

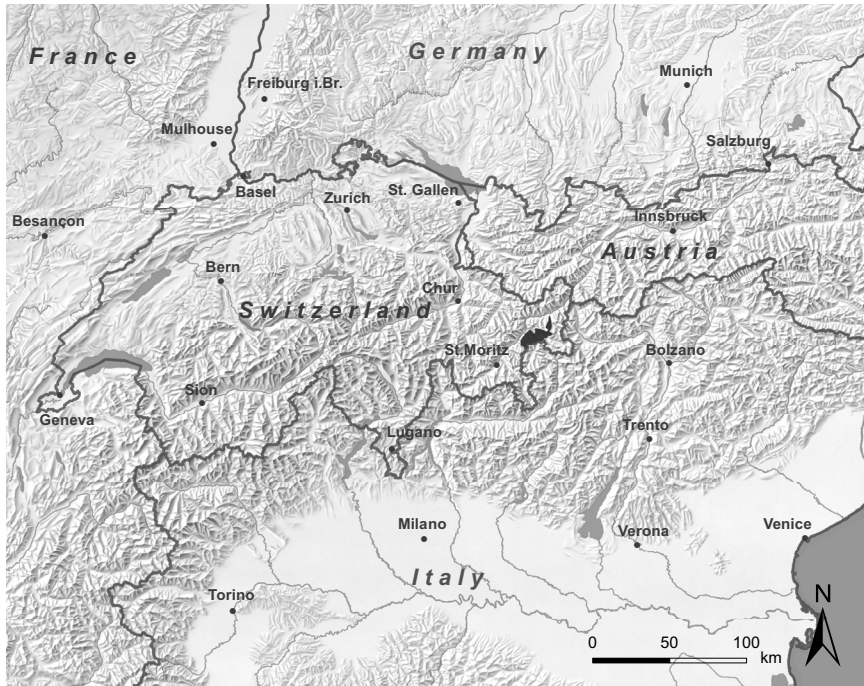


Introduction

In the twentieth century the national park became a global phenomenon. In the early 1900s, when the Swiss National Park was planned and set up, few national parks were in existence around the world, and Europe had none. Since then, the situation has changed dramatically. Europe now boasts several hundred national parks; globally, they number in the thousands. In the last hundred years the national park has clearly become one of the most significant spatial structures of contemporary times. At the same time, the national park is problematic. It is no accident that the total number and area of all the national parks varies depending on the source. The figures are in the order of five thousand parks and five million square kilometers, or 3 percent of the earth's surface.¹ But the numbers also depend on which facilities are actually categorized as national parks and thus included in the calculations. The term "national park" covers an astonishing diversity of entities. Individual parks differ vastly, not only in appearance but also in purpose: biodiversity, landscape conservation, or wilderness; tourism, edification, or research. The term "national park" provides a common denominator for all this global diversity, yet the denominator itself is indistinct. One might aptly summarize the paradox by saying that all national parks are not equal, yet they are still national parks, which, however, does not illuminate the phenomenon much further.

The approach I take in this book is a historical one. My aim is to understand the national park as a historical subject that arose out of a context both global and local. This in turn requires a historical approach that connects global and local levels. To meet this (substantial) challenge, in the pages that follow I will be continually altering my perspective, shifting my observation point, and fiddling with the resolution. This constant interplay will help to make local, national, and global developments comprehensible, and result in nuanced insights into the history both of the Swiss National Park and of the national park as a global phenomenon.

With its current area of 170 square kilometers, the Swiss National Park is comparatively small.² But its modest spatial extent belies its disproportionately larger transnational significance. This significance is primarily due not to its early emergence, but rather the weight placed on scientific research from the very beginning. The founders' core idea in pursuing total protection was not so



Map 1. Location of the Swiss National Park in the Rhaetian Alps and the southeastern corner of Switzerland. *Source:* GIS-SNP, Swiss National Park, Spatial Information Department.

much to preserve nature in its “original” form as it was to return such nature to modern civilization and to scientifically support and validate the process required to achieve this goal. This experimental component made the Swiss National Park into the global prototype of a science-oriented national park.

