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## **(Dis-)Continuation of Territoriality**

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## Article

# (Dis-)Continuation of Territoriality: A Framework for Analysis of the Role of Social Practices in (Re-)Production of Space

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**Abstract:** The paper explores the correlation between the concepts of *territoriality* and *social practices* in the context of urban and rural (re-)production of space. It traces the degree of “habitualisation” of certain actions and the behaviour of stakeholders, identifying those defined as *practices*, and revealing their role in the (dis-)continuation of territoriality of a region. It takes a German region Ostwestfalen-Lippe (OWL) as a case study. The research methodology is based on the practice theory of Andreas Reckwitz and his “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis”, which is applied in this study. The research process includes (a) semi-structured interviews with the representatives of several institutions from the region, (b) narrative analysis and thematic content structuring of the interviews and (c) synthesis analysis. The study clarifies relations between the *artefacts* and *discourses* mentioned by the interviewees, and their impact on the *practices* of the institutions and others contributing to the (dis-)continuation of territoriality and identity of the region. The main findings are related to the (1) methodological contribution—operationalisation of the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis”, and (2) substantive contribution—revealing the role of social practices on the continuation of territoriality of the region. The article presents cultural patterns in the perception of and orientation towards long-past territorialities by the interviewees and makes clear what significance these historical and historicising spatial references have for the spatial planning of the present.

**Keywords:** territoriality; social practices; cultural analysis; space production; spatial planning

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## 1. Introduction

In the context of political planning as well as in everyday political decision-making processes, certain obstacles to action and cooperation regularly arise at local and regional level. These obstacles are articulated by the culturally grown actors and institutions involved in those processes, and can be traced back as forms of orders of knowledge to ideas of the spatially close and yet culturally different [1] (p. 39), as we can observe, for example, as demarcations between regions, within nation states or between denominationally different areas. Such ideas activate historical boundaries that are not visible in socio-spatial terms, but are mentally very pronounced. Those mental constructions are reflected in earlier spatial structures and are constituted through routinised practices and actions. They give rise to patterns of spatial or regional identities, which generally have historical or

historicising roots and are practiced in certain contexts and passed on to subsequent generations.

Mental constructions of space can be understood as elements of a culture of memory whose contexts are reflected in spatial (historical) configurations and structures [2], in different groups and in different practices. In the conceptual examination of space, it is evident that the question of the constitution of space through social practices was developed early on by Simmel [3] and Lefebvre [4] and prominently by Bourdieu [5]. In the context of the social constitution of space, asking “how and through what something is” also takes up debates from other disciplines, such as cultural sociology (cultural turn) and cultural studies (practice turn [6, 7]). Through social practices that each individual “performs” and assigns meanings to, structures and orders are created, and space-related actions are stabilised and handed down: space is constituted. Space is therefore relational [8], i.e., it is created through the manifold linking and “(re)organisation” of material elements, people, their social settings and relationships to one another. Löw [8] distinguishes here between the synthesising power of humans to “combine places, events, material elements and structures into ensembles” and their spacing in the sense of placing and positioning themselves in space.

This is where research on constructivist space and landscape comes in, focussing on the investigation of precisely these social phenomena in the context of the constitution of landscape [9–12]. On the one hand, we are dealing with “a material heritage” in the form of relics, artefacts, structures and other traces of social action in the landscape. Additionally, landscape reveals “a fund of ideas and forms of perception from different historical epochs, societies and cultures” [13] (p. 10), which characterises it as a socially produced and reproduced phenomenon [9,14–16]. In this respect, landscape can be understood as a cultural code. The (implicit) linking of past and present in the process of perceiving and shaping spaces in the context of action produces and reproduces collective memories and forms a shared cultural memory [17–19].

However, action, behaviour, language and communication are not “simply” present, but are based on orders of knowledge that “as a tacit knowledge of criteria, scripts, schemata and evaluations” [1] (p. 35) “control” our actions. This tacit knowledge simultaneously enables and regulates the respective actions of the actors. For the planning and design of spaces, this means, with reference to Adam and Groves [20] (XIII): “Engagement with the future rests on tacit knowledge”. The “concepts and images” [21] (p. 17) of a society are reflected in this tacit knowledge and become perceptible in a “nexus of doings and sayings” [22] (p. 89). Against this background, regional memories can therefore be understood as catalysts for spatial policy action, which enable or prevent new spatial policies by linking place, history, structures, institutions, experience and memory [2] (p. 39). Their implicit existence is rarely reflected upon in society or in planning and in most cases is taken for granted. When, how and why cultural–historical representations gain validity in the context of planning, however, has not yet been explicitly investigated [23].

Historical borders, whether geographical, political or cultural, characterise collective identities. They manifest themselves as mental “(border) spaces” that persist in people’s minds, even if they have long since disappeared as physical borders and no longer appear to exist as cultural boundaries. Such mental constructions influence perceptions of belonging, foreignness and conflict. They manifest themselves in behavioural practices, social networks and symbolic meanings. Recognising mental constructions of space and reflecting on historical boundaries are essential for spatial and regional planning, as they reflect and shape social realities. Planning that ignores these aspects risks exacerbating existing conflicts or developing spaces and (supra-)regional projects that are not accepted.

These cultural patterns and the perception of territoriality by inhabitants, as well as the institutions, are important aspects to be considered in the regional and urban

planning. In the context of strategic planning, Patsy Healey calls on us “to explore the many material relations and mental images of place and place quality which are locally-important, and the interaction between these and the wider relations of which they are a part.” [24] (p. 65). The fact that images and other forms of local or national identities materialise in the landscape itself is impressively demonstrated by Burden and Kohl [25] in their cultural and media-historical examination of landscape in the context of “Englishness and Spatial Practices”. Therefore, images can fundamentally be understood as actors of the political, as has been thematised, for example, by political iconography [26,27] for decades and in media-aesthetic debates as “visual culture” (e.g., [28]). In addition, historical-territorial references of actors in spatial political action in particular can be categorised in the concept of metageographies [29,30].

