

Dr. Anja Peleikis
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Postfach/PO Box 11 03 51
06017 Halle/Saale
Germany
peleikis@eth.mpg.de

**ASA Conference, 10th - 13th April 2007,
Thinking Through Tourism
London Metropolitan University
Panel: Roots Tourism
Convenor: Kevin Meethan**

Performing the Past: German "Roots Tourists" in Lithuania

"Some things you forget. Other things you never do. ... Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place – the picture of it – stays, and not just in my rememory but out there, in the world ... if you go there - you who never was there - if you go there and stand in the place where it was, it will happen again, it will be there for you, waiting for you".

Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (1987: 36)

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, German roots tourists have begun travelling to "the East" to visit the birthplaces they had fled or were expelled from at the end of World War II or in its aftermath. These places located in the regions of former East and West Prussia, in Silesia, Pomerania, Bohemia or Sudetenland, were part of the Soviet Union or the socialist states of Eastern and Central Europe during the Cold War. Since transformation, the newly independent or restructured countries have turned to "the West" and opened their borders to Western tourism.

Some places, such as Nida on the Baltic Sea in contemporary Lithuania, have become huge attractions and meeting points for roots tourists originating from all over former German East Prussia and beyond. Those who travel there are not merely German "roots tourists" in the narrow sense, i.e., those born or raised in Nida or the surrounding region, but also elderly Germans interested in the "German cultural heritage in the East". Some of these people had visited Nida as children before the Second World War, when Nidden was a well-known

tourist spot that attracted German artists and intellectuals as well as ordinary Germans seeking relaxation and tranquility (see Barfoot 2005, Grebing 2004: 110-129). Others had also heard about the rich, unspoiled landscape of the Spit and kept these images in their minds over the years. In fact, the uniqueness of the Curonian Spit, a narrow elongated peninsula separating the Curonian Lagoon from the Baltic Sea and often praised as an outstanding example of a landscape with giant sand dunes and long beaches, had survived fifty years of Soviet closure in the collective German memory. After Lithuania's independence these images were remobilized to draw Western tourists, including roots tourists from Germany.

In this paper I will focus on the question of what exactly draws these elderly Germans to places like Nida in Lithuania and of how they experience, make, perform and consume these places. How do Lithuanian tourist representatives relate to German roots tourists in search of German cultural heritage in present-day Lithuania?

I argue that to understand the phenomenon of "roots tourism" it is useful to combine theoretical approaches from the field of "memory, displacement and homecoming studies" with those from the anthropology of tourism. Drawing on the existing literature on "roots tourism", it becomes apparent that most of the authors locate the subject in the theoretical field of "memory, homecoming, or migration studies" (Basu 2001, 2005, 2007; Markowitz and Stefansson 2004, Hirsch and Spitzer 2003, Long and Oxfeld 2004, Coles and Timothy 2004). Only a few authors rely explicitly on the anthropology of tourism (see for example Bruner 1996, Schramm 2004). However, exploiting the broad field presented by the anthropology and sociology of tourism in order to understand "roots tourism" is not as yet advanced and needs further elaboration.

The English term "roots tourism", similar to the German word "*Heimattourismus*", (homeland tourism) or "*Heimwehtourismus*" (homesick tourism) brings the two dimensions at stake into play, i.e., "roots" and "tourism". People are motivated to travel to places where they believe they have "roots" and where their families are thought to have ultimately "originated" from. In some cases, as in my example of German World War II refugees or the example of Jewish refugees travelling from the United States or Israel to similar regions in Eastern Europe, people still have personal – nostalgic and traumatic – memories upon "homecoming".¹ In other cases, such as that of Afro-American roots tourism to West Africa or Euro-Americans travelling to Scotland or Ireland in search of their "roots", people rely on collective memory

¹ On the case of Jewish roots tourists travelling to their places of origin in Eastern Europe, see, for example, Hirsch and Spitzer (2006).

and history in a much larger time frame and beyond their personal memory.² However, these travellers in search of some kind of "roots" are tourists and convey social practices described as tourism. They move through space by car, plane or train and stay for periods of time in a place other than their place of residence for purposes not immediately associated with work (Urry 2002: 2-3).