The present investigation subtends an arc of time that spans from the nineteenth century to today. One of the salient features of this period was the globalization of the nation-state model, which with the decline of empires became the predominant political system.³ In this context, popular contemporary analyses that prophecy the end of the nation-state as a result of worldwide globalization would appear to be blind to history. A farsighted view of nation-state systems and globalization sees them neither as two phenomena following each other (and if they were, the sequence would rather be the opposite way round) nor as exclusively antagonistic forces. Rather, the process of globalization and the development of a world order based on nation-states appear to have been mutually fruitful. Accordingly, the global establishment of nation-state standards and nation-state reinforcement of global distinctions

is a striking characteristic of this era, heavily influenced by European powers and the United States.⁴

The global history of the national park likewise can best be understood in the reciprocal context of globalization of the national and nationalization of the global. The term “national park” was first applied in 1872 to Yellowstone National Park in the United States.⁵ The term took on global significance, however, only at the turn of the twentieth century, when the rapidly growing conservation movement began to address the worldwide loss of natural spaces and biological species, and to promote the protection of large contiguous areas as a countermeasure. Now the national park idea found adherents on every continent, and Yellowstone became a global model of nature protection discussed the world over. Contrary to standard narratives, this development should be understood neither as a simple reaction to the destruction of nature nor as a linear process of diffusion.⁶ The relationship between environmental degradation and social perception and action was complex, and the worldwide system of national parks unfolded in a play of acquisition and demarcation, exploitation and rejection. The American national park jumped early into first place as a worldwide benchmark, a position it maintained throughout the twentieth century. But it was not the only one. In many places, the Swiss model—which in the years before the First World War took the form of the Swiss National Park—constituted a highly imitated alternative that was careful to differentiate itself from its American predecessor. Unlike Yellowstone Park, which was based on the close association of state-supported conservation and public recreation, the Swiss park promoted a close alliance between nature conservation and scientific research and put into place an exceptionally strict protection regime. This deliberate reinterpretation of the American national park idea was innovative and radical, and its consequences were not limited to Switzerland. In the twentieth century, the idea of national parks not only spread impressively throughout the world, but in so doing also broadened and diversified its meaning. The Swiss National Park participated in this process by introducing a distinct, scientifically oriented variant of the national park that became an internationally recognized point of reference around the world. By the same token, it was confronted itself with expectations by virtue of its standing as a national park.

The US national parks were an important basis of comparison for the Swiss National Park to which the actors returned again and again. Consequently, I will pay special attention to the differences between the two park models, as well as to their relationships and interactions. One link between the two national park movements is the idea of wilderness. As environmental historian Roderick Nash suggests in the prolog to his seminal work on the history of American wilderness, the term “wilderness” does not correspond to an actual

condition.⁷ Wilderness is not an objective category but a state of mind; it is a byproduct of the process of individual and social appropriation of nature. Accordingly, it is important to perennially historicize wilderness, and to situate it both in time and in space. What wilderness means—whether something to fear or to desire, to beat back or to protect—has always been the result of social communication.⁸

Ideas about wilderness circulating in American and Swiss society were not fundamentally different. They were grounded in the same traditions of European Romanticism and at core were antithetical to civilization.⁹ One essential difference, which would be reflected in the design of the parks, had to do with the perception of wilderness in each country. In the United States of the late nineteenth century, the once ubiquitous wilderness was increasingly seen as endangered. It disappeared in step with the opening up of the West, and existed only in what was left of the frontier. There, national parks were established to preserve the remaining bits of American wilderness. In contrast, Swiss wilderness was no longer considered a given but rather something that had disappeared a long time ago. Consequently, before it could be preserved, it had to be (re)produced. Thus, the production of wilderness moved front and center in the Swiss interpretation of the national park idea. The park founders let their contemporaries know that they wished the national park to be a “grand experiment:” Within the national park, “alpine *ur-nature* should be restored and presented to the future as a sort of sanctuary for undisturbed natural life.”¹⁰ In accordance with its experimental character, this process would be approached and validated scientifically, which in turn would establish the primacy of research in the park. Moreover, the goal was assigned a priority similar to that in the United States. Because it was assumed that nature was under the growing influence of civilization and continuously moving away from its “*ur-nature*,” every delay lessened the chances that the experiment in “creating wilderness” would ever come to pass.

