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Farmers' Perspectives on Cultural Landscapes in Central Switzerland: How Landscape Socialization and Habitus Influence an Aesthetic Appreciation of Landscape

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In terms of land use, agriculture is still important in shaping the appearance of the cultural landscape. For the tourism industry as well as for the local population, aspects of landscape are becoming ever more significant. The perception of landscape among farmers plays a decisive role in the implementation of the multifunctional task of agriculture, which is anchored in the Swiss Federal Constitution. To investigate this issue, selected farmers in three different communities in Central Switzerland took photos on their farms with single-use cameras, following the method of reflexive photography. Those pictures later served as a stimulus for problem-centered interviews. The interviews were evaluated using qualitative content analysis and were discussed within Bourdieu's theoretical framework of habitus and of symbolic capital. Results show that in all three communities farmers regard cultural landscape as a process resulting from their work. Further aspects of a regional habitus emerge from the different communities.

Keywords Alpine area, agriculture, habitus, landscape socialization, reflexive photography

The cultural landscape,¹ more precisely, land developed and cultivated by humans, is very important for marketing Swiss products and for the Swiss tourism industry, especially in the Alpine area (El Benni and Lehmann 2010). Under the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000) landscape “means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (art. 1a). It is also essential for the economic strength and sociocultural life in rural areas, as its appearance influences tourists as well as immigration (Burton 2012). Moreover, the present landscape is relevant for members of the local population: They affect or even shape it by their way of life and at the same time they identify with it (Bätzing 2003; Bosshard, Jenny, and Schläpfer 2010).

For this research it is assumed that the landscape perception of farmers, individually and differently depending on experience (discussed later), plays an important role

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for the maintenance of the rural landscape (Swiss Federal Office for Agriculture 2004) and thus for the implementation of the concept of multifunctional agriculture in Switzerland (Wilson 2002; Meier and Lanz 2005). To develop a sustainable system of incentives and compensations, its perception by farmers has to be taken into account. This study explores the different constructions of cultural landscapes by livestock among farmers in different regions in the mountain area of Central Switzerland. The areas under investigation are a community whose economy depends on winter tourism and a community that faces the ecological impact of nature conservation and landscape management (which attracts soft tourism). A third community was chosen where neither tourism nor nature conservation and landscape management plays a significant role. I also investigated how habitus and landscape socialization influence landscape perception and whether there are any differences between the regions under investigation.

Practical and Theoretical Context

Before the modernization of agriculture, landscape was a by-product of farming (Lehmann and Steiger 2006; El Benni and Lehmann 2010). With the growing use of machines and automated working processes, the landscape underwent a significant change. The change in farming that is most perceptible in the landscape is the increase of monocultural management, as well as the geometric and topographic adjustment of farmland. At the same time, this reduces small-scale landscape elements, such as hedgerows, orchards, and streams (Ipsen 2006; Baudry et al. 2010).

The concept of multifunctional agriculture aims to provide nonmarket benefits for society from farming. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2001) describes multifunctionality as a concept of agriculture that “recognises . . . beyond its primary function of supplying food and fibre, agricultural activity [that] also shape[s] the landscape, provide[s] environmental benefits such as land conservation, the sustainable management of renewable natural resources and the preservation of biodiversity, and contribute[s] to the socio-economic viability of many rural areas” (9). In a referendum in 1996 the Swiss population voted to support multifunctional agriculture. As a result, landscape conservation was included as a new task for agriculture within the constitution, along with the maintenance of decentralized settlements and natural life resources. With the reformation of the Swiss agricultural policy, a system of agri-environmental schemes was introduced to meet the new multifunctional goals of farming (Norer 2005). Since 1999, farmers need to fulfill a proof of ecological performance, in the form of a minimum standard for environmentally compatible farming, in order to receive direct payments (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 1998, art. 70). Agricultural policy was aligned incrementally from subsidizing production to direct payments for general and ecological tasks (Meier and Lanz 2005). Within multifunctional agriculture, landscape management and maintaining the countryside are the new societal tasks for farmers.

