

Primitivists believed that human's happiness and wellbeing decreased in direct proportion to his degree of civilization. They idealized either contemporary cultures nearer to savagery or a previous age in which they believed all men led a simpler and better existence (Nash 2001 [1969]: 44, 47).

Along this line of thought, Hans Ester wrote that one of the benefits of Romanticism was 'that nature was no longer seen as a self-sustaining mechanism, but as an animate organism that appeals to the feelings of humans' (2012: 12). The appreciation of nature in our present century and 'the fear that vital nature values will perish through rampant consumerism can be traced back to the profound feelings of the Romanticists' (2012: 12). He therefore stressed that Romanticism had a strong religious orientation, and that the emphasis on emotion was not so much a sentimental impulse but an expression of trust in the truth of feeling. True feeling is 'a pure response to the appeal that the divine generates in humans' (2012: 12). Such Romanticist feelings are a source of religion, however much 'The sentimental, romantic attitude with which "romantic" is associated nowadays is a degeneration of the original profundity of the romantic sense of life' (2012: 13).

Theorizing Views of Nature

It is impossible to discuss nature in a timeless way and in general terms. In every cultural-historical period people talk about 'nature', but always in a different way (Roothaan 2005).¹⁵ Views of nature are therefore historically situated; Schouten, for example, considered views of nature as cultural phenomena: 'In the way nature constantly brings forth new life and new forms, culture, too, constantly creates new views of nature. In doing so, the variation in perceptions, ideas and views seems hardly inferior to the richness of forms in nature itself' (2005: 9).

enlisting aesthetics on wilderness's behalf while deism linked nature and religion. Combined with the primitivistic idealization of a life closer to nature, these ideas fed the Romantic movement, which had far-reaching implications for wilderness' (2001 [1969]: 44).

15. Angela Roothaan (2005) distinguished in this regard three main periods in Western history. Starting with the pre-modern period (which centered on the experience of the divine order; god is present in nature or the cosmos is created by God), we have moved through the modern period (in which nature functioned according to mathematical laws and was considered to be a neutral object of study) into the postmodern period (in which nature is not neutral but has its own more or less constructed intrinsic value).

The multiformity of nature—the ‘many faces of nature’, as McGrath (2001) and Van Koppen (2002) significantly put it—is a reflection of the diversity of lifestyles and life views. Different social interests and different individual lifestyles, wishes, and desires are projected onto nature (Drenthen 2003). McGrath argued that the way in which nature is conceptualized in various cultures provides insights both into these cultures and into the concepts themselves. Accordingly, the ‘instability’ of the concept of nature illustrates why nature has no fixed references but is defined by communities of discourse (2001: 103). In other words, we need communication to gain an understanding of nature. But each description or conception of nature reflects ‘a complex amalgam of religious beliefs, popular sentiment and the vestiges of a classical culture’ (2001: 103). The qualification of something as ‘nature’ always implies a particular view of nature. Such a perspective does not so much provide information *about* nature as shows how we perceive ourselves *in relation to* nature (Schouten 2005). Or as Lynn Ross-Bryant argued, ‘Nature... grows out of our world view and shapes our ways of acting in the world’ (2013: 4). In other words, views of nature can be seen as articulations of our worldview.¹⁶ In the following, we will further elaborate on this aspect by approaching views of nature as frames.

Views of Nature as Frames

Keulartz, van der Windt, and Swart (2004) considered views of nature as socio-cultural constructs regarding the character (cognitive dimension), value (normative dimension), and appreciation (expressive dimension) of nature. The cognitive dimension pertains to knowledge of nature. The normative dimension refers to our relationship with nature and the moral status we ascribe to nature. It also pertains to the ethical criteria regarding our relationship with nature. Finally, the expressive dimension concerns the way we experience nature aesthetically and emotionally. Table 2 connects the three major views of nature in Dutch nature policy with the cognitive (ecological theory), normative (ethical perspective), and expressive (aesthetic perspective) dimensions.

16. For David Naugle, ‘world views are undoubtedly contextual phenomena enabling people to see things and make connections’ (2002: 150). Worldviews define the person and provide humans with ‘fundamental assumptions upon which a life is based’ (2002: 291). Naugle said that a worldview is ‘the primary system of narrative signs that articulate a vision of reality and lie at the base of individual and collective life [and] is the most significant set of presuppositions on the basis of which interpretation operates’ (2002: 313). He came to the conclusion that any interpretation of the social and natural world is conditioned by worldviews, including our interpretation of and relation to nature.