The concept of identity is closely linked to space and territory. Identity is a multi-layered and dynamic concept that is deeply rooted in the social, cultural, collective and individual dimensions of human existence. On an individual level, identity is closely linked to personal life history, social roles and emotional connections to specific places, communities and values. Collective identity, on the other hand, is created through shared experiences, cultural traditions, community norms and narratives that are passed down and nurtured over generations. The link between identity and history is of central importance on both levels. From a collective perspective, the historical dimension manifests itself in the memory of shared events that are often considered constitutive for the collective self-image of a community, nation or ethnic group. These include collective traumas, such as wars or expulsions, but also successes and cultural flourishes that strengthen identity through a sense of pride and cohesion. Identity and spatial constructions are of fundamental importance in architecture, urban and landscape planning. Spaces are not only physical places, but also symbolically charged [31] (p. 102). They reflect identity constructions and at the same time are active elements in the identity formation process. In his discussion of places and non-places in postmodernism, the anthropologist Marc Augé [32] explained how spaces became more “faceless” with increasing industrialisation and the emergence of so-called non-places increased rapidly. For Augé [32] (p. 63), the anthropological place is relational, creating identity and relationships. By this he means characteristic places that represent a stable cultural identity related to the space and its history. This requires an analysis of social and spatial influencing factors, their symbols and artefacts as well as the recording of social realities (attitudes, values).

It is therefore crucial for planners to understand how spaces influence the identity of individuals and communities, as this can have a direct impact on acceptance, well-being and social cohesion. In this respect, planning decisions are not only technical or aesthetic in nature, but they deeply affect social and cultural structures. The way in which places are treated, whether through development, conversion or remodelling, can strengthen or challenge existing identities. Spaces therefore act as material interfaces at which individual and collective identities are negotiated, confirmed or transformed. Reflecting on these interactions between space, identity and history is therefore essential in order to enable responsible and future-orientated planning. In view of these findings, it seems necessary to sensitise planners, designers and decision-makers to these issues. In order to contribute to it, this paper explores the social practices, based on practice theory and the “praxeological quadrat” of Andreas Reckwitz [1,33–35].

In essence, praxeology assumes that social practices are to be understood as a combination of physical actions, material structures and symbolic meanings. This means that the use and appropriation of space through specific everyday actions, such as walking, working or living, encompasses not only physical, but also symbolic and social dimensions. Practices are not isolated activities, but an expression of social and cultural knowledge that manifests itself in repeated actions, shaping the space territorially.

In order to identify and analyse the social practices—everyday actions, structures and meanings—and the social and cultural knowledge being manifested in those repeated actions, the study traces the degree of “habitualisation” of certain actions and behaviour of stakeholders revealing their role in the (dis-)continuation of territoriality of Ostwestfalen-Lippe (OWL), or East Westphalia-Lippe, a region in Germany. In order to investigate the connections between social practices and the significance of historical territoriality, the praxeological perspective developed by Reckwitz (presented in Section 2) was operationalised for an empirical study, including (a) semi-structured interviews with the representatives of several institutions from the region, (b) narrative analysis and thematic content structuring of the interviews and (c) synthesis analysis (explained in the Sections 3 and 4).

## 2. Theoretical Framework

In the analysis of social practices and their significance for the (re)production of space, the praxeological perspective [1] offers a fundamental approach to understanding the connection between the construction of territoriality and everyday actions. Social practices are more than just repetitive actions: they shape the perception of space, are reflected in material structures and (re)produce social orders in the present, but also long-past territories. The degree of “habitualisation”—the regularity and ordinariness of actions—is a decisive element that determines the continuity or discontinuity of territoriality.

In contrast to structuralist or purely symbolic approaches, which consider either the material conditions or the discursive dimensions of territoriality in isolation, the praxeological perspective allows a complex consideration of the interplay of actions, bodies, artefacts and discourses in the context of everyday practice. One of the pioneers of such an approach was Henri Lefebvre with his concept of the “production of space” [4]. His approach to the production of space is based on a dialectical perspective that describes space as something that is constantly produced and redefined by social processes, in particular by social practices. Lefebvre distinguishes between three aspects of spatial production. The space of representation (representational space) is the lived space that is filled by symbolic meanings and social practices. The representations of space describe the conceptualised space as it is designed through planning, political concepts and technocratic approaches. Finally, spatial practice encompasses the everyday practices and interactions that actively produce and shape space. Stuart Elden has expanded Lefebvre’s concept of spatial production to include the aspect of territoriality as a political instrument for organising space [36].

Elden emphasises the importance of structures of power and domination that manifest themselves through territoriality [36]. Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of “habitus” also provide important theoretical tools for understanding how habitualised actions and behaviours of actors are embedded in the context of social practices and how these contribute to the reproduction of space [37]. Bourdieu’s idea of habitus, which acts as an internalised schema of perceptions, ways of thinking and actions, shows how space is produced and reproduced through repeated, habitualised practices.

In his work “Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices”, Hall emphasises the central role that discourses and cultural representations play in the construction of social reality [21]. Hall’s “concepts and images” refer to the cultural symbols, meanings and discursive structures that are present in a society and are reproduced and changed by the practices of individuals. In relation to the aspect of territoriality, this is not only a physical or material practice, but also a symbolic one. The way in which people define spaces as “their” territories is closely linked to Hall’s “concepts and images” [21]. Territoriality is constructed and stabilised in the minds and discourses of the actors. This is reflected in symbolic actions and representations—for example, through the use of flags, border markings or other cultural symbols that mark a space as “our” space.