The alpine primeval nature to be restored to the Swiss National Park was a wilderness “such as had adorned the Alps as a pure creation of nature before the intrusion of humans.”¹¹ In this respect, the Swiss and American ideas were again actually very close. In both societies the prevailing idea was one of a pre-historic wilderness that was not only remote from civilization but moreover that had no people in it. Accordingly, both nations’ ideas were also close to other approaches that sought to turn the respective dreams of wilderness into reality. On both sides of the Atlantic, establishing a national park went hand in hand with the exclusion of humans from the park areas, as well as prohibiting subsistence practices common in those areas at the time. People who did not come to the areas as visitors but rather made their living there were treated as disturbances to the wilderness and either expelled from the parks or kept away from them. For reasons that I will elucidate in this book, in Switzer-

land such measures were implemented more cautiously than in the United States or in Canada. There, Indian populations in particular were victims of government-backed policies of expulsion. That it took such policies to create the wilderness for which the parks were emblematic was a perversion that hardly reverberated at the time and that was well hidden from most of the visitors to these parks. The sometimes tragic human fates that were part and parcel of establishing the parks were successfully suppressed and then forgotten for a long time.¹² Likewise, it long remained little noticed that the seemingly pristine wilderness of America's national parks was subsequently and constantly renewed by media depictions of the parks and their exploration by millions of visitors. Automobile tourism created a new form of wilderness experience through the windshield, which had already attracted the masses in the interwar years but also provoked vehement opposition. This opposition found its echo in the wilderness movement, whose ideal of a lonely region far from civilization was in some ways comparable to the Swiss National Park idea.¹³

The urgency attached to protecting wilderness everywhere, the procedural character that marked its establishment both in the United States and in Switzerland, and the omnipresence of civilization, on whose advances the parks' destinies obviously depended, all point to the same frame of reference for the national park idea regardless of internal differences—(Western) modernity. This modernity was marked by three major movements: first, the interpretation of world history as a predetermined sequence of events; second, the comprehensive opening up of the whole world; and third, the cataloguing and classifying of the world based on a dual-category system.¹⁴ The first movement was expressed in the idea of social progress, which drove both liberalism and socialism—the two dominant ideologies of Western modernity. It also figured prominently in scientific knowledge production, where it found what may perhaps be its most enduring expression in the theory of evolution.¹⁵ Without these insights into the historical mutability of nature, the national park idea and especially the Swiss interpretation of it would have been unthinkable.

The second movement led to measurement and mapping of the entire earth's surface, and its appropriation and distribution into areas that in turn were assigned specific purposes. In this connection, the American historian Charles Maier speaks of territorialization, which he regarded as *the* key process in directing and driving global development since the 1860s. Not least, the emerging spatial structures provided important points of reference for national and ethnic identity.¹⁶ The carving out of areas as national parks must be seen as part of this process.

The third, and final, major movement is the implementation of a dual-category system written directly into the global history of the national park. The national park was conceived as a natural space or wilderness separate from

social space, that is, the space of culture or civilization. Carl Schröter, chair of the research commission of the Swiss National Park and a renowned botanist, recognized the significance of this dichotomy to the national park: “[The national park] is primarily a place where any human interference is prohibited for all time, and where alpine ur-nature can and will recover undisturbed and continue to evolve. It offers a refuge for plants and animals, a sanctuary, a sacred place for nature. Its borders serve as a breakfront for the waves of human culture flowing from every nation, which have destroyed the youthful countenance of Mother Earth: the park is a place apart from ‘ecumenism,’ from the sphere of colonization.”¹⁷ Simultaneously, in this essay in the German journal *Die Naturwissenschaften*, published shortly after the end of the First World War, Schröter emphasized the ethical value that a national park represents for “the people,” insofar as it creates a space in which “everything is preserved for everyone for all time.” The creation of a national park should “especially now be highly valued as a productive ferment in the hoped-for renewal of humanity, which has become too materialistic and selfish.”¹⁸