Table 2. Views of nature classified according to their cognitive, normative, and expressive dimensions.

	<i>Ecological Theory</i>	<i>Ethical Perspective</i>	<i>Aesthetic Perspective</i>
<i>Wild nature</i>	Systems ecology	Ecocentric	Objectivist
<i>Arcadian nature</i>	Community ecology	Steward/Partner	Subjectivist
<i>Functional nature</i>	Production ecology	Anthropocentric	Formalist

Source: Keulartz, van der Windt, and Swart (2004: 93)

With the above points in mind, we conclude that views of nature tell us how we perceive and want to relate to it. Such views similarly organize our preferences for certain types of nature.¹⁷ Therefore, the literature justly indicates views of nature as frames of reference on the basis of which preferences of nature are formed, and as interpretive frameworks by which experiences with nature gain meaning (Keulartz, van der Windt, and Swart 2002; Buijs, Elands, and Langers 2009).

Frames lead people's thoughts and discourses by presenting the world in a particular way and attributing meaning to human experience. In other words, it is through frames that people are able to make sense of the world, and experiences become meaningful. We frame nature through visual representations as well as through the language we use to describe it (Fig. 1). Such framing entails an interplay between surface frames and deep frames (e.g., Lakoff 2006).

17. Views of nature have a clear relationship with landscape preferences. However, 'an important difference between images of nature and landscape preferences is that images of nature are cognitions about nature (e.g., general values and beliefs). Landscape preferences are usually conceived of as predominantly based on precognitive, affective responses to the physical environment, related to feelings of liking or disliking. They are often defined as the aesthetic or evaluative response elicited by visual encounters with real or simulated natural settings' (Buijs, Elands, and Langers 2009: 114). Furthermore, Buijs, Elands, and Langers noted that 'images of nature have significant power to predict preferences for non-urban landscapes. People with a functional or an inclusive image of nature showed lower relative preferences for natural landscapes, while people with a wilderness image showed a higher relative preference for natural landscapes' (2009: 121).

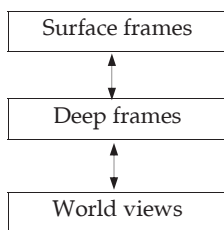


Figure 1. Interplay between frames.

Surface frames function at the level of our daily language. For example, the words ‘dark forest’ first of all have a descriptive meaning for a certain type of woodland and ‘wilderness’ refers to a rugged place. Through their immediate meaning, surface frames identify the context of the discourse. However, these surface frames appeal to underlying values and convictions that can be communicated in deep frames and ground our daily language in our normative convictions regarding the world and our lives.

Deep frames articulate our worldviews and hence are more fundamental than surface frames. The frame ‘dark forest’ is, for instance, associated with feelings of fascination, fear, initiation into a numinous reality, and so forth. Moreover, the frame ‘wilderness’ has (in the present discourse on nature in the Netherlands) mostly the connotation of pristine and ‘real’ nature—nature as it originally was before it was affected by humans. Deep frames provide the background we need to interpret something as meaningful. In doing so deep frames provide an interpretive context for our experiences of nature.

Meaningful Experiences

Experiencing nature as meaningful can influence one’s view of it. Buijs, Elands, and Langers spoke of views of nature as ‘cognitive reflections of prior experiences with discourses about nature’ (2009: 144). Martin Drenthen (2002: 78) likewise suggested that our different interpretations of nature are responses to appealing experiences in nature. For Drenthen, nature presents a *pretense* of meaning, something that captures our attention, however unconsciously. For this reason, we argue that meaningful experiences *precede* views of nature, which are (theoretical) interpretations of experiences that we acquire in nature.¹⁸ At the same

18. This involves some form of interaction: when dealing with such experiences we are directed by our worldviews and at the same time our worldviews are influenced by our experiences, emphasizing the relationship between views of nature and worldviews.

time, experiences often *acquire* meaning from people's views of nature. A circular relationship therefore exists between meaningful experiences and views of nature (Fig. 2).

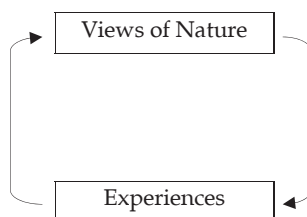


Figure 2. Interplay between views of nature and experiences.