For Schatzki, too, practices are not just physical actions, but are always linked to a discursive element [22]. This action–discourse nexus is central to understanding social practices as complex, social and meaningful activities. Schatzki’s concept makes the interplay of physical and discursive practices in the (re-)production of territoriality visible. A space is not only territorialised through actions such as the construction of borders or the use of space, but also through the way in which this space is spoken about. Linguistic practices—the “sayings”—influence how territoriality is understood and reproduced. These discourses can appear, for example, in political speeches, in everyday conversations or in official documents, and they are just as important for the production of space as physical actions.

In essence, praxeology assumes that social practices are to be understood as a combination of physical actions, material structures and symbolic meanings. This means that the use and appropriation of space through specific everyday actions, such as walking, working or living, encompasses not only physical, but also symbolic and social dimensions. Practices are not isolated activities, but an expression of social and cultural knowledge that manifests itself in repeated actions and shapes the space territorially.

The “praxeological square of cultural analysis”, as developed by Reckwitz [1] (p. 41), offers itself as a theoretical starting point for the investigation of territoriality and habitus because it provides an integrative approach to the analysis of social practices and a deeper understanding of how space and territoriality are continuously (re-)produced through a network of repeated, habitualised practices. In particular, the considerations of Hall’s “concepts and images” and Schatzki’s “nexus of doings and sayings” have been incorporated into the praxeological square of cultural analysis developed by Reckwitz. He brings the categories of action, body, object and subject to the fore in order to analyse the complex and multi-layered structure of practices.

The praxeological square is made up of four dimensions: *practices*, *artefacts*, *subjectification* and *discourses*. Each of these dimensions is central to understanding the social and cultural structure of a society and its dynamic changes. The four dimensions are interlinked with the category of *knowledge orders*—the systematic structuring of knowledge on which social practices and discourses are based.

*Practices* are the fundamental building blocks of social reality. Practices include not only visible, physical actions, but also the associated mental patterns, rules and implicit forms of knowledge, which manifest themselves in everyday routines. “The individual practice or an entire ‘practice complex’ [...] is thus structured via an implicit, generally non-verbalised order of knowledge and tends towards repetition”, says Reckwitz [1] (p. 35). That means that practices emerge and solidify through constant repetition and through joint performance in social groups. It is important to note that practices are always embedded in a context that is materially, socially and discursively shaped. They cannot be viewed in isolation, but are always part of a larger network of practices that are mutually dependent. Practices such as eating, working or communicating are not only carried out individually, but follow collective patterns and orders that are culturally mediated. Reckwitz is interested in showing how social order is maintained through the reproduction of such practices.

*Artefacts* are the material objects that are involved in the execution of practices. For Reckwitz [1] (p. 34), artefacts play a central role in social practice, as they represent the physical basis for action. Here, he differs from a purely symbolic understanding of culture by emphasising that culture does not only consist of immaterial meanings, but is also dependent on the material world. Artefacts are more than just passive objects; they are actively involved in practices. They influence how certain practices are carried out and shaped through their specific properties. The material arrangement of work tools, media or items of clothing significantly influences how practices are shaped and what social

meanings are attributed to them. In this respect, artefacts contribute to the stability and change of practices, as they are not only “loaded” with cultural meanings, but also set limits and possibilities for social actions through their physical properties.

According to Reckwitz [1] (p. 35), *subjectification* refers to the processes through which individuals become subjects within a culture. They are closely interwoven with the practices and discourses through which certain ways of thinking, feeling and acting are produced. Subjects are not simply given, autonomous beings; rather, it is through specific cultural practices, artefacts and discourses that they become the subjects they are. In this respect, Reckwitz builds on Foucault’s concept of subjectivation [1] (p. 74), but expands it by embedding it in a broader praxeological framework. Subjectification arises in the interplay between individual experiences and collective practices. By participating in social practices, each person acquires certain skills, perceptions and patterns of action that make them a culturally shaped subject. At the same time, subjects are also productive actors who are able to transform and reshape practices. In this respect, the process of subjectification is not a passive process, but a dynamic process of cultural integration and transformation.

*Discourses* represent the communicative medium through which social practices and subjectification are constituted. Discourses are not mere “forms of conversation”, but comprise complex systems of meanings, norms and truths that structure social practices. They determine what is considered “true” or “false”, “normal” or “deviant” in a particular culture and thus influence social action in a fundamental way. In this respect, discourses are closely linked to power structures, as they determine who has the power of interpretation in a society and which perspectives are considered legitimate. At the same time, however, they are also changeable and subject to historical transformation processes. Ref. [1] (p. 39) shows that discourses can always be challenged and changed by new practices, which enables cultural innovation and social change. Discourses not only shape language, but also the perception of reality and the social positioning of subjects.

*Knowledge orders* consist of the implicit and explicit rules that determine which knowledge is considered valid in a society and how this knowledge is organised and communicated [1] (p. 35). This is not only about scientific or technical knowledge, but also about everyday “practical knowledge” that is embedded in routines and practices. Orders of knowledge are deeply rooted in cultural traditions and form the epistemic foundation on which practices are based. They determine how reality is perceived, interpreted and handled. At the same time, orders of knowledge are also contested and can be challenged by new discourses and practices. Reckwitz emphasises that cultural change is often accompanied by changes in underlying orders of knowledge, as new practices often require new forms of knowledge and destabilise established orders of knowledge [1] (p. 40).

Andreas Reckwitz’s “praxeological square of cultural analysis” offers a comprehensive and differentiated theory for analysing social practices. However, a closer look reveals that Reckwitz remains relatively vague when it comes to the empirical practicability of his model. The theoretical conception of his model is very precise, with each dimension of the square being clearly outlined in theoretical terms. However, explicit indications of how these theoretical dimensions can be operationalised in empirical research is lacking. There are no detailed methodological instructions on how empirical data should be collected, structured or interpreted in order to adequately analyse the four dimensions of the square. This means that one of the greatest challenges is to make the four dimensions of the praxeological square operationalisable, i.e., to translate them into measurable or observable units.