The territory of the national park was clearly separated from the cultural space, but it also had to remain in contact with culture. In the 1960s the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault coined the term “heterotopia” to describe such specialized modern spaces. In contrast to purely fictional utopias, heterotopias have a material counterpart in the real world, whose reality, however, is radically distinct from that of conventional places. As examples of such heterotopian spaces, Foucault lists (in his original but hardly systematic formulation) brothels, Jesuit colonies, and ships. These localized spaces produce a difference that makes them looking-glass versions of normal social spaces and creates a tension between the dominant culture and its spatial order.¹⁹ The national park was clearly such a heterotopia. In its idealized form, it constituted civilization’s “other”: It was a modern sanctuary dedicated to nature for all eternity.²⁰ As an ahistorical wilderness or primeval nature, it eluded the development of civilization, but remained accessible to people. Thus, the national park was both an enclave and mirror of civilization. It fostered the illusion that not only could nature be maintained in its “original” state, free from human influence, but also that the difference between the park and the social space of cultural achievements could be measured and appraised. Moreover, the establishment of such an institution as a cultural achievement of its own was to be celebrated. In the neat separation of culture and nature, civilization and wildness, the national park revealed itself not only as a concept imbued with modernity but also as an active bearer and shaper of the modern dialectic order. Its history offers a privileged glimpse into changes in the social interaction with nature since the late nineteenth century.²¹

It follows that the boundaries between nature and culture are socially produced.²² At no point is their course determined; rather, the social meaning of

nature is always historically contingent. The separation between nature and culture is neither clear-cut nor undisputed. It eludes a final determination and requires perpetual social processing. Nature and culture are thus bound in a permanent, ever-changing relationship. The historical approach is particularly suited to elucidating this manifold and fascinating relationship because it enables critical analysis of category separation into nature and culture without overly hasty removal of this socially productive distinction.²³ Consequently, historical analysis leads to a deeper understanding of which social forces shaped the way society deals with nature, and which physical phenomena were incorporated into the perception of nature and how they were processed culturally. French sociologist Henri Lefebvre recognized this in his analysis of space: "It is never easy to get back from the object (product or work) to the activity that produced and/or created it. It is the only way, however, to illuminate the object's nature or, if you will, the object's relationship to nature, and reconstitute the process of its genesis and the development of its meaning."²⁴ Only in the historical reconstruction of an object can the essence of an object be elucidated. In the following pages, I will subject the Swiss National Park to precisely this sort of examination with the intention of reconstructing the historical processes in which the park was made into a place of alpine wilderness, and illuminate the consequences. Under which natural and social circumstances did the park arise and develop? Which discourses and practices were associated with the park, and how did they change over time? How did the web of spatial and temporal relationships in which the park was enmeshed develop? What consequences—intended as well as unintended—did the heterotopic design of a piece of landscape have for nature and society?²⁵

These questions are addressed below in six thematic chapters. In chapter 1, I delve into the genesis of the national park on a global scale. Although in the nineteenth century the adoption of the national park idea was limited to the British settler colonies, where it specifically served the purpose of constructing national identity, by the beginning of the new century, it had spread to every continent. The national park became a globally useful label for nature protection. In the twentieth century, the national park in the United States was joined by other models. One of the most publicized was the Swiss National Park. Chapter 2 will consider how this park came into existence, how its concept changed over the course of its development, and what its link to the national park idea was, as well as how the Swiss park was perceived in international bodies. One of the most characteristic features of the Swiss National Park compared with other parks internationally is the strong political position occupied by local institutions from the very beginning. Chapter 3 will review why these initial constellations led neither to a frictionless political space nor to a well-oiled administrative machine, nor automatically to good acceptance of the park by the local population.