Numerous studies in the field of tourism have shown that tourists travel with concrete images of the places they want to visit. They employ "tourist gazes", which are socially and historically constructed ways of seeing, imaging and relating to the tourist place and its local population (Urry 2002). Specific "tourist gazes" at certain places have been developed over long time spans and against a backdrop of given socio-historical contexts such as the Romantic movement or colonialism. Images and "gazes" became rearranged in the process and are transmitted from one tourist generation to another (see, for example, Tucker 2003: 23-46, Bertram 1995: 37-40).

Given this context I will show in the following how, on the one hand, German "roots tourists" in present-day Nida are "former inhabitants" of the place or the region, complete with memories and nostalgia related to the locality, but are at the same time modern Western tourists gazing at Nida, its natural surroundings, its history and its local population in a "tourist manner". Tourist images of the Curonian Spit have a long legacy that goes back to the first German travellers, such as the philosopher and diplomat Wilhelm von Humboldt, who "explored" and "described" the beauty and uniqueness of the Curonian Spit in 1809.³ These images and representations of the Spit have displayed amazing continuity over time and despite fundamental changes in the nation-state belonging of this area (East Prussia, Lithuania, Nazi Germany, Soviet Union, Lithuania).

Since the "rediscovery" of the region for Western tourists, both German and Lithuanian travel agencies and tourist managers have remobilized "tourist gazes" and effectively used them to market the Spit in the direction of roots tourists and other travellers. Although narratives of the past sometimes vary considerably in the tourist representations of German and Lithuanian tourist agents, the overall nostalgic portrayals are similar in their joint interest to attract

² On roots tourism to West Africa, see, for example, Bruner (1996), Schramm (2004) and Holsey (2004). On roots tourism to Scotland, see Basu (2001, 2005, 2007), and to Ireland, Legrand (2007).

³ Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) remarked: "The Curonian Spit is so extraordinary that you have to have seen it just as much as Spain or Italy if your soul is not to lack a wonderful image" (von Humboldt cit. in von Sydow 1909). (German original: "*Die Kurische Nehrung ist so merkwürdig, daß man sie eigentlich ebensogut wie Spanien und Italien gesehen haben muß, wenn einem nicht ein wunderbares Bild in der Seele fehlen soll.*")

prosperous tourists. It is my interest to demonstrate how the search for "roots and heritage" has led to commercialized "nostalgia tours" and commodifications of the past. However, before I turn to this point, let me describe and analyse the motivations of the "roots tourists" themselves and their experience. Focusing on those who were born and raised in Nidden before the Second World War, I will illustrate how the fact of being Western tourists affects their homecoming experience.

In Nida: Feeling, Sensing and Experiencing the Past

"Only the swallows always returned. We didn't", murmured eighty-year-old Hertha Schekahn, standing in front of her parents' house after an absence of fifty years. Absorbed in memories, she silently watched the birds building their nests at exactly the same spot under the roof as they had done when she was a girl. Suddenly she turned and called to her daughter Martina, who was busy taking photographs and videotaping the scene: "Look at this, Martina, here's the ash tree my brother planted almost sixty years ago, when he was twelve years old. It's still there and has grown into a big tree!" Seeing and touching the house she was born in so many years ago and looking at the scenery that appeared to be the same as what she saw, touched and smelled as a child seemed to catapult her emotionally into the past. In that instant she could feel and remember every single detail of that one summer day when her brother planted the tree.

Thus, visiting places after a very long time can trigger deep emotions and stir memories. Views, flavours, smells, textures and sounds "in place" can effectively mobilize internal images and memories closely related to the past in a specific location. In fact, the renewed presence in place can give substance and concreteness to emotions and narratives of the past. Accompanying her parents to their native village, which now belongs to present-day Ukraine, fifty years after they were forcefully expelled and deported, Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer formulate this experience as follows:

"The location authenticates the narrative, embodies it, makes it real to the point of threatening to re-engulf those who come to tell and to listen." (Hirsch and Spitzer 2006: 92)