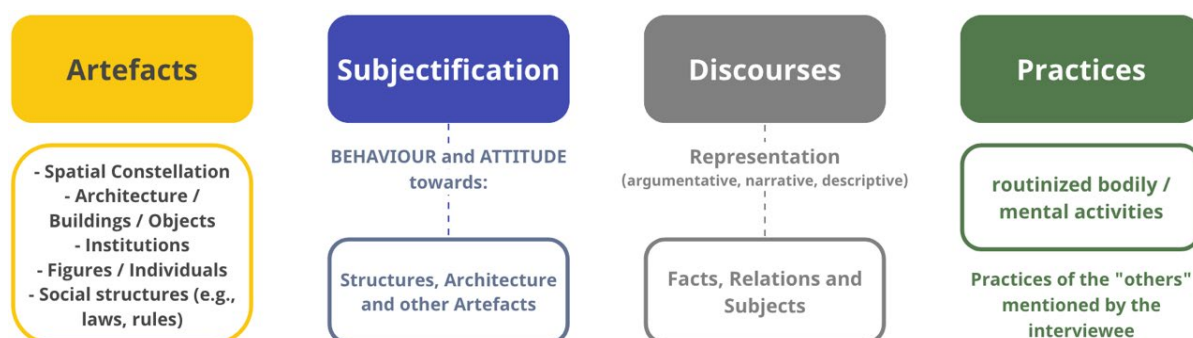
This study is addressing the identified knowledge gap, and offering an approach and an example how the praxeological square can be used to analyse social practices in the constitution of space through various methodological approaches and sequences.

### 3. Materials and Methods

The research applied the method of semi-structured interviews, conducted with the representatives of several institutions from the Ostwestfalen-Lippe (OWL) region, as a research method for data collection. The OWL region is located in the east of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). The OWL region has two distinctive characteristic parts: East Westphalian side with its early affiliation to Prussia (before 1800) and Lippe as a principality with over 800 years of permanence in its territorial borders (first as the Lordship of Lippe, then the County of Lippe and until 1918 as the Principality of Lippe). Even after its incorporation into the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia (since 1947), Lippe was able to retain a certain degree of independence.

The institutions from the OWL region included local museums, archive, planning offices, churches and agricultural associations. The interviews focussed on current spatial constructions in the context of (historical) references of the (interviewee within the) institution to the territory of Lippe or Ostwestfalen. They were also interested in the extent to which practices, discourses, artefacts and subjectification contribute to the construction of space as different forms of knowledge transfer. In total, 15 interviews were conducted in the OWL region and transcribed (full recordings), and the collected data set was preliminarily reviewed. For a detailed analysis—narrative analysis and thematic content structuring of the interviews—3 interviews were selected: a representative of the archive “Landesarchiv NRW, Abt. OWL” (coded as OWL 01), a representative of the local museum “Lippisches Landesmuseum” (OWL 03) and a representative of the municipal association “Landesverband Lippe” (OWL 07). The selection of these three interviews is based on their institutional relevance and specific expertise in the documentation and communication of territorial spatial images. The NRW State Archive, OWL Department, has an extensive collection of historical documents, maps and administrative files documenting the development of the principality. Through its curatorial work, the “Lippisches Landesmuseum” offers insights into the cultural and narrative staging of territorial identities, particularly in relation to the Principality of Lippe. The “Landesverband Lippe”, on the other hand, is a central player in current regional identity and cultural politics, creating a link between historical spatial images and their relevance in the present.

The narrative analysis was applied as a data analysis tactic, aiming to draw narratives of the representatives of the 3 specific institutions—OWL 01, OWL 03 and OWL 07. In order to display the collected data from the 3 interviews in a structured and complementary way, the thematic content analysis was applied. The analysis is following the four main themes, based on Reckwitz’s practice theory and the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis” [1]: artefacts, subjectification, discourses and practices (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** The four main themes for analysis, based on Reckwitz [1]. Illustration by the Authors.

The methodology is operationalising the four theoretical dimensions, translating them into the basic structure for the empirical study. It is decomposing the “praxeological



quadrat” for an in-depth assessment of each dimension separately for the specific case study. Based on the theoretical background, each of the four dimensions is defined in the study as follows:

- *Artefacts* are defined as the spatial constellations, architecture/buildings/objects, but also institutions, figures/individuals and social structures (e.g., laws, rules);
- *Subjectification* is defined as behaviour and attitude of the interviewee towards the structures (institutions) and other artefacts;
- *Discourses* are related to representation (argumentative, narrative or descriptive) of the facts, relations and subjects;
- *Practices* are defined as routinised bodily/mental activities, related to practices of the “others” mentioned by the interviewee.

For each of the four dimensions a specific set of research questions is formulated that were used in the narrative analysis and thematic content structuring (see Table 1).

**Table 1.** The four main themes and research questions. Illustration by the Authors.

<b>(1) Artefacts</b>	
<b>RQ 1.1</b>	Which artefacts and structures from Lippe are mentioned by the interviewee?
<b>RQ 1.2</b>	In which context (time–space) is the artefact/structure positioned?
<b>RQ 1.3</b>	Which meanings/effects (social) do those artefacts/structures have? Which correlations are mentioned by the interviewee?
<b>(2) Subjectification</b>	
<b>RQ 2.1</b>	How does the interviewee position her/himself in the institution/Lippe? How does the researcher see the relation between the interviewee and the institution and why?
<b>RQ 2.2</b>	What is the attitude and/or behaviour of the interviewee towards the artefacts/structures from Lippe?
<b>(3) Discourses</b>	
<b>RQ 3.1</b>	In which relations was Lippe (and Ostwestfalen/others) spoken about, and which historical events are taken as a reference?
<b>RQ 3.2</b>	Which elements/artefacts/structures are taken as a reference by the interviewee in explaining the constitution and continuation of Lippe (territoriality/identity)?
<b>(4) Practices</b>	
<b>RQ 4.1</b>	What are the practices that continuously repeat regulating/maintaining Lippe (territoriality/identity) in the consciousness of people (what are typical forms of behaviour, routine bodily/mental activities)?
<b>RQ 4.2</b>	What are the practices that are/could open or further develop Lippe (territoriality/identity) and alter the consciousness of people?