“Total protection” and scientific research were the two pillars on which the Swiss National Park was founded. The flora and fauna of the park would be protected from all human influence, and be allowed to develop “freely” and “naturally.” Such an objective required comprehensive shielding of the corresponding areas, for which the term “total protection” was introduced. In chapter 4, I look at how the philosophy of total protection was interpreted and modified by the administration, as well as the similarities and differences between the concept of total protection and today’s concept of protection of ecological processes. I will show, how, on the one hand, the park’s original objective of total protection endured and never lost its importance as an ideological guide, but, on the other hand, how it was also largely responsible for the continuing fragility of the dichotomous distinction between civilization and wilderness. The park’s human-free nature was intended as a research field with laboratory-like qualities for the ecological sciences, especially botany and zoology, as well as geology and geography. In chapter 5, I will explore why this admirable aim remained largely unmet. I will describe the institutional and disciplinary conditions affecting research efforts, and the attempts of scientists working in the park to establish more productive experimental arrangements. Despite only middling results, research at the Swiss National Park managed to attract significant attention, and contributed to the park’s reputation as an exemplary “scientific national park.” I will analyze this reception, as well as the increasing importance of park research in recent years.

Finally, in chapter 6, I will examine the fundamental conflicts over use that arose during the history of the Swiss National Park and that not coincidentally all came to a head during the boom years after the Second World War, when increased density of use of the landscape and the exploitation of natural resources accelerated. The national park came under pressure from different angles: First, the electricity industry developed an appetite for water power in the park area. As with Echo Park in the United States around the same time, the damming of the Spöl River in the 1950s raised basic questions of conservation. Second, private transport and the number of visitors both increased markedly after 1945. The Swiss National Park, which originally had not been established for but against conventional tourism, now had to withstand being an increasingly popular tourist destination. The term “national park” was an attractant for tourism, and almost inevitably there were conflicts with the park objectives of nature protection and research. But it was not only the number of human visitors that swelled dramatically. The deer that had migrated into the area at the time of the national park’s founding were also multiplying. Signs of overgrazing of the vegetation in the park, periodic mass die-offs, and migratory behavior beyond the park’s borders sparked no small degree of controversy from the 1950s onward, and resulted in hitherto neglected wildlife management becoming a central aspect of park administration. The interplay

of these three land-use conflicts resulted in the park's guiding principle of total protection being called into question in the postwar years.

Despite the thematic structure of the chapters, the arguments also follow a chronological order. I proceed chronologically within each chapter, but in addition, I have organized the chapters such that their temporal focus moves steadily toward the present. The thematic organization allows me to show related motives unfolding over time and thus to identify longer-term trends and gradual shifts and to integrate them into the exposition. Because my perspective shifts along with the topics from chapter to chapter, I refer back to different mid-range theoretical approaches. Thus, I examine the invention and dissemination of the national park with the aid of recent concepts from the history of technology and global history. I analyze local conditions from the vantage of environmentalism, animal actors through the lens of *Eigensinn*, and scientific park research through laboratory studies. I describe these approaches in more detail in the relevant chapters.

A topic that combines these approaches and that also recurs repeatedly in different guises is borders, or dividing lines: spatial and temporal, natural and social, mental and geographical; dividing lines between the park and the surrounding areas, nature and culture, animals and humans, laboratory and field, national and world. The bases for drawing these dividing lines are as interesting as the means by which they are maintained. What consequences and problems did such dividing lines cause, and when were borders questioned and renegotiated if necessary? In the final chapter, I focus on the findings that the study of these issues has produced. These findings constitute the foundation for a focused overview, but also provide a vantage point for a glimpse into the future.

An awareness of boundaries and spaces is also reflected in the choice of the descriptor "transnational." This descriptor retains the national dimension while at the same time putting it into context, which is especially appropriate for my purposes. The prefix "trans-" expresses the diverse forms of the process by which national space is transcended and borders thus made porous. In contrast to the term "international," which I reserve for official relationships at the state level, the term "transnational" encompasses various types of material and discursive movements that are not confined to national spaces. A transnational approach, such as is understood and applied here, is therefore not limited to a single narrative but rather strives to bring different narratives into the analysis and to examine the interactions between them.²⁶ This requires varying the spatial scale of the analysis, a method that historical anthropology already proposed several years ago. In this regard, historian Jacques Revel referred to a *jeux d'échelles*, a play on orders of magnitude.²⁷ Compared with the similarly (and also somewhat differently) used terms "global," "world," and "universal history," "transnational" has the advantage of not creating expectations that all

times and places will be treated equally, which very rarely produces useful or satisfying results.²⁸