The implementation of those political changes was a top-down process, which has affected the farming community quite heavily (Schallberger 1999). Farmers often remain in a productivist farming mode, with food production of prime importance (Wilson 2001; Weiss 2004). Within the farming community in Switzerland, satisfaction and recognition are gained by work for food production, rather than in other tasks of multifunctional agriculture (Stotten, Rudmann, and Schader 2010). Rogge,

Nevens, and Gulinck (2007) argue that farmers value landscapes with regard to specific criteria, as their performed work is visible in it. Therefore, farmed land becomes a “display of the farmer’s knowledge, values and work ethic, and thus farmers appreciate tidy landscapes” (Rogge, Nevens, and Gulinck 2007, 160). Within their peer group, professional farming skills can be read in the landscape and therefore reputation among farmers is gained through good agricultural practices to produce food. Burton (2012; Burton, Kuczera, and Schwarz 2008) demonstrates in his work that landscape conservation work, too, is indeed visible within the farming community, but that society applies other values to judge landscape.

Studies in Europe suggest that an image of traditional farming with small-scale landscape elements is highly valued by the population (e.g., Daugstad, Rønningen, and Skar 2006). An image of landscape cultivated by less intensive and species-rich grassland farming is most appreciated among the Swiss population. Further, ecological compensation areas are recognized as a positive element in the landscape among residents (Lindemann-Matthies et al. 2010; Junge et al. 2011). But so far, no research has investigated the landscape perception and appreciation of farmers in German-speaking Switzerland.

To raise those findings to a theoretical level, the sociological concept of constructivism is applied. In contrast to the normative approaches of positivism, landscape in a constructivist sense evolves through actors’ perception of it. It is the result of individual observation or reflection of the surrounding environment and is valued in terms of aesthetic, economic, ecological, and other criteria (Backhaus, Reichler, and Stremlow 2008; Kühne 2009). Thus, landscape is perceived in various ways by different people, depending on their personal knowledge and experiences.

The social constructivist landscape theory of Kühne (2009; 2013) explains how landscape is constituted as a social product. The process of landscape constitution is subdivided into primary and secondary landscape socialization. It explains how skills and habits are developed with which to perceive landscape. According to Kühne, the basics of understanding and reading landscape are learned in the primary landscape socialization during infancy, through family and school at an emotional level. Within different social groups specific cultural codes are passed down to understand landscape. Analytical skills to perceive and interpret landscape critically are internalized during the secondary landscape socialization from landscape-related studies, apprenticeships, or further education. As Kühne (2009) claims, the second landscape socialization, unlike the primary one, is not performed by everyone. However, other research shows that participatory approaches and awareness-raising processes among farmers also have a positive influence on the development of analytical and critical skills to perceive and interpret landscape (Stotten 2013).

It is further assumed that Pierre Bourdieu’s (1979) idea of habitus plays an important role in landscape perception based on primary socialization. Habitus is defined as a system of dispositions shaped by experienced history. Those dispositions or rather habits are expressed in individual or collective attitudes, which are passed through several generations in families and other social groups. Unconscious and common behavior is influenced by habitus, as it is based on embodied habits and experiences within social groups. As Pierre Bourdieu (1974) states, habitus is “the intentionless invention of regulated improvisation” (79). Even if he (Bourdieu 1977; 1982) describes habitus not as static, he refers to its inertia with the hysteresis effect, as tacit habits shaped in the primary socialization barely change later.

For the farming community, habitus is expressed in attitudes and habits of good farming and is transmitted by farmers of different generations on a farm, as well as by neighbors or other local institutions. Habitus seeks to explain common behaviors within social groups and therefore represents a subjective rather than an individual system. Nevertheless, it is not tied to the rules of a society (e.g., the farming community), but is the guideline for it (Bourdieu 1979). While Pierre Bourdieu does not make the link between habitus and the physical space himself, the philosopher Edward Casey (2001a; 2001b) assumes that this link exists, as the habitus serves as a figure of the “between.” For Casey, habitus characterizes the linking point of human being (geographical self) and landscape (place). In a more general meaning, habitus symbolizes the relationship between culture and nature (Casey 2001b; see also Burton 2012). Therefore, it is the habitus that continuously ties the farmer by his embodied behavior to the landscape. Furthermore, moral attitudes—as a result of habitus—are visible in the landscape: for farmers “it is a landscape as custom” (Setten 2004: 410), as, for example, managing their land in a way that honors their ancestors’ actions.