The qualitative analysis of the interviews (using the narrative analysis tactic), based on the four profiled themes and the sub-subsequent questions (as listed in the Table 1), is highlighting important aspects and critical points, statements and views of the interviewees—relevant for the main research theme of territoriality and identity of Lippe.

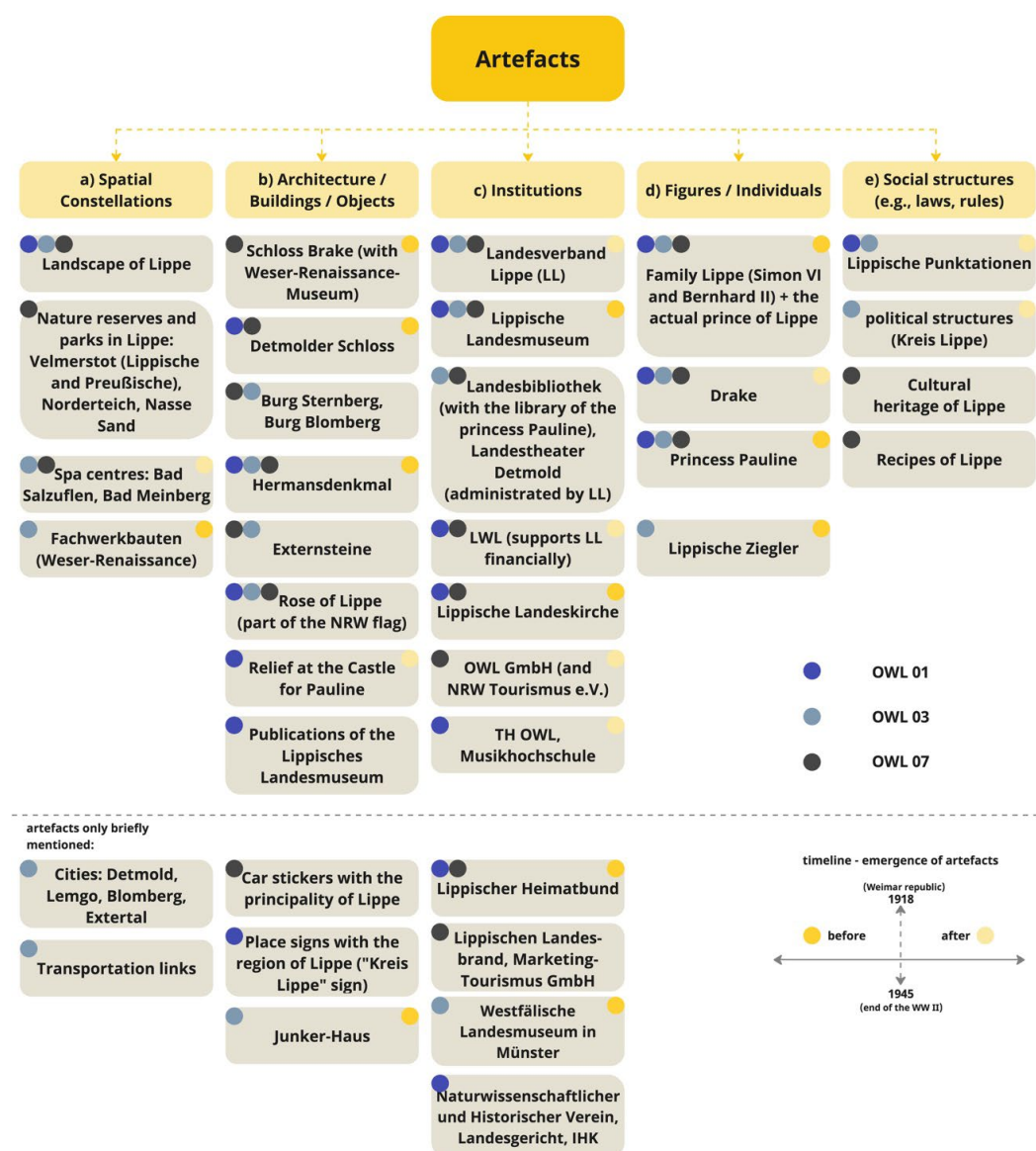
## 4. Results

The results of the narrative analysis of the three interviews—OWL 01, OWL 03 and OWL 07—are presented in this section. For each of the four themes—*artefacts* (Section 4.1), *subjectification* (Section 4.2), *discourses* (Section 4.3) and *practices* (Section 4.4)—a synthesis overview of the critical points, statements and views of the interviewees is presented. The results are showing connections in the data set—the common patterns and different

perspectives of the selected interviewees and establishing new relations. A summary, with an overview of the main results from each section, is presented in Section 4.5.

#### 4.1. Artefacts

The interviewees mention many different artefacts from Lippe, which can be structured into five categories: (a) spatial constellations, (b) architecture/buildings/objects, (c) institutions, (d) figures/individuals and (e) social structures (e.g., laws, rules) (see Figure 2)



**Figure 2.** Synthesis overview—complementary analysis of the selected interviews—artefacts. Illustration by the Authors.