In this book, I approach the Swiss National Park as a particular manifestation of a global narrative about conservation, shaped by local conditions. The Swiss National Park should not be taken to be a generalizable model for protecting areas worldwide, nor should developments at the international level automatically be seen as being relevant for the Swiss National Park. It follows that the interrelationship between the history of the Swiss National Park and the global history of conservation cannot simply be accepted as a given, but rather can only be discerned by source-based reconstruction. The park's historical reality and impact, its contexts, cycles, and continuities, must first be established through concrete, observable, and describable interconnections. According to this view, these interconnections are what drove the ongoing process of both the convergence and divergence of "local," "national," and "global." Dissecting this process through analysis and exposition is a central aim of my study, which in this respect is related to other works of global history that strive to systematically connect global and local developments.²⁹

Such an approach is naturally fraught with practical difficulties arising from access to historical documents. Thus, global interconnections whose traces can be found in the local and national record collections pertaining to the Swiss National Park are easy to establish. These traces enable reconstruction of trajectories and linking of historical events. In contrast, where these sources reveal no traces, it is much harder to reconstruct associations, mainly because their effects were felt elsewhere. The search for such links becomes very labor intensive unless one is willing to accept a certain amount of randomness in the results. For this line of inquiry, rigorous search parameters proved largely unproductive. A heuristic search for plausible links proved to be more fruitful. Accordingly, I paid particular attention to contexts relating to world regions and to communications in which national parks or similar protected areas figured prominently, and where the sciences played a fundamental role (or were striving to).

For the present study, I was able to build on range of preliminary work dealing with various aspects of the history of the Swiss National Park.³⁰ I also profited from several excellent studies dealing with the history of national parks in other countries.³¹ Very helpful, too, was the parallel work on an anthology titled *Civilizing Nature* that explores the development of the national park from the perspective of global history.³² The starting point of the work presented here was a comprehensive search of sources comprising both a wide range of published documents and several unpublished archival collections.³³ I consulted the records of the institutions involved in the Swiss National Park in four archives: the archives of the Swiss National Park in Zerne; the archives of *Pro Natura* (the former *Schweizerischer Bund für Naturschutz*) in the Ba-

sel Canton archives, the archives of the Swiss Academy of Sciences (SCNAT, formerly the *Schweizerische Naturforschende Gesellschaft*) in the *Bürgerbibliothek* in Bern, and in the Swiss federal archives (BAR), also in Bern. At the communal level, I researched the archives of Scuol and Zernez,³⁴ and the Grisons cantonal archives in Chur. For an American perspective on the history of the Swiss National Park, I examined the relevant records relating to the US National Park Service in the National Archives as well as collections in the Library of Congress, both in Washington, DC. I decided not to peruse the collections of the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) after preliminary investigations revealed that they would contain little of use.³⁵ I had access to media discourses through the digital archives of *Le Temps* and the *Times* (of London), as well as the archives of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in Zurich. I searched the Memoriav database for audiovisual materials. Finally, in the archives and collections of the ETH Zurich library I sought out the documents of the school board and the papers of Carl Schröter. To supplement the written sources, I also conducted a dozen interviews.³⁶

In closing, allow me to make two editorial comments: I have translated foreign-language quotations into English. For proper names, I use the spelling current today. So, for example, Scuol (not Schuls) and Cluozza (not Cluoza). Exceptions are quotations and titles of documents, where I have left the spelling of proper names unchanged.