For this study it is assumed that there is a diversity of habitus, characterized by different “good” behaviors (Evans, Morris, and Winter 2002) within the farming community.

In his key concept of capital, Bourdieu (1982; 2005) distinguishes between the different forms of capital, defined in general as accumulated labor. Although economic capital, such as property that is convertible into money, and social capital, such as networks and institutionalized relationships, are not further classified, cultural capital is structured into three forms. Cultural capital, formed by generic transposable characteristics, appears in three forms: embodied (nontransferable skills and knowledge), objectified (transferable high-status goods), and institutionalized (as educational qualifications and awards). Burton (2012) clarifies further that the function of cultural capital also influences the landscape perception, as “the cultural meaning of being a farmer is heavily embedded in the landscape itself” (66). For him, different dispositions of habitus are transmitted through the influence of cultural capital within the process of socialization among farming families. Therefore, habitus is significant for symbolic capital, which for Pierre Bourdieu (1977) appears in reputation, recognition, and prestige within a certain social group. It builds on the other three forms of capital. The value of symbolic capital exists solely through perceptions of other actors within a social group, and therefore it differs in its meaning across social groups (Bourdieu 1974; 2005). For the landscape, Olaf Kühne (2008) argues that it shows characteristics of symbolic capital and thus contributes to social distinction.

To sum up: Habitus is formed by traditions within the farming community. Within this concept, morality is valued among farmers to maintain the inherited appearance of landscape. Habitus contributes further to gaining reputation and/or symbolic capital within the farming community and influences distinction within it. The habitus of the farming community differs from other groups of society, where different values and/or social capital is applied.

Empirical Work—Through the Eyes of Farmers

In a field study in southern Norway, Gunhild Setten (2004) demonstrates that landscape is noticed by farmers on two different levels: On the one hand, landscape is

“the way it looks” (397); on the other, landscape is framed as farmed agricultural land, “the way we have made it” (397). The aesthetic perception of landscape among farmers is related to moral attitudes produced by habitus within the farming community. Similar results emerge from a study in Australia, where Beilin (2005) concludes that farmers “construct a landscape view out of their cultural understanding of what it means to be managers in this place and farmers in the society” (67). A beautiful landscape is tidy and neat within a certain system of orderliness. This is tied to the manner of farming by the farmer and therefore is “good farming . . . the result of good practice, which again creates good landscapes” (Setten 2004; see also Nassauer and Westmacoot 1987). Thus, landscape is the result of moral action, as a mirror for moral values, which again creates moral evaluation (Setten 2004; Setten and Brown 2009). In her study of farmers in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, Valérie Miéville-Ott (2001) arrives at similar findings, where a landscape “est beau de qui est bien cultivé”² (100). Peter Schallberger (1999) also argues that a meadow is valued as beautiful when it is appropriately farmed in terms of the local circumstances. To conclude the findings just presented, it can be said that landscapes “are not simply ‘agricultural landscapes’ but are highly symbolic environments where the social value of production must be considered on a par with the economic value” (Burton 2004, 210).

Methodological Approach—Seeing through the Agrarian Lens

To guarantee the openness of an explorative research process and to obtain richer information and descriptions (Collier and Collier 2004), a qualitative, hypothesis-generating research method, based on a visual approach, was chosen. In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research focuses on what is said and not on how often it was mentioned by several farmers (Kruse 2014). The value is given to the statement itself, not to its quantitative incidence.

Three communities in Central Switzerland (one of seven greater regions in Switzerland) were selected to investigate and compare attributes and characteristics of different regions. All communities are based on grassland and livestock farming. Other attributes (see Table 1), such as community area and number of inhabitants, are similar, but each community shows inherent characteristics. First, the community of Escholzmatt (canton Lucerne), a part of the Entlebuch UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, was selected as a community where nature and landscape conservation play a decisive role. The community of Engelberg (canton Obwalden) was chosen as a tourism destination for winter as well as summer sports (806,229 overnight stays in 2008: Engelberg-Titlis Tourismus AG 2009). In the third community, Wolfenschiessen (canton Nidwalden), neither tourism,³ nor nature, nor landscape conservation⁴ plays a strong role in the societal discourse.