And yet, as Hirsch and Spitzer make clear, "the traffic noises and the people around us, many of them watching as we videotaped our parents' testimony propelled us back into the present" (Hirsch and Spitzer 2006: 92). In fact, the past and the present, both time and space, are filled with suspense for "roots tourists" constantly moving between memories, emotions and images

of the past and their impressions and experience of the present. This spatial and temporal entanglement is also evident in Hertha Schekahn's behaviour. In 1990, she revisited Nidden for the first time in forty-five years and has returned almost every year since then. Each time her path follows the same pattern. She goes to her old house, the church, the cemetery, and to the countryside of Nida, to the dunes, the Lagoon and the Baltic Sea. She is particularly drawn to the cemetery, where she has rediscovered the grave of her grandparents and several other relatives. Like other former Nidders, she has begun to remake the crosses and planted new flowers. In a sense, revisiting the cemetery and looking after the graves allows people to symbolically reconnect to their ancestors and their own local past. The cemetery and the church are, in fact, the strongest symbols of their local lives and their pre-World War II history. Every time she comes to Nida, Hertha Schekahn walks across the cemetery – often with a friend from her schooldays. Since not all the graves have been reconstructed, they spend time trying to remember who was buried where. It seems as if by recalling the names of former Nidders they symbolically bridge the gap of sixty years. In the present-day narrative expressed on site at the Nida cemetery, the Nidders who had died previously and "stayed behind" and those who left become reconnected and woven anew into a reconciled, linear family genealogy.

I conclude that the opportunity to revisit these places, to confront and re-experience both traumatic and pleasant emotions and memories related to their former lives in this locality, and also to war, flight and displacement, has allowed the former inhabitants to re-adapt to their past and come to terms – at least partially – with their own fractured lives. Hertha Schekahn describes this experience as follows:

"Having repeatedly returned to Nidden for over fifteen years, year in year out, I have finally got rid of my fifty years of homesickness".

Hence, returning time and again to Nidden can imply the reworking of fifty years of nostalgic longing for the native village. Now when Hertha travels to Nida and walks through the cemetery, prays in the church or visits the Lithuanian family who live in her parents' old house, she rarely experiences strong emotions of the past. "I have become a normal tourist", she remarks, "now when I come, I am much more in the present. I enjoy the beach, the lagoon and the dunes just like other tourists do."

While "returning home" can mean to rework and let go of highly personal nostalgia, as we saw in the case of Hertha, I argue that returning to Nida can at the same time entail the

rediscovery, reaffirmation and reliving of nostalgic images created during the long Cold War period. In the following I will delineate how these nostalgic images intermingle with past and present-day nostalgia, mobilized and produced in the field of tourism.

Overlapping Forms of Nostalgia

Roots tourists come to Nida with distinct images and expectations of the Curonian Spit in mind and are filled with a haunting nostalgia. The word nostalgia implies a wistful longing for a lost home, combining as it does the two Greek words "*nostos*", to return home, and "*algia*", a painful feeling or longing (Boym 2001: XIII). It was first described in a Swiss medical thesis in 1688 and for almost two centuries considered to be a debilitating affliction, initially identified in exiles and displaced soldiers longing for home (see Hirsch and Spitzer 2006: 82). Although the interest in nostalgia as a medical phenomenon had waned by the mid-nineteenth century, its link with absence or removal from home has continued to characterize the term up to now. Still, the meaning of nostalgia broadened over the years to encompass the sense of "loss of an irretrievable youth" and a "yearning for the good old days" (Boym 2002, Hirsch and Spitzer 2006: 82).

During the Cold War many former Nidden inhabitants developed strong feelings of nostalgia for their native home. When they arrived in Germany as refugees and exiles, they were forced to cope with displacement, the loss of their home localities, and with poverty and general insecurity in an environment that tended to be hostile to newcomers from the East. While the refugees themselves had hoped to return home in the late 1940s and 1950s, East Prussia, the Curonian Spit and their village of origin gradually began to disappear behind the Iron Curtain. Hence, the locality of their childhood and their youth became a distant, idealized place that was out of reach, an emotional landscape and projection site for the need to feel rooted and at home. For these refugees, their place of origin – albeit imagined from a distance – became a fixed point of reference and identification, and provided an imagined stability in times of change, movement and insecurity.