Experiences are often personal and depend on the location.¹⁹ This makes them difficult to define and examine. Often they cannot be reproduced and are not easily verified. Because experiences are difficult to measure, they must be disclosed through communication. Although the meaning lies in the experience itself, the meaning may only become explicit when it is verbally expressed. When our experiences of nature and our life stories are dialogically connected, nature acquires deeper meaning (Drenthen 2011). It is in communication with others that we articulate our experiences and integrate them into the stories of our lives. To wit:

People always tell stories about [themselves] to an audience, even if that audience is only imaginary—embedded in a relationship and in order to render their storied-selves intelligible, people must draw on narrative resources that circulate more broadly within society—embedded in a social context... People do not tell stories in a vacuum. They learn what types of plots can be told in particular contexts by being exposed to other stories. The plotlines available in any culture or institutional context can be understood as narrative resources (Willis 2011: 93, 101).

In this passage Willis shows that to be processed, experiences need a supporting narrative—in terms of this article, a deep frame—not only to interpret experiences but also to place them within the socio-cultural

19. Although experiences are personal, it remains to be seen if one can speak of purely individual experiences. Some experiences are enhanced by the feeling that they are shared, such as watching a football game together. There are also certain emotions that some can only experience in solidarity with others, such as feelings of comfort and security. What may be considered as an individual experience at first sight is strongly influenced or enhanced by socio-cultural elements (C. Taylor 2003). Experiences may seem available separately, but they should not be considered independently.

tradition to which one belongs. Apart from orientation, the supporting narrative (= deep frame) offers direction because it contains assumptions about how reality is or ought to be (= worldview).²⁰ Charles Taylor (1991) argued, for example, that humans are not simply autonomous individuals but have always been part of a cultural tradition that provides orientation and direction in life and is not only cognitive, but also evaluative.²¹ In addition, we derive our expressions and our words from tradition. Language is not mine alone; it was not invented by me, and it shapes or frames me. As Taylor put it:

Experiences require some vocabulary, and these are inevitably in large part handed to us in the first place by our society, whatever transformations we may ring on them later. The ideas, the understanding with which we live our lives, shape directly what we could call religious experience; and these languages, these vocabularies, are never those simply of an individual (C. Taylor 2003: 40).

Here Taylor suggested that meaningful experiences in nature are felt collectively and often have a spiritual or religious depth dimension. Or as Joseph Champ noted, nature is a source of 'deeply meaningful experiences one might call religious or spiritual' (2009: 226).²²

20. Some experiences can occur only if one has embraced a specific narrative. The same applies to the relationship between experiences and deep frames. These are dynamically involved with each other: they influence and correct each other. This is certainly true when we talk about experiences in nature. Nature provides us with experiences, and deep frames may function as a meaningful framework to interpret these experiences. On the other hand, a deep frame can shape certain experiences.

21. As human beings we need evaluative or moral horizons, or to quote Charles Taylor, 'frameworks of understanding', in order to relate to the world in which we are living (1989: 26). We need a shared moral space to distinguish between good and evil, on matters that are or are not worthwhile, interesting, or trivial.

22. On this topic Champ wrote, 'We are re-examining the way we have imagined meaning to happen in culture, opening the door for new possibilities, such as the realization that the influence of institutional religion is often important, but not always the only meaningful source in the public sphere' (2009: 237). Based on some other authors, Ross-Bryant spoke about three 'symbolic centers which have oriented people' in Western history: 'God, humanity and nature' (2013: 3). The process of orienting she denoted as religion: 'We can describe religion as the process of orienting self in community and world, establishing through negotiation how a community lives together in light of a larger purpose or meaning' (2013: 3-4). Bron Taylor remarked that the term 'spirituality' is nowadays replacing the word 'religion' more and more when referring to that which affects us at the deepest level. He pointed out that 'this usage has drawn the increasing attention of scholars, who seek to define the various meanings of spirituality and understand the perceptions and experiences that have led to the increasing popularity of this term' (B. Taylor 2001: 175).