Within the realm of visual sociology, several approaches to investigate social phenomena are based on photography.⁵ The applied approach of reflexive photography, developed by Peter Dirksmeier (2007; 2013), aims to visualize spatial experience for scientific social research. Photos are taken by the participants, and during a subsequent problem-centered interview, participants analyze the pictures they themselves recorded (Dirksmeier 2012; Witzel 2000).

The approach just presented was applied in all three communities to emphasize the perception of landscape among the farmers. Ten farmers out of all officially registered farmers (who were nearly all male in the chosen communities)⁶ were selected in

Table 1. Characteristics of communities under investigation

	Surface (km ²)	Altitude (AMSL)	Inhabitants (2011)	Employees per sector (%, 2008)	Share of organic farms (%, 2012)
Wolfenschiessen	93	514	2.046	1. 31.9 2. 31.9 3. 36.2	38
Escholzmatt	61	858	3.173 (2010)	1. 35.8 2. 37.1 3. 27.1	9,5
Engelberg	75	1015	3.942	1. 8.7 2. 11.9 3. 79.4	27

Note. From LUSTAT (2012), Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2013), and Kanton Nidwalden (2014).

each community. The sampling procedure was set up to include characteristics of maximum contrast (Helfferrich 2011; Merkens 2007) in terms of age, educational background, farm size, additional income, and other characteristics (see Appendix 1). In each municipality a key person in agriculture helped to get access to the farmers. A first request by telephone was made to gain their participation for the data-collecting process already described. In the communities of Wolfenschiessen and Escholzmatt, farmers were easily recruited for participation, whereas it was more difficult to encourage farmers to participate in Engelberg.

A single-use camera was sent to each farmer, together with a statistical questionnaire (for data on age, farm size, compensation area, education, private contact details) and the instruction to take 10 to 12 photos of elements belonging to the cultural landscape on their farmland. Those elements could be aesthetically pleasing or unpleasant to the farmer. The films were sent back to the researcher in a stamped addressed envelope and were developed by a local photo shop. For the problem-centered interviews (CDI) the photos of each farmer, in an A4 printout, served as a stimulus (Collier and Collier 2004; Pauwels 2010). The CDI focused on experiences and reflections (induction) on particular topics and/or problems given by the researcher (deduction) (Witzel 2000). At the same time, the photos were directly evaluated in the interview by the farmer or rather the photographer himself (Dirksmeier 2013), as the pictures served as a narrative-generating tool during the interview.

Interviews with the farmers took place between July and September 2012. In total, 28 interviews, lasting between 50 and 80 minutes, were conducted with farmers on their farms. In Engelberg, two farmers made use of the option to end participation in the research process, from personal problems or through the loss of the single-use camera. The interviews were subsequently transcribed from Swiss German into written German⁷ and analyzed with qualitative content analysis after Mayring (2010). This systematic, rule-guided and theoretically grounded, step-by-step approach to qualitative text analysis is based on the inductive development of categories close to the given text material and a deductive verification of those categories in terms of the research questions and theory (Mayring 2010). For the development of the system of categories the computer-based tool ATLAS.ti was used to organize the

text material. In total, 24 categories were grouped in eight dimensions (see Appendix 2).

Landscape Perception—The Agrarian Way of Seeing Landscape

Due to the size of the study, only the results of one dimension are presented next. The quotes relate to the first dimension, “general description of cultural landscape,” but some quotes are also included in another dimension.