The interviewees referred to some of the spatial elements—(a) spatial constellations, in particular: the landscape of Lippe, spa centres, nature reserves and parks and “Fachwerkbauten”—half-timbered buildings; as well as many (b) objects/buildings, such as: the castles—“Detmolder Schloss”, “Burg Sternberg” and “Burg Blomberg”, “Schloss Brake”, further the Hermann memorial “Hermansdenkmal”, “Externsteine”, the Rose of Lippe, a relief at the castle in Detmold for the princess Pauline and publications of the “Lippisches Landesmuseum”. There are several other artefacts only briefly mentioned by

the interviewees, such as the cities of Detmold, Lemgo, Blomberg and Extertal, transportation links and “Junker-haus”, place signs with the “Kreis Lippe” sign, and similarly, car stickers with the principality of Lippe sign (see Figure 2 for references to the interviewees—by whom those were mentioned).

In addition to the spatial elements, the interviewees referred to a lot of (c) institutions: the municipal association “Landesverband Lippe”, “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, the library and the theatre (“Landesbibliothek” and “Landestheater”) in Detmold, “Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe” (LWL), the church “Lippische Landeskirche”, OWL GmbH and “NRW Tourismus e.V.”, “Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe” (TH OWL) and “Musikhochschule”. There are several other institutions only briefly mentioned by the interviewees, such as “Lippische Heimatbund”, “Lippischen Landesbrand” and “Marketing Tourismus GmbH”, “Westfälische Landesmuseum” in Münster, “Naturwissenschaftlicher und Historischer Verein”, “Industrie- und Handelskammer” (IHK) and “Landgericht”.

Also, the interviewees mentioned some of the (d) individuals who have a special meaning for Lippe, such as the princess Pauline, Heinrich Drake, the family of Lippe including the actual prince of Lippe and “Lippische Ziegler”—the seasonal brick workers—including the (e) social structures such as the so-called “Lippische Punktationen”, political structures, e.g., Kreis Lippe, cultural heritage and recipes of Lippe.

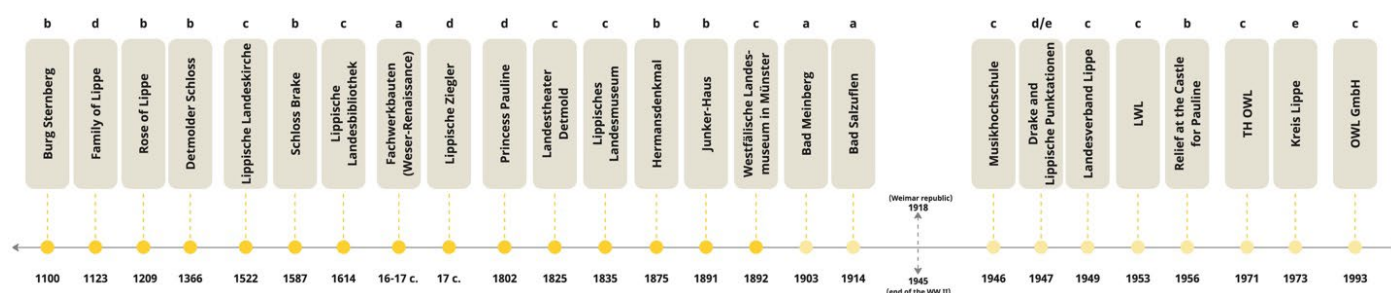
The complementary analysis of the selected interviews shows that most of the identified artefacts were mentioned by two or all three interviewees (see Figure 2). The most dominant artefacts, those mentioned by all three interviewees, are the landscape of Lippe, the Hermann memorial “Hermansdenkmal”, the Rose of Lippe, the municipal association “Landesverband Lippe”, “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, the princess Pauline, Heinrich Drake and the family of Lippe including the actual prince of Lippe. The categories (b) architecture/buildings/objects, (c) institutions and (d) figures/individuals are mentioned the most, while bigger (a) spatial constellations and (d) structures, seldomly.

The artefacts/structures mentioned by the interviewees have emerged and/or were significant for the region of Lippe in different time frames, as indicated in the timeline (see Figure 3). Many of the artefacts/structures date from centuries ago—the emergence of the Lippe region, including “Burg Sternberg” (1100), the Rose of Lippe (1209) and the princely family (1123) as well as the castle in Detmold (1366). Several artefacts date from the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, including the “Schloss Brake” (1587), “Lippische Landeskirche” (1522), and “Lippische Landesbibliothek” (1614). Another group of artefacts emerged in the 19th century, including the princess Pauline (1802), “Landestheater Detmold” (1825), “Lippisches Landesmuseum” (1835) and “Hermansdenkmal” (1875). Nevertheless, there are some artefacts dating from the 20th century, such as spa centres Bad Meinberg (1903) and Bad Salzuflen (1914), as well as those emerged after the end of WW II, such as “Musikhochschule” (1946) and TH OWL (1971), Drake and “Lippische Punktationen” (1947), “Landesverband Lippe” (1949) and LWL (1953), Kreis Lippe (1973), OWL GmbH (1993) and relief for Pauline at the castle in Detmold (1956).

The two castles (“Burg Sternberg” and “Detmolder Schloss”), as well as a symbol (Rose of Lippe), together with the family of Lippe to which they are directly related to, are the artefacts that emerged in the 12th, 13th and 14th century. Those had the key role in the development and emergence of many later artefacts, e.g., “Schloss Brake” (1587), “Lippische Landesbibliothek” (established by the count Simon VII of Lippe in 1614), Princess Pauline (member of the family of Lippe and the regent of Lippe from 1802 to 1820), followed by the establishment of the “Landestheater Detmold” (officially established by the prince Leopold II of Lippe in 1825, with earlier support of his mother, the princess Pauline) and the “Lippisches Landesmuseum” (initiated by Carl Weerth in 1835).