*Religious Depth Dimension*²³

Several authors have noted that there is a religious revival going on in what Jeremy Stolow (2005) called 'secular modernity'. We live in a time that, to some, what was supposed to be secular has become sacred and what was traditionally associated with the sacred has been secularized (Hoover 1997). In the wake of modernity, religion did not disappear, but took a different shape and form: this 'new visibility of religion should not be taken to signal something entirely new, but rather to potentially reveal previously disguised aspects of religion' (Meyer 2012: 6).²⁴

Authors including Stewart Hoover (2002, 2006) and Piet Winkelaar (2005) have concluded that religion must not only be interpreted in terms of institutions, doctrines, and structures. Hoover (1997) characterized current religiosity as 'doing' instead of 'belonging'. He observed that at the center of this 'doing' type of religiosity is the human as a seeking, questing, autonomous self.²⁵ According to Hoover (2002), the present forms of religion focus more on the expressed and the experienced than on the ascribed. Along this line of thought, Stolow commented, 'It seems no longer possible to contain religion within the confines of "traditional" social logics of institutional loyalty, the performative demands of face-to-face interaction, the controlled circulation of sacred texts, or the localized boundaries of "ritual time"' (2005: 122-23).

As he examined the roots of religion in the context of contemporary understandings, Bron Taylor (2010) came to the conclusion that religion has to do with that which connects and binds people to what they value most and consider or experience as sacred (see also B. Taylor 2001, 2004). An example of this can be found in this statement in *Roots Magazine*:

23. It is not the intention of this article to comment on what religion substantially is or is not. Rather, we seek ways to express what Liliane Voye called implicit religion, which 'refers to those aspects of ordinary life which seem to contain an inherently religious element within them—whether or not they are expressed in ways that are traditionally described as "religious"' (2004: 202). Ross-Bryant spoke of 'religion of everyday life' or 'lived religion' and observed that this 'will always be situated or contextualized, will always be dynamic, and will never be without ambiguities' (2013: 4).

3. In this context, Birgit Meyer's approach is interesting. She argued for a so-called 'post-secular' perspective 'that no longer takes secularization as the standard intrinsic to modernity, being alert instead to the specific ways in which the concept, role and place of religion—and its study—have been redefined with the rise of secularity' (2012: 6).

25. Hoover argued that traditional movements are becoming a smaller factor in contemporary religious practice and that 'in contemporary life, the ways of being religious have moved out of the protected sphere of religious institution and tradition, and into the open ground of the symbolic marketplace' (1997: 4).

Michelangelo's portrayal of The Creation of Adam, of God and Adam reaching out to one another on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel is famous the world over. Moments like that—of reaching out and finding one another—are the best. Very rarely will you have such an experience in nature. Practically every nature lover will have a vivid recollection of having become one with nature. Call it magical, call it divine (*Roots Magazine* 2013, Issue 10: 3).

Authors such as Hoover (2002, 2006) and Winkelaar (2005) argued that organized forms of religion no longer have a monopoly on religious experiences. Joke Van Saane (2002) held that religious experiences occur in situations in which humans are confronted with something or someone completely different that transcends everyday life and the perceptible reality. Alternately said, 'In the encounter with humans, nature becomes a source of imagination and can convey non-objective perceptible realities' (Waaajman 1994: 20). What is real and visible evokes thoughts and feelings 'which are not associated as much with that visible reality but rather with what is referred to' (Van Saane 2002: 49). The visible becomes a symbol, the visible refers to the invisible (Van Saane 2002). In this sense, religion becomes the practice of making the invisible visible through 'multiple media for materializing the sacred' (Orsi in Meyer 2012: 24), a bridge to make the absent visible, a possibility to connect 'there' to 'here'.²⁶ Religion provides the content or 'material'—for example, words, symbols, and rites—to interpret meaningful experiences in nature.

Religious Subtexts

The question arises as to what exactly these religious elements are and how they resonate in the discourse about nature, *viz.* communication of NGOs as well as in Dutch government policy on nature. The first salient fact is that both policy and the broader discourse appeal to an escape from daily life, as illustrated below:

Everyone needs to get away from the grind of everyday life, don't they? So why not take a trip and discover an island of tranquility, space and distant horizons (*Natuurmonumenten* 2012: n.p.).

Looking to enjoy the tranquility of the starry night sky? Then the island of *Tiengemeten* is the perfect place for you. Nature has been allowed to run its free course over the last few years. Tranquility and open spaces characterize the island, leaving the bustle of the *Randstad* far away.

26. Meyer (2012) approaches religion as a mediation practice through which a reality is created that is perceived and experienced as real. Her emphasis on mediation practice implies the need for what she calls material forms that can bring about this reality. For Meyer, the senses are the most religious instruments by far.