Wolfenschiessen

Farmers in Wolfenschiessen constitute cultural landscape as an ongoing process, which means that they adapt an idea of a changing image of landscape. Landscape is influenced by farming activities and therefore it is the farmer himself who shapes it. This attitude about landscape does not just mean responsibility for it, but also pride as the designer of landscape, as demonstrated by this comment:

Here it is when it was still standing, the pasture; when it is about two months old. And here it is cut. And then it is gone. You cannot leave it like that; landscape is changing with our farming activities. It is not changing fundamentally, but the image of it is changing. And, if one aims to maintain it, it is linked to work; when you want it like it is right now. It does not stay like this by itself. (F 1) [see Figure 1]

Cultural landscape for the farmers in Wolfenschiessen is also determined by several small-scale structures, such as hedgerows, trees, and different kinds of meadows. Structures of farming activities in the Swiss Midlands are described as more interesting, compared to the researched mountain area, because the Midlands, with their different climate and topography, allow more diverse arable farming. Here the idea of a diverse landscape is related to a diverse production of food on farmland. The next quote demonstrates this point:

When you go down to the flat farming areas, where you find cultivation of corn and grain, there the cultural landscape becomes more interesting for me; the different elements. . . . Yeah, it has woods, it has grain, it has corn; it has different kinds of fields; also the color of the cultural landscape is more diverse there. Here it is just green, several kinds of green. We, the farmers, notice that this is a high-fertility meadow and that is a low-fertility meadow; you can recognize that by the color of the meadow as a farmer. (F 10)

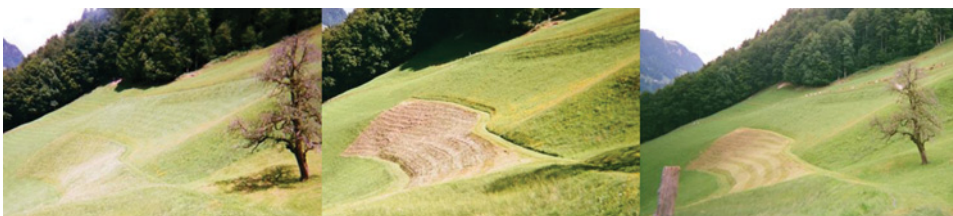


Figure 1. Sequence of pictures: landscape as an ongoing process. Photo: Farmer 1.

Escholzmatt

Farmers of the study mention different aspects regarding the definition of landscape. Basically, landscape for farmers in Escholzmatt is constituted of the existing small-scale structured farmland, including trees, hedgerows, and tarns. Animals, such as cattle, are not just seen as a part of the landscape; they are also “landscape conservationists” (F 14), which means that livestock farming itself has a positive influence on landscape conservation. A farmer also mentioned that landscape is not shaped by the local population everywhere; a distinction is made between different regions. The impact of humans on the presence of cultural landscape is explicitly highlighted and differs in regional characteristics of farm management applied by local farmers, as demonstrated in the following comment:

Cultural landscape, that is a landscape shaped by a generation of people. And those people do belong into the landscape und determine how they want the landscape to be. They did build it up like that. But that does not work everywhere. (F 18)

From an aesthetic point of view, farmers do recognize different stages in the annual sequence of farming in the cultural landscape. As a reflection of performed work, the landscape appears aesthetically pleasing for farmers, which is expressed in the next quote:

It shows different stages in the sequence, as a carpet, somehow. And this is quite interesting, as the fields are farmed differently. Anyhow, some fields have already been mowed, others are still growing, and again others are already growing a second time. And the pasture looks extraordinary. This is a pasture, which is still pastured and not mowed. And over there, where it is hayed. . . . That looks quite good. (F 13)

A certain order of elements on the farmed land is kept, to guarantee efficient farm management. This perspective constitutes an image of cultural landscape in which, for example, trees represent an obstacle in the work flow and have to be bypassed for machine work. Ecological compensation areas occur in this appreciation of landscape, but preferably in peripheral farm areas. A separated landscape of food production and conservation areas is valued as positive by the farmer, as the following statement demonstrates:

Such a nice meadow; I do agree. But when you have to mow it, you have to consider the trees again. And when you have to bring out the liquid manure, it is the same. . . . But this one can be nice too, this field [ecological compensation area] over there, but rather over there [hillock] and not on normal land. . . . Though, when it [ecological compensation] is done on a certain space, it is all right. I just don't want to it to spread everywhere, because basically it is a question of farming. (F 14)

Elements already installed by their father or grandfathers have been adapted to the image of the farm, so that, for example, trees—even if there are not well situated—are included in a positive appreciation of the farm landscape.

