie man besser nicht gegen einen geplanten Nationalpark argumentiert. *Naturschutz und Landschaftsplanung*, 45(2), 37–44.
- Rieger, A. (2013, March 11). Gutachterschlacht um den Nationalpark: Vor der Entscheidung. *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/inhalt.vor-der-entscheidung-gutachterschlacht-um-den-nationalpark.0a04ab84-2b52-41bc-bfc7-f6caf9afaef0.html>
- Rieger, A. (2015, February 22). Wilde Architektur in wilder Natur. *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/inhalt.nationalpark-schwarzwald-wilde-architektur-in-wilder-natur.c389cc05-f2d9-4ea8-9629-f3243bc4263d.html>
- Riehl, W. H., & Ipsen, G. (1935). *Die Naturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*. Leipzig: Kröner.
- Rittberger, V. (1995). *Internationale Organisationen : Politik und Geschichte. Europäische und weltweite zwischenstaatliche Zusammenschlüsse* (2nd ed.). *Grundwissen Politik*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Rosing, N. (Ed.). (2007). *Wildes Deutschland: Bilder einzigartiger Naturschätze*. Hamburg: National Geographic Deutschland.
- Roth, D. (2013). Baden-Württemberg 2011: Was entschied die Wahl? In U. Wagschal, U. Eith, & M. Wehner (Eds.), *Der historische Machtwechsel: Grün-Rot in Baden-Württemberg* (1st ed., pp. 15–30). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Scheifele, M. (2001). Die Flößerei im Murgtal. In S. Lorenz (Ed.), *Der Nordschwarzwald. Von der Wildnis zur Wachstumsregion* (pp. 94–97). Filderstadt: Markstein.

- Schmidt, M. G. (2008). *Demokratiethorien: Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwiss.
- Schoenichen, W. (1954). *Naturschutz, Heimatschutz: ihre Begründung durch Ernst Rudorff, Hugo Conwentz und ihre Vorläufer*. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlags-Gesellschaft.
- Schulte, R. (2001). *Akzeptanzbildung für den Naturschutz - Zwischen Bambi-Syndrom und erbitterter Feindschaft: Ergebnisse eines Seminars vom 06.12. bis 07.12.2000*. Retrieved from www.nabu-akademie.de/berichte/00akzept.htm
- Schwarz, K. (2015, June 16). Wahre Kosten verschwiegen? *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/inhalt.stuttgart-21-wahre-kosten-verschwiegen.dedb30ea-e353-46fe-8894-8bfe79327273.html>
- Schweizer, H. (1984). *Gruß aus dem Schwarzwald*. Art postcard. Kirchzarten.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook* (3rd ed.). London, Los Angeles: Sage.
- Sitacuisses. (2014). *Map showing the location of Black Forest National Park*: Wikipedia. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Forest_National_Park#/media/File:Nationalpark-Schwarzwald-map.png
- Smoltczyk, A. (2013, November 25). Die Waldverbesserer. 48, pp. 62–66. Retrieved from <http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/122579489>
- Soulé, M. E. (1995). The social siege of nature. In M. E. Soulé & G. Lease (Eds.), *Reinventing nature? Responses to postmodern deconstruction* (pp. 137–170). Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Soulé, M. E., & Lease, G. (1995). Preface. In M. E. Soulé & G. Lease (Eds.), *Reinventing nature? Responses to postmodern deconstruction* (pp. xv–xvii). Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Soulé, M. E., & Lease, G. (Eds.). (1995a). *Reinventing nature?: Responses to postmodern deconstruction*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Spiegel-online (2010, October 9). Stuttgart 21: Neue Massendemo gegen Bahnprojekts. Retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/stuttgart-21-neue-massendemo-gegen-bahnprojekts-a-722269.html>
- Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder. (2015, July 3). *Gebiet und Bevölkerung: Fläche und Bevölkerung*. Retrieved from http://www.statistik-portal.de/statistik-portal/de_jb01_jahrtab1.asp
- Statistisches Landesamt BW. (2014a, n.d.). *Gebiet, Bevölkerung und Bevölkerungsdichte: Wahlkreis 280 Calw*. Retrieved from <http://www.statistik.baden-wuerttemberg.de/SRDB/Tabelle.asp?H=1&U=01&T=01515020&E=BT&R=BT280>
- Statistisches Landesamt BW. (2014b). *Statistische Berichte Baden-Württemberg*. Retrieved from http://www.statistik-portal.de/veroeffentl/Statistische_Berichte/3122_12001.pdf
- Stephenson, G. M. (1998). *The Development of conscience* (Vol. 1). London: Routledge.
- Stoll-Kleemann, S. (2001). Barriers to nature conservation in Germany: A model explaining opposition to Protected Areas. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(4), 369–385.
- Succow, M., Jeschke, L., & Knapp, H. D. (Eds.). (2013). *Naturschutz in Deutschland: Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke*. Berlin: Links.
- Succow, M., Jeschke, L., & Knapp, H. D. (2013). Vorwort. In M. Succow, L. Jeschke, & H. D. Knapp (Eds.), *Naturschutz in Deutschland. Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke* (pp. 10–13). Berlin: Links.