Tiengemeten is a popular location for day trippers looking for a relaxing day out. But you can only really unwind once on a lengthier stay... Leave behind the fast-track life of the city and come to rest. Spend the night on an uninhabited island, watch the sun rise over the *Haringoliet*, take a twilight walk while the birds float down to search for a nesting place. Take in the night sky as you've seldom seen it (*VVV Zuid Holland Zuid* 2012).

Often some sort of promise is made: recharge, find yourself, purify, come back reborn, a new world, and such:

The nature island in the *Haringoliet* is the place to recharge... The ferry voyage already gives you a sense of shedding the pressure of everyday life. And once you disembark on *Tiengemeten*, you're setting foot on a new world (*Natuurmonumenten* 2011: 20).

A network to end the fragmentation of nature. Its goal being to repair biodiversity and to create a stunning green environment for recreation, relaxation, a place to retreat from the humdrum of daily life in the urban jungle and find ourselves, to recharge and get on with it. Literally, to re-create (*Nationaal GroenFonds* 2010: 7).

In short, nature is referred to as being 'the better world', in which it becomes a sort of symbol for Paradise, with silence presented as an instrument for spiritual experience.²⁷ Such sentiment is exemplified in the following passages:

Where in today's world is a place where the horizon stretches further than the eye, where there are no footpaths, and visitors can ponder amidst the birds? Where silence is audible, open space is tangible and you can come to rest? Where the waters are wild and untamed...feeding and drowning?... The world is miles away, worries melt and a smile breaks through (billboard, visitor center, *Tiengemeten*, *Natuurmonumenten*).

Nature is the perfect place for people to unwind... It offers the necessary space to find yourself in silence. Not only during the day, but at night when the flickering stars in the night sky add an extra dimension of rest and silence around you (Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries [*Ministerie van LNV*] 2000: 9).

Waaijman (2000) pointed out that religious experiences do not have to be groundbreaking or transcendent experiences. They can also include experiences that affect human existence, serving as ethical encounters with nature that provide feelings of peace, silence, fear, truth, and/or beauty. Willis (2011) noted that wilderness has been rediscovered as the place of the sublime, which is often associated with an experience of

27. In 2009 the government asked to fill a vacancy with a communication professional who is able to bring the experience of silence to the attention of the public—one of the ideas is to promote *Tiengemeten* as an icon of silence.

nature that is without comparison, grand, and overwhelming—an experience that goes beyond our sensual or intellectual capacities. This statement demonstrates how such perception can be reflected in public communication:

The *Oostvaardersplassen*. Open spaces stretching from horizon to horizon. A dynamic open space where all is connected. Marshes seamlessly meld into untouched, pristine reed banks. Nature is allowed to run its course, following the rhythm of the seasons and the circle of life. Over and over again. The inhabitants of the *Oostvaardersplassen* don't give it a second's thought. They hunt, fly, feed, rest and mate. It is eat or be eaten. It is life as it should be. In the here and now—no more, no less. Where earth and heaven intersect (billboard, visitor center, 'De Oostvaarders', *Staatsbosbeheer*).

In a sublime experience we transcend our sensory world and have an experience that exceeds us. We feel we are part of a reality that is larger than us, in which we experience how small we are, and at the same time we feel connection. The following show how this is reflected in discourse about nature in the Netherlands:

We believe that it is crucial that people foster a strong connection with nature... Make friends with animals, trees, plants, the sun and the stars. And discover who you truly are: one of Mother Nature's children (advertisement of *Staatsbosbeheer* 2014).

I'm in that landscape, I'm part of it. *Unio mystica*. Connection and total detachment at the same time. Nothing can happen to me (Sinke, dir., 2010).

Nash (2001 [1969]) intriguingly argued that sublimity implies a connection between God and the wilderness.²⁸ Willis additionally noted

28. He refers to this as 'deism'. Nash noted that since the beginning of thought men have believed that natural objects and processes had 'spiritual significance', 'but "natural" evidence was usually secondary and supplemental to revelation. And wilderness, somewhat illogically, was excluded from the category of nature. The deists, however, based their entire faith in the existence of God on the application of reason to nature. Moreover, they accorded wilderness, as pure nature, special importance as the clearest medium through which God showed His power and excellency' (2001 [1969]: 46). Later he remarked that 'by the mid-eighteenth century wilderness was associated with the beauty and godliness that previously had defined it by their absence. People found it increasingly possible to praise, even to worship, what they had formerly detested' (2001 [1969]: 46). He also pointed out that in the course of time people began to perceive religious elements in nature itself. 'In the sweep of Western thought,' he argued, 'this was a relatively young idea, and one with revolutionary implications. If religion was identified with wilderness rather than opposed to it, as had traditionally been the case, the basis for appreciation, rather than hatred, was created' (Nash 2001 [1969]: 56). 'Romanticism, including deism and the aesthetics of the wild', he concluded later on, 'had cleared away enough of the old assumptions to

that through a sublime experience, 'certain landscapes came to be valued as holding the promise of revealing the face of God' (2011: 95). Conversely, we found no mention of (a personal) God in our study sample.