The maple tree over there is desolately placed. It has been there as long as I can remember. ... For me it is simply a symbol that belongs to the farm, yes. ... I don't know how old it is. 100 or 200 years old, I can't say. It has always been there and it belongs to this place. (LW 11) [see Figure 2]

Engelberg

Farmers in Engelberg constitute cultural landscape as an opposite of natural landscape. Cultural landscape is shaped by the action and the management by humans within a certain area, whereas natural landscape is defined as untouched by humans. The imprint of diverse farming activities on small-scale hillside locations in the mountain areas is therefore visible in the cultural landscape. It is appreciated as more



Figure 2. Maple tree. Photo: Farmer 11.

interesting compared to the rather monocultural intensive farming in the lowlands, as the statement given here suggests:

For instance if you . . . take a look from the other hillside, then it looks like a crooked chess board; some are used, some are pastured and on the third one the grass is still standing. Therefore it shows several forms and shapes. It is very interesting to look around, when they are about to hay or harvest, from this side of the hill onto the other side; how the craziest shapes appear. It is not just square as it is in the lowlands. (F 22)

In addition, they describe a functional change of the cultural landscape. From the farmers' point of view, cultural landscape was once the base for maximizing food production. But nowadays it is rather the aesthetic aspect of cultural landscape that plays the major role in Engelberg and especially in mountain areas. The meaning of landscape is linked to impartiality and openness for different uses of cultural landscape. An understanding of cultural landscape is demonstrated not just from an agricultural point of view. This is expressed in the following comment:

It has to be perceived as a whole thing and one should be open toward people who want to use space differently. Former generations have already proved that one has been open toward the tourism and cable railways have been built across the Alpine area. (F 26)

Farmers in Engelberg perceive clean and tidy fields as beautiful as they are the result of neat work, such as eliminating weeds, cutting around fences



Figure 3. Tidy landscape. Photo: Farmer 24.

and pylons, or clearing up thoroughly after haying. The statement here demonstrates this:

For me it is beautiful when it is tidy and clean. When it is mowed, or within the Alpine area, when willows are cleaned and weed is controlled. One has to do it; that is just my opinion. Like that it is nice for one's eye and also for the tourist. (F 24) (see Figure 3)

Discussion

Preservation and Alteration of Cultural Landscape through Farming Activities—Commonalities in the Appreciation

In all three communities, farmers underline the processual aspect from their work in their concept of cultural landscape. To maintain the recurring image of cultural landscape—and that is what they are after—the fields have to be farmed. The farmers appreciate that the present cultural landscape has been shaped by the work of their ancestors in reclaiming fields and planting trees. Consequently, cultural landscape is also maintained and assessed as an expression of moral esteem (see Setten 2004). The imprint of performed work is generally perceived as aesthetically appealing to the farmers, whereas nonfarmed or abandoned land is seen negatively. Their acting within the landscape further influences the creation of incorporated cultural capital or rather symbolic capital (e.g., Bourdieu 1974; Burton 2012), as performed work and good farming skills are visible to farmers on farmed land and thus become valuable among the farming community.

Furthermore, farmers in all three regions express a very detailed perception of performed work, which they easily recognize in the landscape, for instance, maintenance work to uphold tidiness and cleanness on the farmland (see Rogge, Nevens, and Gulinck 2007), which results from moral attitudes and moral values of their ancestors (see Setten 2004; Droz et al. 2009). Even if ecological compensation or landscape conservation areas are included into a landscape constitution, the farmers prefer these to be separated from the, to them, more important area of food production.

Particularities of Landscape Perception Between the Three Communities

Escholzmatt. In this study farmers in Escholzmatt emphasize cultural landscape as a result of the local population, which determines—whether aware or unaware—the image of the cultural landscape. The image of cultural landscape in the region is influenced by the maintenance of several historic ways of farm management. It can be assumed that this attitude is created by a regional habitus (e.g., Bourdieu 1979; Setten 2004; Riley 2008), which has shaped and is still shaping the existing cultural landscape. The regional habitus emphasizes certain ways of farm management with impact on the landscape and is maintained through several generations.