For the case of Nidden, I argue that when the former inhabitants nostalgically remade their village, they reverted to older nostalgic narratives of the place. During the Cold War their longing was therefore frequently expressed in and triggered by pictures, photographs, poems and books that were produced at the beginning of the century as nostalgic "tourist gazes". They were produced by German tourists, artists and intellectuals who had begun to travel to

the Spit at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, attracted by the impressive landscape of dunes and beaches and the lagoon, as well as by the local fishing population. In this context, the small fishing village of Nidden became a magnet for well-known German painters like Lovis Corinth, Schmidt-Rotluff, Pechstein, Birnstengel and many others, who made up the "Niddener artist's colony" (see Barfood 2005, Ehlermann-Mollenhauer 1992). At the time, more and more European painters were leaving their urban studios to seek out small, rural locations, where they worked in the open air and formed artist colonies (Wietek 1976, Pese 2001, Barfood 2005) They were fascinated by the local inhabitants, peasants and fishermen, who in their view represented the unity of man and nature and were untouched by "progress" (Albert 2002: 42-43). In the same manner, artists were fascinated by the remoteness of the landscape, which provided them with a wealth of picturesque subjects and an opportunity to escape the pressures of urban life. One could say that they were influenced by the Romantic movement that developed in the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was defined as the "cultural reaction to and a critique of modern capitalist industrial civilisation" (Wang 2000: 86). Likewise, this movement had a significant effect on tourism. It influenced how travellers viewed and described the places, people and scenery they had seen. Nidden artists expressed this nostalgic worldview in their works, projecting it onto the local fishery population, whom they presented as the exotic, romantic Other. Thus, photographs, postcards, writings and paintings in the first half of the twentieth century frequently depicted the village of Nidden and its natural surroundings in a colourful, folkloric and particularly nostalgic manner. Likewise, nostalgia products were well-known in the expanding tourist economy of the time, serving as souvenirs and memory markers for tourists when their holidays were over.

Against this background, I argue that the "old Niddener", the fishermen and women of the past who were once the object of exotic place-making, appropriated this "tourist view" following their flight and displacement. Nidden, a place of toil and hardship in the fishing industry prior to the World War II became a picturesque village in their minds, a place of endless nostalgic longing. Pictures and photographs created through a pre-war nostalgic lens were reproduced and sold in books that targeted refugees in post-war times. These books, postcards, pictures, calendars and other nostalgic items were sold, for example, in

Heimatvertriebenen (expellee organizations) or village gatherings and to this day decorate the homes of the former refugees.⁴

The *Heimat* books not only circulated among the former inhabitants but also among those who had travelled to the Spit prior to World War II. Hence, the nostalgic longing for the "past" originally produced by painters and intellectuals in the first part of the twentieth century intermingled with the personal nostalgia of the former inhabitants who became refugees and a general nostalgia for German cultural heritage in the East. Images, pictures and emotions attributed to the Curonian Spit were passed on in the process and survived despite and probably because of the closure for forty-five years during the Cold War.

The Commercial Making of Nostalgia

The fall of the Iron Curtain and new travel openings gave the former inhabitants the opportunity to revisit their home village, and to see, touch and smell the places they had kept alive for so long in their minds – although they had no doubt that their village had taken on a different image in the course of time. Many of them, however, were enchanted by present-day Nida, unlike the reaction to other places in former East Prussia, especially the region of Kaliningrad Oblast, which presented "roots tourists" first and foremost with a picture of destruction and change. The old Niddeners arrive with images of the past and are impressed when they see the dunes, the Baltic Sea and the Curonian Lagoon – despite the changes and many years of absence. Although the dunes are not as high as before and the lagoon not as clean as it used to be, what they see does not prevent them from projecting romantic, aesthetic and nostalgic feelings and images onto the Curonian Spit's natural landscape.⁵

The romantic gaze at nature, developed and reproduced by tourists and artists for centuries, taken up and reworked by German refugees during the Cold War, is mobilized and relived by "roots tourists" on their return. This wistfulness in relation to nature can be lived and experienced in present-day Nida.

"The cult of the primitive", the "cult of nature" and the "cult of history" have been described as three manifestations of romanticism expressed in tourism (Mumford cit. in Wang 2000: 87). Up to now this has been the motivating force for tourists travelling all over the world –

⁴ On the interpretation of homeland discourses in the case of Sudeten German expellees, see, for example, Svašek (2002).

⁵ Ironically, this was also due to the fact that the Spit became a heavily guarded military zone during the Soviet era.

the search for the "simple life close to nature", projected upon the Masai in Kenya, the Zulu in South Africa, the Aborigines in Australia, the Maori in New Zealand or indeed any other ethnic group believed to be "close to nature". Hence, nostalgia for the simple life, for a happy past and for nature that is untouched is still a driving force for millions of tourists all over the world. They carry mental images with them of the "simple people" as described in travel magazines, books and television programmes, and transmitted from one generation of travellers to the next. In this sense, nostalgic and romantic images of the Curonian Spit have been transmitted from one tourist generation to the other. It is interesting to note – without going into further detail here – that this passing on of "romantic and nostalgic tourist gazes" not only occurs in relation to Germans. In the Soviet era, images of romantic, untouched nature and the simple life of the Curonian ethnic group attracted Soviet tourists in a similar manner.