Concluding Remarks

In the Netherlands the concept of nature development has facilitated a new way of thinking about nature. Whereas the wilderness ideal previously led to the protection and conservation of endangered, pristine environments, today it serves as a justification for human interventions in the creation of 'new nature'. Nature development in itself, therefore, is paradoxical: it links with current ideas on technology, whilst striving to achieve a prehistorical type of nature independent from humankind. This means that a technical understanding of wilderness is central to the Dutch discourse of nature. In one sense, the technical attitude toward nature is still alive in the Netherlands through depoldering, which transforms farmland into wilderness. Nevertheless, there is an increased sense of loss of contact with nature, which has resulted in calls for 'more real nature', or *wilderness*. In the Netherlands, strictly speaking, there is no true wilderness remaining. Hence, the Dutch have attributed values such as 'real' or 'pure' to cultural landscapes in order to find any 'wilderness nature' in their country and have sought to create new wildernesses through nature development (ecosystem restoration).

Awareness of the interplay between surface frames and deep frames helps us to value more the discourse about nature for several reasons. First of all, we learn how communicating about nature is connected to worldviews. For, our views of nature convey more about how we perceive ourselves in relation to the natural reality than about the reality we call 'nature'. Further, we come to understand how contact with nature may lead to meaningful experiences. It is through communication (frames) that experiences become meaningful. Or more specifically, deep frames provide an interpretive context for our experiences with nature.

This study has hopefully shown that the discourse in the Netherlands on nature, as found in governmental and NGO produced communication about nature, contains religious subtexts that are not necessarily theological. Our examples suggest, rather, that nature is valorized and 'religionized' without any mention of a personal god or other supernatural agents. That might be part of the success of this discourse in a decreasingly Christian country.

permit a favorable attitude toward wilderness without entirely eliminating the instinctive fear and hostility a wilderness condition had produced' (2001 [1969]: 66).

References

- Buijs, Arjan E. 2009. *Public Nature: Social Representations of Nature and Local Practices* (PhD thesis: Wageningen University, The Netherlands).
- Buijs, Arjan E., Birgit H.M. Elands, and Fransje Langers. 2009. 'No Wilderness for Immigrants: Cultural Differences in Images of Nature and Landscape Preferences', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 91.3: 113-23. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2008.12.003>.
- Champ, Joseph G. 2009. 'Mediated Spectacular Nature: "God-centered" and "Nature-centered" Consumption of a Genre', *Journal of Media and Religion* 8.4: 226-41. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348420903305000>.
- Cronon, William. 1995. 'The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', in W. Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co.): 69-90.
- De Groot, Wouter T., and Riyan J.G. van den Born. 2003. 'Visions of Nature and Landscape Type Preferences: An Exploration in The Netherlands', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 63.3: 127-38. Doi: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0169-2046\(02\)00184-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0169-2046(02)00184-6).
- Drenthen, Martin. 2002. 'De Wilde Natuur en Verlangen naar Andersheid', in *Voorsluit 2002*: 65-86.
- . 2003. *Grenzen aan Wildheid: Wildernisverlangen en de betekenis van Nietzsches moraalkritiek voor de actuele milieu-ethiek* (Budel: Damon).
- . 2011. 'Het leesbare landschap als woonplaats: Van lezend observeren naar plaatsverbondenheid', in van den Born et al. 2011: 121-41.
- Ester, Hans. 2012. 'Romantiek versus Verlichting: een actuele uitdaging', *Radix* 38.1: 4-14.
- Gorter, Hans Paul. 1986. *Ruimte voor natuur, 80 jaar bezig voor de natuur van de toekomst* ('s-Graveland: Vereniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten in Nederland).
- Hajer, Maarten A. 1995. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- . 2003. 'A Frame in the Fields: Policymaking and the Reinvention of Politics', in M.A. Hajer and H. Wagenaar (eds.), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 88-110. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511490934.005>.
- Hoover, Stewart M. 1997. 'Religion in a Media Age'. Public lecture. International Study Commission on Media, Religion & Culture at the University of Edinburgh. 4 March. Online: http://www.ed.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.22781!/fileManager/religion%20in%20a%20media%20age.pdf.
- . 2002. 'The Culturalist Turn in Scholarship on Media and Religion', *Journal of Media and Religion* 1.1: 25-36. Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15328415JMR0101_4.
- . 2006. *Religion in Media Age* (New York: Routledge).
- Keulartz, Jozef. 2000. 'Naar een "beschaafde" strijd om de natuur', in Keulartz (ed.) 2000: 75-96.
- . 2009a. 'Van ecologisch herstel tot ecologisch ontwerp; natuur in het tijdperk van globale veranderingen', *Filosofie & Praktijk* 30.6: 44-59.