Wolfenschiessen. In Wolfenschiessen farmers include a comparison with the Swiss Midlands in their constitution of cultural landscape. Those appear to them—compared to the mountain areas—as more beautiful and interesting, as the

farm management is more diverse, especially in terms of food production. Therefore, the cultural landscape in the Midlands represents the knowledge and skills of the farmers comprehensively. It can thus contribute in a more diverse way to the creation of symbolic capital. Although differences in grassland farming are visible to farmers, its delicate attributes of good farming are not perceptible for everyone (e.g., Burton 2012).

Engelberg. Farmers in Engelberg constitute cultural landscape as an opposite to natural landscape, which they see as an area largely untouched by human beings. In contrast, cultural landscape is a mirror for human actions or rather farming activities (e.g., Beilin 2005). At the same time, cultural landscape represents different processes of agricultural work, which is recognized among farmers. It can be assumed that reputation is generated among farmers through this perception, which further builds up symbolic capital (Kühne 2008). This constitution of cultural landscape by farmers in Engelberg describes a functional change from the maximization of food production to an object of aesthetic beauty. This comes along with a continuous process of tourism development in the community, which in turn shapes the constitution of cultural landscape by farmers today.

Conclusion

The results of this study show that farmers construct landscape out of diverse aspects in their everyday life. Primarily those are based on cultivation. In all three communities cultural landscape is constituted as an ongoing process of cultural farming activity, as farmers have experienced it during landscape socialization. The data prove that farmers also undergo a second landscape socialization without conducting any landscape-related studies, apprenticeships, or further education (as mentioned by Kühne 2013), but stimulated by other intrinsic or extrinsic aspects.

Moreover, habitual actions in the landscape are heavily influenced by moral values transmitted during primary landscape socialization. The study demonstrates that, based on the theory of habitus, the habitually shaped landscape perception differs slightly between the three communities and several moral attitudes and values influence the constitution of cultural landscape.

The empirical work in this study further illustrates nuances between the regions in the landscape constituted by the farmers. In Escholzmatt, a community that is part of the Entlebuch Biosphere Reserve, an image of cultural landscape is emphasized that focuses on the influence of the farmers as well as historical ways of farming in the region (preserved by the biosphere reserve). The farmers in Engelberg, a tourism destination, were frank about the touristic use and economic benefit of landscape, which is anchored in their recent constitution of cultural landscape. Those ongoing local discourses influence the regional habitus and with it the constitution of landscape itself.

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Notes

1. Term especially used and applied in German-speaking Switzerland.
2. Is beautiful when it is well, or rather properly, cultivated.
3. Altogether, the three hotels in Wolfenschiessen have a capacity of 60 beds, whereas just the three biggest hotels in Engelberg have a capacity of 470 beds. The local ski resort of Bannalp provides 2 km of ski runs, whereas the resort of Engelberg-Titlis provides 82 km.
4. The community of Wolfenschiessen is not part of one of the official classified parks or park projects (Swiss Parks Network 2015).
5. For example, on photo elicitation, where photos are provided (and often taken) by the researcher (Harper 2002; Clark-Ibáñez 2004; Dirksmeier 2013).
6. A significant difference is estimated between male and female farmers (Gao, Barbieri, and Valdivia 2014), which indicates further research demand. This study aims to focus on regional differences, so that the investigation was kept among the officially registered farmers.
7. As the focus of the interviews is based on the content of the statements (Dresing and Pehl 2012).