On the one hand, therefore, tourists travel with distinct images of a specific place, while at the same time tourist managers are involved in making these places and representing them so that they correlate to tourist images and expectations. In fact, in the Curonian Spit and elsewhere tourist managers have picked up on this deep tourist interest in the past and the "history, heritage and nostalgia tourism" industry booms (Lowenthal 1993 [1985], Cameron and Gatewood 2000). Some of the most unlikely places in the world have become centres of a heritage-based tourist development, and several private initiatives have developed new and at times highly peculiar ways of representing history and commodifying the past in novel forms, such as heritage centres (Urry 2002).

In the course of the transformation process from Soviet to Western-oriented capitalist tourism, Lithuanian tourist managers and German travel agencies acknowledged this tourist interest in the past, and invented and marketed specific tourist events and excursions to meet their needs. One German travel agent, for example, initiated regular folklore evenings. He brought various Lithuanian musicians and singers together and called the band "*Memelländer Musikanten*" (Memelland Minstrels). Since the region was known as "Memelland" prior to World War II, the name instantly evokes associations with the past. The Lithuanian group performs for roots tourists in hotels and restaurants. German *Heimat* songs such as the East Prussian hymn "The Land of the Dark Forests" ("*Land der dunklen Wälder*") and Lithuanian folk songs and folklore performances belong to the repertoire through which a nation-spanning nostalgia for the "good old days" is mobilized.

Another successful tourist event are the organised trips across the lagoon to visit the village of Minge and meet Elsa Schukies, referred to in tourist brochures as "*Oma Minge*" (Granny Minge). She and her husband are of German origin and remained in the region during the Soviet period. They have become key symbols of the past for the curious "roots tourists". Every day boatloads of German tourists arrive, all of them eager to visit the old woman in her garden. The way Elsa Schukies speaks and her simple lifestyle conjure up emotional memories in Western tourists:

"She talks exactly like my grandmother, that typical East Prussian dialect, and her garden looks just like my grandmother's with those beautiful hollyhocks and that mallow," exclaimed a German woman with excitement.

The trips are not only frequented by roots tourists who are not originally from Nidden but also by the former inhabitants themselves. Hertha Schekahn, for example, goes on these tours with her children and grandchildren and becomes a tourist herself. She gazes at places and landscapes, she photographs, videotapes, and purchases souvenirs just like other tourists. During the trip across the lagoon she would occasionally stop looking at the birds and begin to tell stories of the past. Other roots tourists followed suit, while the younger generation and tourists "without memories" listened intently. It seemed as if Hertha had taken over the role of a tour guide, leading the tourists into the past. At the end of the day all of the participants were happy and content. Hertha, because she was able to show her children and grandchildren the beauty of her *Heimat*. And the latter enjoyed the sunny, relaxing day on the lagoon – far from work and daily life in Germany but at the same time having learnt something about their family past. The Lithuanian boat owner was more than satisfied, as the trip brought in more money than his former fishing job could possibly have done, and Elsa Schukies was pleased with the money the tourists put in her piggybank. She needed it urgently to repair the roof of her house.

The production of "places of nostalgia" is also the business of Grazina. The forty-year-old Lithuanian woman born in Nida and her husband run a successful little guesthouse, which was primarily booked in the 1990s by German roots tourists. Many of them come back every year and enjoy the company of other roots tourists. In the evenings they sit and drink Lithuanian beer and Russian vodka, exchanging memories of the past, of local life, and of flight and expulsion. Interestingly, they do this in the same way other tourists exchange holiday experiences with tourist acquaintances. Grazina often sits with them, plays the

accordion and sings a German or Lithuanian folk song. Since Memelland had a shared German-Lithuanian song repertoire, some of the roots tourists know the old songs Grazina sings. I argue that with her personality and sense of business, Grazina creates a certain atmosphere of cosiness that conjures up feelings of nostalgia and *Heimat* in these roots tourists. Further I suggest that Grazina's own nostalgia to a pre-Soviet time and the nostalgia of German roots tourists intermingle during these events. The old Lithuanian songs remind Grazina of her parents and grandparents who also grew up in the Memelland and often told her stories of the pre-Soviet times.