- . 2009b. 'European Nature Conservation and Restoration Policy: Problems and Perspectives', *Restoration Ecology* 17.4: 446-50. Doi: [_http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1526-100X.2009.00566.x](http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1526-100X.2009.00566.x).
- Keulartz, Jozef (ed.). 2000. *Rustig, ruig en rationeel: Filosofische debatten over de verhouding cultuur-natuur* (Baarn: Kasteel Groeneveld/ Staatsbosbeheer/ Wageningen University).
- Keulartz, Jozef, Henny van der Windt, and Sjaak Swart. 2002. 'Natuurbeelden en natuurbeleid', *Filosofie en Praktijk* 23.1: 3-21.
- . 2004. 'Concepts of Nature as Communicative Devices: The Case of Dutch Nature Policy', *Environmental Values* 13. 1: 81-99. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3197/096327104772444785>.
- Kockelkoren, Petran. 2000. 'Een leesbaar bokrijk', in Keulartz (ed.) 2000: 19-41.
- Lakoff, George. 2006. *Thinking Points; Communicating our American Values and Vision* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux).
- Lemaire, Ton. 2007 [1970]. *Filosofie van het landschap* (Amsterdam: Ambo).
- McGrath, Alister E. 2001. *A Scientific Theology*. Vol. 1, *Nature* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Metz, Tracy. 1998. *Nieuwe Natuur, reportages over veranderend landschap* (Amsterdam: Ambo).
- Meyer, Birgit. 2012. *Mediation and the Genesis of Presence: Towards a Material Approach to Religion* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht).
- Ministerie van Economische Zaken. 2014. *Natuurlijk Verder; Rijksnatuurvisie 2014* (Den Haag: Ministerie van Economische Zaken).
- Ministerie van LNV. 1989. *Natuurontwikkeling: een verkennende studie* (Den Haag: Ministerie van LNV).
- . 1990. *Natuurbeleidsplan: regeringsbeslissing* (Den Haag: SDU).
- . 2000. *Natuur voor mensen, mensen voor natuur: nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw* (Den Haag: Ministerie van LNV).
- Nash, Roderick F. 2001 [1969]. *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Natuurmonumenten. 2011. *Natuurbehoud Magazine*, no. 2 ('s-Gravenland: Vereniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten in Nederland).
- . 2012. *Kom naar Tiengemeten* ('s-Gravenland: Vereniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten in Nederland).
- . 2014. *Natuurbeleving nader bekeken* ('s-Graveland: Vereniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten in Nederland).
- . n.d. *Weelde, Wildernis en Weemoed; ontdek natuureiland Tiengemeten* ('s-Gravenland: Vereniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten in Nederland).
- Nationaal Groenfonds. 2010. *Publiek geheim; succes van de EHS* (Amsterdam: Nationaal Groenfonds).
- Naugle, David K. 2002. *Worldview: The History of a Concept* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).
- Roothaan, Angela. 2005. *Terugkeer van de natuur: De betekenis van natuurervaring voor een nieuwe ethiek* (Kampen: Klement).
- Ross-Bryant, Lynn. 2013. *Pilgrimage to the National Parks: Religion and Nature in the United States* (New York: Routledge).
- Schouten, Matthijs G.C. 2002. 'Tussen Arcadië en Wildernis', in Voorsluis 2002: 16-37.
- . 2005. *Spiegel van de natuur: Het natuurbeeld in cultuurhistorisch perspectief* (Utrecht: KNVV/Staatsbosbeheer).