- Süddeutsche Zeitung (2014, November 26). Prozess um Wasserwerfereinsatz eingestellt. Retrieved from <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/panorama/stuttgart-prozess-um-wasserwerfer-einsatz-eingestellt-1.2239131>
- SWR (2014, November 25). Der Nationalpark Schwarzwald: Hintergrund. Retrieved from <http://www.swr.de/landeschau-aktuell/bw/hintergrund-zum-nationalpark/-/id=1622/did=10685368/nid=1622/1stpt33/>
- SWR (2015, July 2). *Wer hat Angst vorm Wolf?* [Television broadcast]. SWR. Retrieved from <http://www.ardmediathek.de/tv/Zur-Sache-Baden-W%C3%BCrttemberg/Wer-hat-Angst-vorm-Wolf/SWR-Baden-W%C3%BCrttemberg/Video?documentId=29368448&bcastId=610194>
- Taylor, P. W. (2011). *Respect for Nature: A Theory of Environmental Ethics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Töpfer, K. (2013). Geleitwort. In M. Succow, L. Jeschke, & H. D. Knapp (Eds.), *Naturschutz in Deutschland. Rückblicke - Einblicke - Ausblicke* (p. 8). Berlin: Links.
- Tranel, M. J., & Hall, A. (2003). Parks as battlegrounds: managing conflicting values. In D. Harmon & A. D. Putney (Eds.), *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible* (pp. 253–267). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Twain, M. (1880 [2014]). *A Tramp Abroad*. The Project Gutenberg EBook of A Tramp Abroad, Complete by Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens). Chapter XXII: Gutenberg.org. Retrieved from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/119/119-h/119-h.htm>
- Ugglå, Y. (2010). What is this thing called 'natural'? The nature-culture divide in climate change and biodiversity policy. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 17, 79–91.

- UNEP. (n.d.). *Tourism's Three Main Impact Areas*. Retrieved from <http://www.unep.org/resourceefficiency/Business/SectoralActivities/Tourism/FactsandFiguresaboutTourism/ImpactsofTourism/EnvironmentalImpacts/TourismsthreeMainImpactAreas/tabid/78776/Default.aspx>
- von Detten, R. (Ed.). (2013). *Das Waldsterben: Rückblick auf einen Ausnahmezustand*. München: Oekom Verlag.
- von Wilpert, K. (2013). Wie geht es dem Wald heute? Aktuelle und zukünftige Herausforderungen an die Wälder in Deutschland. In R. von Detten (Ed.), *Das Waldsterben. Rückblick auf einen Ausnahmezustand* (pp. 126–133). München: Oekom Verlag.
- Wachinger, G., Hilpert, J., & Renn, O. (2014). Beteiligungsverfahren Nationalpark Nordschwarzwald. In Dialogik (Ed.), *Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Risiko- und Nachhaltigkeitsforschung. Jubiläumsband 10 Jahre DIALOGIK gemeinnützige GmbH* (Vol. 30). Stuttgart. Retrieved from http://elib.uni-stuttgart.de/opus/volltexte/2014/9217/pdf/AB030_DIALOGIK.pdf
- Wagschal, U. (2013). Die Volksabstimmung zu Stuttgart 21: ein direktdemokratisches Lehrstück. In U. Wagschal, U. Eith, & M. Wehner (Eds.), *Der historische Machtwechsel: Grün-Rot in Baden-Württemberg* (1st ed., pp. 181–206). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Wagschal, U., Eith, U., & Wehner, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Der historische Machtwechsel: Grün-Rot in Baden-Württemberg* (1st ed.). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Wehner, M. (2013). Die historische Niederlage der CDU – Ursachen für das Scheitern. In U. Wagschal, U. Eith, & M. Wehner (Eds.), *Der historische Machtwechsel: Grün-Rot in Baden-Württemberg* (1st ed., pp. 119–142). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Welt (2013, March 20). Erster Luchs seit sechs Jahren fotografiert. *Welt*. Retrieved from <http://www.welt.de/regionales/stuttgart/article114622598/Erster-Luchs-seit-sechs-Jahren-fotografiert.html>
- Welt (2015, May 19). Der Urwald von morgen steht in Rheinland-Pfalz. Retrieved from <http://www.welt.de/regionales/rheinland-pfalz-saarland/article141105354/Der-Urwald-von-morgen-steht-in-Rheinland-Pfalz.html>
- Welt-N24 (2011, August 18). FDP will keinen Nationalpark im Schwarzwald. *Die Welt*. Retrieved from <http://www.welt.de/regionales/stuttgart/article13552562/FDP-will-keinen-Nationalpark-im-Schwarzwald.html>
- West, P., Igoe, J., & Brockington, D. (2006). Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35(1), 251–277. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.35.081705.123308
- Wiegert, S. (2015, January 13). Nationalpark: Bekommen Säger weniger Holz? *Schwarzwälder Bote*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.kreis-freudenstadt-nationalpark-bekommen-saeger-weniger-holz.14f0622e-e8b7-44ed-974e-7d47ad9715b2.html>
- Wiegert, S. (2015, August 20). Winfried Kretschmann wandert bei Sommertour im Nationalpark. *Schwarzwälder Bote*. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwaelder-bote.de/inhalt.freudenstadt-winfried-kretschmann-wandert-bei-sommertour-im-nationalpark.7ce47896-d933-4e31-95aa-37d9e83dd74f.html>
- ZEIT Online (2015, March 25). Deutschland droht EU-Klage wegen Naturschutzmängeln. *ZEIT Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.zeit.de/wissen/umwelt/2015-03/naturschutz-eu-deutschland>