Generally speaking, I suggest that the German roots tourists' nostalgia for the past of this tourist spot and the Lithuanian nostalgia for a pre-Soviet past intermingles easily and gets combined in the German-Lithuanian tourist interface. Fifty years of Soviet occupation, deportation, national repression and persecution weighs heavily on the collective Lithuanian memory and can evoke hate and suspiciousness also towards present-day Russian tourists. When the local Lithuanians as well as tourist representatives on the other hand, have realized that the Germans have returned as "roots tourists" to glance at their own personal past and not interested in materially reappropriating their former property, they have generally welcome them as what they are first and foremost: as well-off Western tourists.

Concluding Remarks

The three examples presented in the last paragraph, namely the invention of the band "*Memelländer Musikanten*", the "trip across the lagoon" and "Grazina's guesthouse for roots tourists" have demonstrated how tourist agents professionally and commercially create events, places, and atmospheres that trigger nostalgic feelings for the past. Similarly, places which once represented the former inhabitants' every day life, like the – now newly renovated or restored - fisherhouses, the church and the cemetery or former "tourist places" like Thomas Mann's summer house⁶ have become famous tourist sites to glimpse at and imagine "the past". Arguing with Dean MacCannell (1989 [1979]) I suggest that these places have become "markers" for similar as well as differing tourist interpretations, experiences and practices. For many German roots tourists these renovated houses, churches and cemeteries are general expressions of the "German heritage in the East", while for the Lithuanian tourists these

⁶ The German writer and Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann visited Nidden for the first time in 1929. In 1930 his summer house was built, in which he spent three summers with his family. Today the house is the most visited museum in Lithuania with up to 500 visitors per day during the summer months.

places are expressions of a pre-Soviet Lithuanian past.⁷ The political and social complexities of this borderland area in the first half of the 20th century are difficult to grasp for many German and Lithuanian tourists. Moreover, official explanations by the Lithuanian tourist representatives are often scarce, contradictory and leave broad spaces for a multitude of interpretations. I suggest that most of the tourists who come to Nida are actually not interested in historical accuracy, but rather in personal experiences of places and spaces which reproduce nostalgic images and gazes on the places' past. Nida offers this, in fact, for German "roots tourists" as well as for Lithuanian beach tourists. Thus, Nidden/Nida remains an imagined "tourist dream" produced and verified over time and space despite fundamental changes to the region. In fact, this nostalgic "tourist dream" has also become a reality for many former inhabitants as I have shown with the case of Hertha Schekahn at the beginning of my paper. Returning to her village of origin allowed her to rework personal feelings of nostalgia and partially relinquish them, while at the same time she has become a tourist, gazing at the place through a tourist lens and reproducing nostalgic images in this process. My original question was what ultimately draws "roots tourists" to places like Nida. The various examples in my paper have shown that the answer lies in the conjuncture of longing to return to a personal or imagined national past and of satisfying common tourist desires. What roots tourists undergo in Nida is, in fact, the perpetual merging of personal and tourist experiences.

Bibliography

Albert Andreas, Kulturzentrum Ostpreußen, Neue Chemnitzer Kunsthütte. 2002. *Ostseebilder. Georg Gelbke, Richard Birnstengel. Motive der kurischen Nehrung*. Husum: Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft.

Barfood, Jörn (2005) Nidden. Künstlerkolonie auf der Kurischen Nehrung. Fischerhude: Atelier im Bauernhaus.

Basu, Paul (2001) Hunting Down Home: Reflections on Homeland and the Search for Identity in the Scottish Diaspora. In: Bender, Barbara and Margot Winder (eds.) *Contested Landscapes. Movement, Exile and Place*. Oxford, New York: Berg: 333-348.

⁷ On the making of nationalised heritage discourses see Peleikis 2005 and 2006.

Basu, Paul (2005) *Roots Tourism as Return Movement: Semantics and the Scottish Diaspora*. In: Harper, Marjory (ed.) *Emigrant homecomings: the Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*. Manchester: Manchester University Press: 131-151.

Basu, Paul (2007) *Highland Homecoming: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*. London: UCL.