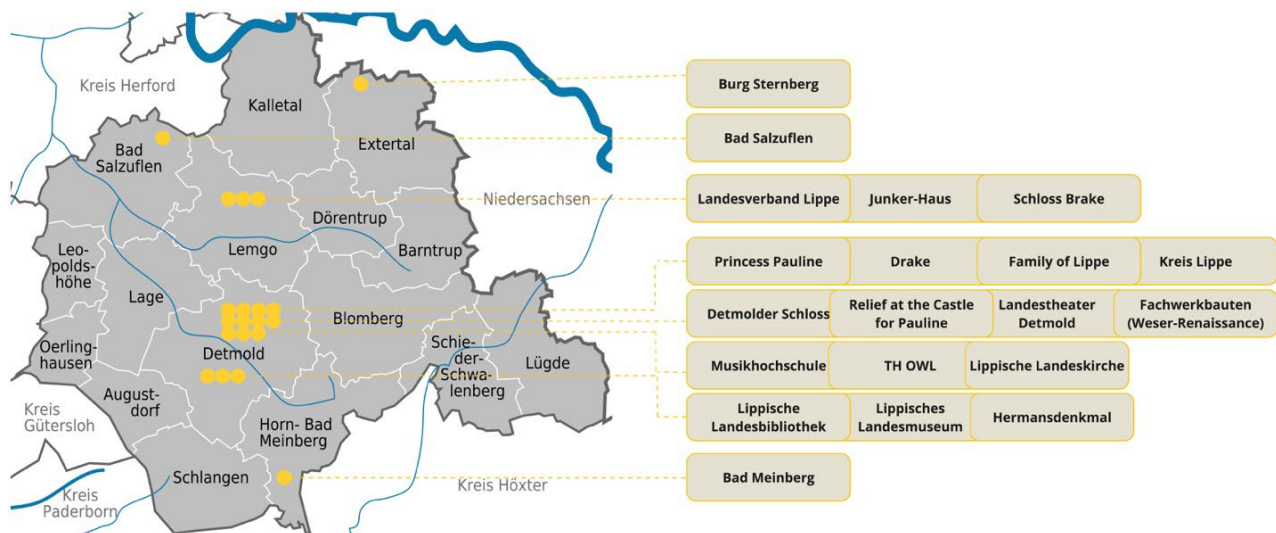
The significance of these artefacts remains, and they are still present in the collective memory, which is further supported with monuments and narratives, e.g., the relief at the castle in Detmold for the princess Pauline (1956). The establishment of the “Landesverband Lippe” (1949) was following the presidency of Heinrich Drake and establishment of the “Lippischen Punktationen” (1946)—an agreement between Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW) and Landes Lippe regulating governance of Lippe after it officially became part of NRW and lost its 800-years long (complete) autonomy, after the WWII. The “Landesverband Lippe” became the key institution in governing the assets of Lippe locally (e.g., the “Landestheater Detmold”, the “Lippische Landesbibliothek” and the spa centres Bad Salzuflen and Bad Meinberg), and maintaining the memory of the artefacts linked to the principality of Lippe (e.g., the symbol of the “Landesverband Lippe” (1949) is the Rose of Lippe (1209), and it is based at the “Schloss Brake” (1587)).

There are only a few artefacts mentioned by the interviewees, not being linked to this narrative, in particular the higher education institutions “Musikhochschule” (1946) and TH OWL (1971) mentioned by OWL 01 as artefacts of the recent past; and the “Fachwerkbauten”—half-timbered buildings (16th–17th century) and “Lippische Ziegler”—the seasonal brick workers (17th century), mentioned by OWL 03 as part of the “everyday” history.



**Figure 3.** Timeline—emergence of the artefacts and classification into the artefact types (a–e cf. Figure 2). Illustration by the Authors.

Regarding the spatial distribution of the artefacts, the majority of those mentioned by the interviewees are located in the city of Detmold and only a few in other cities (“Landesverband Lippe”, “Schloss Brake” and “Junker-Haus” in Lemgo, “Burg Sternberg” in Extertal, and two spas/cities—Bad Salzuflen and Bad Meinberg) (see Figure 4). This indicates a dominance of the city of Detmold in terms of distribution of both spatial and social structures relevant for the territory of Lippe. This density of artefacts in Detmold reflects the centralised political power at the time of the principality (the residency in Detmold), which had an impact on later development of the region as well (e.g., establishment of cultural and educational institutions). Nevertheless, the “Landesverband Lippe”, as one of the key institutions, is based in Lemgo, yet also in the “Schloss Brake” (linked to the principality narrative), while the actual prince of Lippe still lives in the castle in Detmold. Another important artefact is the “Lippische Landeskirche” (1522), the evangelical church of Lippe (nowadays both Lutheran and Reformed confession), based in Detmold. Although Lippe is a reformed-majority territory, the city of Lemgo mainly maintained Lutheran confession during the second reformation, despite the efforts of the reformed (Calvinist) count Simon VI, and his son, count Simon VII. In 1617, the count Simon VII moved the residence of the government from Lemgo to Detmold [38].



**Figure 4.** Map of the Kreis Lippe—spatial distribution of artefacts. Illustration by the Authors, plain map source: Wikimedia Commons.

The interviewees, in particular OWL 01 and OWL 07, highlighted the importance of the central location of the castle in Detmold (“Detmolder Schloss”) within the city of Detmold, and the associated symbol, the flag of Lippe—the Rose of Lippe (1209):

“Then there is this castle in the middle of the city with the Lippe flag on it (...) First of all, of course, that there is ‘Kreis Lippe’ is on every street sign, i.e., place sign. Then of course the heraldic attributes, the Rose, which also appears everywhere.” (OWL 01)

The interviewee OWL 01 reflected on the symbol of the Rose of Lippe (1209) in the same context with the more contemporary symbols such as the signs with the place name “Kreis Lippe” (1973), indicating comparable importance of the artefacts from the very distant past and contemporary context, both appearing “everywhere”. The high density of those symbols is highlighting the territorial unit of “Lippe” (from past to present).