Notes

1. See the UNEP-WCMC database: <http://www.wdpa.org/Statistics.aspx>, <http://www.protectedplanet.net>.
2. For current information, see <http://www.nationalpark.ch>.
3. See, for example, Schulze 1994; Anderson 1991, and on the relationship between nation-states and empires, see Leonhard and Hirschhausen 2009.
4. Cf. Conrad 2006.
5. See Nash 1980.
6. The approaches are discussed in chapter 1. See also Gissibl et al. 2012a.
7. Nash 1982, 1.
8. Classical accounts of wilderness are provided by Oelschlaeger 1991 and Schama 1995. Kirchhoff and Trepl 2009b explore the state of research in German-speaking countries. A record of the wilderness ideas circulating in Switzerland at the turn of the twenty-first century can be found in Stremlow and Sidler 2002 and Bauer 2005.
9. On different concepts of wilderness, see Wilderness Babel: <http://www.environmentalsociety.org/exhibitions/wilderness/overview>.
10. Reservationenkomitee SNK to Gemeinderat Zernez, 15 December 1908, in SNK annual report 1908–9, 52–57, quotation 54 f. Nearly the same wording is found in Schröter 1910, 18. At a later stage, less emphasis was placed on this process, as also happened in the United States.

12 *Creating Wilderness*

11. Reservationenkomitee SNK to Gemeinderat Zernez, 15 December 1908, in SNK annual report 190–9, 52–57, quotation 54.
12. Spence 1999, 3–6. On Canada, see Sandlos 2005.
13. Grusin 2004; Louter 2006; Sutter 2002. On the National Park Service's active contribution to restoring park wilderness, see Reich 2001. The mid-1990s saw the relaxation of an intense historical debate over the American wilderness (see Cronon 1996b; Callcott 1998), which led to a definite shift in perspective. The anthology by Lewis 2007a provides an excellent view of the new perspective.
14. The nature of modernity has been a hotly debated topic for over a hundred years. The literature is correspondingly extensive. In place of a lengthy, yet still hardly representative list of publications, here are a few annotated suggestions: Bayly 2004 is an excellent historical source. An overview of the major theories of modernization can be found, for instance, in Knöbl 2007. The epistemological consequences of modernity are critically analyzed by Latour 1995, whereas Scott 1998 denounces the consequences of (hyper)modernist ideology. A basic critique of the use of modernity as a category of analysis is offered by Cooper 2005, who argues that the category of modernity is too blurry to do justice to the historical complexities. Sensible use of the term may, however, alleviate this problem.
15. See, for example, Koselleck 1994; Bowler 2003.
16. Maier 2000. Maier sees the impact of territoriality on the wane since 1970. On this topic, see also the edited volumes by Schröder and Höhler 2005; Geppert et al. 2005; and Geisthövel and Knoch 2005.
17. Schröter 1918, 753.
18. Schröter 1918, 765.
19. Foucault 1994 (1967).
20. For an anthology (of other) modern places, see Geisthövel and Knoch 2005.
21. See Gissibl et al. 2012a. On the term “civilization,” see Fisch 1992; on its use around the world in the context of the European “civilizing mission,” see Barth and Osterhammel 2005.
22. The separation of nature and society influenced not only the national park but also the sciences. In the late 1950s, C. P. Snow diagnosed a split of intellectual life into two cultures, one scientific and the other humanist (Snow 1967 [1959]). In the latter field, the guiding question was to what extent knowledge—including scientific knowledge—was socially constructed. This schism led, in the 1990s, to a protracted controversy between “constructivists” and “realists” (see Hacking 1999). One of the main points of contention was a debate over the social character and the social reality of nature, its material and constructivist quality, and their interactions (Cronon 1996a). A closely related question was whether and how social scientists could concede human agency independent of nature, a question that was also a hot topic in environmental history (see Sieferle 1999; Steinberg 2002b; and for an introduction to environmental history, see Hughes 2006; Uekötter 2007; Winiwarter and Knoll 2007). My own approach in this work is that of critical realism or limited constructivism, which predominates in political ecology (Neumann 2005). This approach treats nature and its constituent elements as having a reality independent of society and their own agency. However, knowledge possessed by all or part of society about nature is context-specific; it is mediated both by social discourse and by practices.