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Appendix 1: Farmers Under Investigation

Community	Farmer	Year of birth	Farm takeover	Farm type	Agricultural land (ha)	Education
Wolfenschiessen	1	1959	1996	PEP ^a	10,50	Farmer (master)
	2	1958	1983	Organic	11,11	Carpenter
	3	1951	1975	PEP	9,40	None
	4	1964	1992	PEP	28,84	Farmer (master)
	5	1969	2008	Organic	12,90	Farmer (certificate)
	6	1970	1999	PEP	20,00	Farmer (certificate)
	7	1980	2006	Organic	36,00	Farmer (certificate)
	8	1971	2002	PEP	16,49	Farmer (certificate)
	9	1979	2010	Organic	14,80	Farmer (certificate)
Escholzmatt	10	1972	1998	Organic	34,00	Farmer (master)
	11	1952	1985	PEP	34,00	Farmer (certificate)
	12	1965	2001	PEP	7,81	Farmer (certificate)
	13	1966	1988	Organic	36,40	Farmer (master) car mechanic

Continued

Appendix 1: Continued

Community	Farmer	Year of birth	Farm takeover	Farm type	Agricultural land (ha)	Education
	14	1957	1993	PEP	16,40	Farmer (certificate)
	15	1970	2000	PEP	20,50	Farmer (master)
	16	1984	upcoming	Organic	17,18	Farmer (certificate)
	17	1979	2011	PEP/ organic ^b	19,00	Farmer (certificate)
	18	1989	upcoming	PEP	25,00	Farmer (certificate)
	19	1981	2010	PEP	34,10	Farmer (certificate)
	20	1972	1999	Organic	10,11	Farmer (certificate)
ENGELBERG	21	1948	1985	PEP	10,90	Carpenter
	22	1961	1985	Organic	27,30	Farmer (certificate)
	23	1971	1993	Organic	36,93	Farmer (certificate)
	24	1971	2003	PEP	7,50	Farmer (certificate)
	25	1966	1994	PEP	6,39	none
	26	1974	2001	PEP	21,15	Farmer slope rescue
	27	1976	2000	PEP	4,23	alpine dairy workshop carpenter
	28	1965	1998	PEP	27,14	Farmer (certificate)

^aProof of ecological performance.

^bIn transition toward organic farming.

Appendix 2: System of Categories

Dimension	Category	Definition
1. General description of cultural landscape	1. Definition	Description by the farmer what cultural landscape means and which elements it includes and which it does not
	2. Pleasant	Description by the farmers of what they perceive as aesthetically pleasing in the landscape

Continued

Appendix 2: Continued

Dimension	Category	Definition
	3. Nonpleasant	Description by farmers of what they perceive as aesthetically nonpleasant in the landscape
	4. Pleasant for others	Description by farmers what they assume is pleasant in the landscape for others
2. Special description of cultural landscape	5. Farm land	Statements on the farmland
	6. Buildings	Statements on buildings or other constructions on the farmland
	7. Elements	Statements on elements such as hedgerows, trees, shrubs, ponds
	8. Animals	Statements on animals such as cattle, dogs, cats
3. Interaction	9. Flood protection	Statements on flood protection
	10. Storm	Statements on the storm of 2005
	11. Tourism	Influence of tourism on agriculture; importance of cultural landscape for the tourism industry
	12. Political aspects	Political directives, political influence on the cultural landscape
	13. Regional aspects	Influence of the region, attitudes and actions of the region on the cultural landscape and farming
	14. Society	Perception of cultural landscape and the farmers' influence on it by society
	15. Communication	Communication with several stakeholders and/or between the farmers
4. Evaluation—farmers' own attitudes	16. Relation production—cultural landscape	Value of production and cultural landscape on the farm
	17. Working method	Certain ways of working on the farm
	18. Working activities for aesthetics	Applied practices without any economic benefit or not necessarily required; activities carried out because the outcome is aesthetically appreciated
	19. Hobby	Landscape conservation activities based on personal interest
5. Evaluation in relation of the community	20. Among farmers	Working activities perceived among farmers that represent the quality of work, behavior among farmers
6. Emotional aspects	21. Memory	Memory of former ways of farming, former images of cultural landscape

Continued

Appendix 2: *Continued*

Dimension	Category	Definition
	22. Father	Reference to the father, his perception of cultural landscape, his way of thinking and farming
7. Cognition	23. Education	Reference to the mediation of knowledge, ways of working and attitudes toward cultural landscape formed by education
8. Camera	24. Camera	Handling and experiences with the camera within the project