- Sinke, Digna (dir.). 2010. *Wistful Wilderness*. Film trailer (Amsterdam: SNG Film).
Online: <http://www.sngfilm.nl/UK%20Weemoed%20&%20Wildernis.htm>.
- Stolow, Jeremy. 2005. 'Religion and/as Media', *Theory, Culture & Society* 22.4: 119-45.
Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263276405054993>.
- Taylor, Bron. 2001. 'Earth and Nature-Based Spirituality (Part I): From Deep Ecology to Radical Environmentalism', *Religion* 31.2: 175-93. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/reli.2000.0256>.
- . 2004. 'A Green Future for Religion?', *Futures* 36.9: 991-1008. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2004.02.011>.
- . 2010. *Dark Green Religion; Nature Spirituality and the Planetary Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- . 2012. 'Wilderness, Spirituality and Biodiversity in North America—Tracing an Environmental History from Occidental Roots to Earth Day', in L. Felt (ed.), *In Wilderness Mythologies: Wilderness in the History of Religion* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter): 292-324. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9781614511724.293>.
- Taylor, Charles. 1989. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- . 1991. *The Ethics of Authenticity* (London: Harvard University Press).
- . 2003. *Wat betekent religie vandaag?* (Kapellen: Pelckmans/ Klement).
- Van den Born, J.G. Riyan, and Mirjam de Groot. 2011. 'Favoriete plekken en binnendoorpaadjes. Op zoek naar de betekenis van landschap en verbondenheid met plaats', in van den Born et al. 2011: 10-26.
- Van den Born, J.G. Riyan, M. Drenthen, P. Lemmens, and T. van Slobbe (eds.). 2011. *Plaats: Beschouwingen over verbondenheid met natuur en landschap* (Zeist: KNNV Uitgeverij).
- Van der Windt, Henny, Sjaak Swart, and Jozef Keulartz. 2007. 'Nature and Landscape Planning: Exploring the Dynamics of Valuation, the Case of the Netherlands', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 79.3/4: 218-28. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2006.02.001>.
- Van Koppen, Chris S.A. 2002. *Echte natuur: Een sociaal theoretisch onderzoek naar natuurwaardering en natuurbescherming in de moderne samenleving* (Wageningen: Wageningen University).
- Van Saane, Joke. 2002. 'De natuur in religieuze verbeelding', in Voorsluis 2002: 48-64.
- Vera, Frans. 2000. 'Het primitieve natuurbeeld', in Keulartz 2000: 43-61.
- Voorsluis, B. (ed.). 2002. *De zwiigende natuur: Natuurervaring tussen betovering en onttovering* (Zoetemeer: Meinema).
- Voye, Liliane. 2004. 'A Survey of Advances of in the Sociology of Religion (1980–2000)', in P. Antes, A.W. Geertz, and R.R. Warne (eds.), *New Approaches to the Study of Religion*. Vol. 2. *Textual, Comparative, Sociological and Cognitive Approaches* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter): 195-228.
- VVV Zuid Holland Zuid. 2012. *Toeristische Gids Nationaal Landschap Hoeksche Waarde* (Dordrecht: VVD Zuid Holland Zuid).
- Waaijman, Cornelis J. 1994. *Milieuspiritualiteit* (Nijmegen: Titus Brandsma Instituut).
- . 2000. *Spiritualiteit: Vormen, grondslagen, methoden* (Kampen: Kok).
- Willis, Alette. 2011. 'Re-Storying Wilderness and Adventure Therapies: Healing Places and Selves in an Era of Environmental Crises', *Journals of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 11.2: 91-108. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2011.633375>.

- Winkelaar, Piet. 2005. *Anders dan we denken: Een geseculariseerde benadering van het religieuze* (Amsterdam: SWP Uitgeverij).
- Woud, Auke, van der. 2007. *De blanke top der duinen; mooi Nederland en zijn historie* (Den Haag: KVAN/Nationaal Archief).
- Zwanniken, Tim. 2001. *Ruimte als voorraad? Ruimte voor variëteit!; de consequenties van discoursen 'ruimte als voorraad' voor het rijks ruimtelijk beleid* (Nijmegen: Radboud University).
- Zwart, Hub. 2002. 'Een morele geschiedenis van het Nederlandse landschap', in *Voorsluis 2002*: 38-47.
- . 2011. 'De tuin als landschapsarchief, laboratorium en dialoog', in van den Born et al. 2011: 72-85.