23. Here, I agree with Theodore Schatzki and not Bruno Latour, whose work argues for lifting the separation between nature and society (Schatzki 2003; Latour 1995; Latour 2005). Nor do I find Latour's proposal to symmetrically shape the activities of nature and society very convincing. For a brilliant critique of this concept, see Ingold 2008. For a study oriented to the social practices in the humanities, see Biernacki 2000.
24. Lefebvre 1991, 113. I will not go into Lefebvre's methodical approach here. See *AnArchitektur* 2002; Schmid 2005; Merrifield 2006.
25. On the current status of the humanities debate on space, see Döring and Thielmann 2008. The material and symbolic dimensions of space and nature are also discussed in landscape research: "Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package." Mitchell 1994, 5. See Gugerli and Speich 2002; Kaufmann 2005; Lekan and Zeller 2005; Backhaus et al. 2007; Küster 2009.
26. White 1999. See also Bender 2001; Taylor 2008; Kupper 2014. On translational history, see Conrad and Osterhammel 2004; on transnational environmental history, see Evans 2010. More information is to be found in the Web forum *geschichte.transnational* (<http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net>). The question of interconnections between geographical spaces was also investigated (albeit under slightly different circumstances) in the debate over comparison and transfer (Kaelble 2003), in which a number of alternative terms were proposed, including *Beziehungsgeschichte* (Osterhammel 2001), entangled history (Conrad and Randeria 2002), and *histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), none of which, however, has emerged a clear favorite (Gassert 2012). In these discussions, the prevailing question is the integration of geographically separate spaces; to date, overlapping spaces have attracted little interest. One appealing approach to the latter is Richard White's concept of "middle ground" (White 1991).
27. Revel 1996. The discussion was fueled in particular by the representatives of Italian microhistory. See Levi 1992; Ginzburg 1993. A major source of inspiration was Siegfried Kracauer's posthumously published book *History: The Last Things before the Last*, in which he advocates continually alternating perspective between "close-ups" and "long shots" (as in film). A competent introduction to the discussion is provided by Tanner 2004, 101–118.
28. On global and world history, see Manning 2003; Conrad et al. 2007; Osterhammel 2008. For a conventional universal history view, see Weber 2001. On the different research traditions behind the term, see Middell 2005. Global environmental history is still in its infancy. A pioneer in the area is Crosby 2004 (1st edition 1986). Krech et al. 2004 is helpful. Among the newer monographs, McNeill 2000, Radkau 2008, and Hughes 2009 all deserve mention. The anthology by Burke and Pomeranz 2009 attempts to bridge the gap between world and environmental history. For a synthesis of these and other works, see Marks 2010. Attempts to capture the global environmental movement include McCormick 1995, Guha 2000, and most recently Radkau 2011.
29. For example, Bayly 2004; Cooper 2005; Hopkins 2006; Conrad 2006. The mutual constitution of local and global spaces is also discussed under the term "glocalization" (Robertson 1995). The history of the US national parks was recently interpreted in this way. See Tyrrell 2012 and the contributions to the discussion therein by Astrid Swen-

- son, Paul S. Sutter, and Thomas R. Dunlap. See also the project National Parks Beyond the Nation: <http://nationalparksbeyondthenation.wordpress.com>.
30. Relevant works include Parolini 2012a; Bachmann 1999; Fritsche 2002. A good overview of the Swiss National Park is provided by the handbook article by Haller 2006. Other references are provided in the appropriate chapters.
 31. For example, Runte 1987; Carruthers 1995; Mels 1999, as well as the overviews by Adams 2004, Jones and Wills 2005, Sheail 2010. On international nature protection up to 1950, see Wöbse 2012a.
 32. Gissibl et al. 2012a.
 33. For a detailed listing, see the bibliography.
 34. Mirta Nicolay provided invaluable help in exploring and evaluating the Romansh sources.
 35. In response to my query, the IUCN stated that its archive is private. Moreover, all the manuscript collections were destroyed by fire several years ago (communication with the author). According to Holdgate, for reasons unknown, Jean Baer had already burned many IUCN records during the 1961 move from the organization's headquarters in Brussels to Switzerland. Holdgate 1999, 77.
 36. The interviews are listed in the bibliography.