Basu, Paul (2004) *Route Metaphors of 'Roots-Tourism' in the Scottish Highland Diaspora*. In: Coleman, Simon and John Eade (eds.) *Reframing Pilgrimage. Cultures in Motion*. London and New York: Routledge: 150-174.

Bertram, Jutta (1995) *"Arm, aber glücklich..." Wahrnehmungsmuster im Ferntourismus und ihr Beitrag zum (Miß-)Verstehen der Fremde(n)*. Münster, Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

Bruner, Edward M. (1996) *Tourism in Ghana. The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora*. In: *American Anthropologist* 98 (2): 290-304.

Boym, Svetlana (2001) *The future of nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Cameron, Catherine M. and John B. Gatewood (2000) *Excursions into the Unremembered Past: What People Want from Visits to Historical Sites*. In: *Public Historian*, Vol. 22, 3: 107-127.

Coles, Tim and Dallen J. Timothy (2004) *Tourism, Diasporas and Space* (eds.) London and New York: Routledge.

Grebing, Helga (2004) *Die Worringers. Bildungsbürgerlichkeit als Lebenssinn - Wilhelm und Marta Worringer (1881-1965)*. Berlin: Parthas Verlag.

Hirsch, Marianne and Leo Spitzer (2006) *"We would not have come without you" Generations of nostalgia*. In: Hodgkin, Katharine, Susannah Radstone (eds.) *Memory, History, Nation*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers: 79-95.

Holsey, Bayo (2004) *Transatlantic Dreaming: Slavery, Tourism and Diasporic Encounters*. In: Markowitz, Fran and Anders H. Stefansson (eds.) *Homecomings. Unsettling Paths of Return*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books: 166-198

Legrand, Caroline (2007) *The marketing of roots tourism and its social implications in Ireland*. ASA Conference "Thinking Through Tourism", Panel "Roots Tourism", e-paper, <http://www.nomadit.co.uk/asa/asa07/panels.php5?PanelID=206>.

Long, Lynellyn D. and Ellen Oxfeld (eds.) (2004) *Coming Home? Refugees, Migrants, and Those who stayed behind*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lowenthal, David (2003 [1985]) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- MacCannell, Dean (1989 [1976]) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books
- Markowitz, Fran and Anders H. Stefansson (2004) *Homecomings. Unsettling Paths of Return*. Lanhan, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books.
- Morrison, Toni (1987) *Beloved*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Ehlermann-Mollenhauer, Maja. 1992. *Ernst Mollenhauer. Ein Expressionist aus Ostpreußen*. Heidelberg: Edition Braus.
- Pese Claus: 2001. *Künstlerkolonien in Europa - "Im Zeichen der Ebene und des Himmels"*. Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum.
- Peleikis, Anja (2006) Whose Heritage? Legal Pluralism and the Politics of the Past. A Case Study. In: *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*. Nrs. 53/54: 209-237.
- Peleikis, Anja (2005) Tourism and the Making of Cultural Heritage: The Case of Nida/Curonian Spit, Lithuania. Unpublished Paper, given at the Conference "Defining Region: Baltic Area Studies from Sociocultural Anthropology and Interdisciplinary Perspectives", May 2005, Klaipeda University, organized by Rimantas Szliusinskas and Vytis Ciubrinskas, Klaipeda, Lithuania.
- Schramm, Katharina (2004) Coming home to the Motherland: Pilgrimage Tourism in Ghana. In Coleman, Simon and John Eade (eds.) *Reframing Pilgrimage. Cultures in Motion*. London and New York: Routledge: 133-149.
- Svašek, Maruška (2002) 'Narratives of "Home" and "Homeland" The Symbolic Construction and Appropriation of the Sudeten German *Heimat*'. In: *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 9: 495-518.
- von Sydow, Anna (ed) (1909) *Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen*. Vol. 3, Briefe aus Rom und Berlin-Königsberg 1808-1810. Berlin: Mittler.
- Tucker, Hazel (2003) *Living with Tourism. Negotiating identities in a Turkish village*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Urry, John (2002) [1990] *The Tourist Gaze*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- Wang, Ning (2000) *Tourism and Modernity. A Sociological Analysis*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Wietek, Gerhard. 1976. *Deutsche Künstlerkolonien und Künstlerorte*. München: Verlag Thiemig.