The interviewees referred to the specific landscape of Lippe, many nature reserves, parks and spa centres, as well as several smaller-scale artefacts (buildings/objects) relevant for Lippe. Some of these spatial constellations (e.g., Velmerstot) were mentioned in the context of the territoriality of Lippe, how the borders are perceived and which meaning those have for Lippe:

“There are also old border-stones. These are maintained by the local associations and made clear. So here is the border-stone, meaning there was Prussia, here is Lippe. I think it became particularly clear in these two cases, ‘Lippische Velmerstot’ and ‘Preußische Velmerstot’. The people of Lippe are very sensitive to this.” (OWL 07)

This observation of the interviewee OWL 07, that the people of Lippe are still very sensitive nowadays about the long-gone territorial border between Lippe and Prussia, is an expression of the remaining significance of past historical borders, despite them being no longer active.

Monuments are also mentioned by the interviewees, in particular, the Hermann memorial (“Hermannsdenkmal”). Although one of the most important identification points of Lippe, paradoxically, it was located in Lippe by coincidence, or at least the location was not essential, as the interviewee OWL 01 argues. Yet, it was “appropriated” over time:

“The sculptor at the time who made it [Hermannsdenkmal], who chose it to be here, simply wanted it to be in a prominent place, up here in the Teutoburg



Forest. I don't think it mattered that it was in Lippe. But it was then, of course, taken in by Lippe." (OWL 01)

The construction of the Hermann memorial (1875) had a highly political relevance. It emerged as the highest statue in Germany after the long war between Germany and France, at the time of the nation-building agenda in Germany. The figure of Arminius, the German liberator against Roman legions, was used for this purpose. The monument gained increasing symbolical importance by 1918 and it was an important motive in WW I. After WW II, its significance diminished, and it was only in the recent past that it regained attention, at least locally. Nevertheless, the narrative changed, from the national symbol to "a memorial for peace and international understanding" [39] and, as [40] (p. 361) described it, "from a project of a national-patriotic civic movement to a regional symbol of integration". This reinterpretation of the "Hermannsdenkmal" from a national monument to a symbol of identity for Lippe strengthens Lippe as a separate territory and at the same time makes it more difficult for East Westphalia and Lippe to merge into a common region.

The symbols linked to the monarchy, the principality of Lippe, remain important. The interviewee OWL 07 mentioned car stickers with the principality of Lippe:

"We are a very special region, a small principality. So, you can see a lot of cars in Lippe that have the sticker on the back—the Principality of Lippe. And I don't think that they see it as a monarchy, or that there are nobles who are above us, I don't think that they perceive it that way, but that they really see it as an anchor of identification." (OWL 07)

The importance of the principality for the people of Lippe—even though it has not existed since 1918—is evident here. By emphasising that it is not about the monarchy itself, but about an anchor of identity, it also shows that Lippe lives on as a territory in the people, even though it has been part of the administrative district of Detmold alongside the region of East Westphalia since 1947. It also shows that the construct of East Westphalia-Lippe offers little or at least much weaker identity references for the people in the region.

In regard to the institutions, the interviewees emphasised the key role of the municipal association "Landesverband Lippe". In particular, the interviewee OWL 07, the representative of this institution, spoke about the other institutions in Lippe usually in relation to the "Landesverband Lippe". The interviewee OWL 01 highlighted the Prussian origins of the "Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe" (LWL)—a legacy of the "preußischer Provinzialverband". Although referring to some of the overlapping responsibilities, the interviewee OWL 01 rated the relations between the two institutions as "well-regulated and unproblematic".

The interviewees highlighted the role of the family of Lippe and the descendants of the last reigning prince. Moreover, the interviewees reflected on the ever-present significance of the past figure of princess Pauline, the interviewee OWL 03 emphasising the gender role:

"And she is really, I would almost say, still alive here in Lippe. Not simply through the ... of course through the historical reference points. There are monuments, there are buildings that are connected to her. But above all through her work. So, people in Lippe know that she founded the children's day care centre, that she stood up for orphans, for disabled children and for day laborers... and above all she preserved Lippe, that it did not become Prussian (...) when people in Lippe think of Pauline, the main thing they think of is that she preserved our Lippe independence." (OWL 07)

The socio-political engagement and political decisions of the princess Pauline, that contributed to the maintenance of the territoriality of Lippe, continue to play a role in the consciousness of people. This narrative of the past actions, events and decisions is mainly preserved and transmitted by the institutions of Lippe. These institutions thus continue to contribute to the perception of Lippe as a territory and, in particular, to manifesting it through an inward-looking historical narrative.

Additionally, Heinrich Drake is mentioned as an important past figure/individual, in context of his political impact on preservation of Lippe and its identity:

“I think that Heinrich Drake managed, in the negotiations with North Rhine-Westphalia, to ensure that this wealth stays here and is managed from here. I think that was a very important point in this, that the people of Lippe continue to feel like they are from Lippe and feel like something special and can say that we have even anchored our Rose in the North Rhine-Westphalia coat of arms. We are the third part of the state. You often hear that here in Lippe.” (OWL 07)

As previously explained, the presidency of Heinrich Drake and establishment of the “Lippischen Punktationen” (1946) had a key role in the further development and governance of Lippe after it officially became part of NRW and lost its over 800-year long (complete) autonomy. The establishment of “Landesverband Lippe”, which became the key institution in governing the assets of Lippe locally, was an important decision which ensured that the wealth and assets stay in Lippe. It provided a certain level of integrity and further autonomy, which is perceived as important for the people of Lippe. At the same time, the institution, the “Landesverband Lippe” continued maintaining the memory of the artefacts linked to the principality of Lippe, enabling continuity of the territoriality and identity of the region.

#### 4.2. Subjectification

The interviewees’ identification with the institutions differed, which could be linked with their status within the institutions: OWL 01 being in retirement, OWL 03 being an employee and OWL 07 being very active in the public relations of the institution. Also, their identification with the region of Lippe differed, as well as the position they took in representing it: OWL 01 spoke mainly from a scientific/historical perspective, OWL 03 focussed on cultural aspects and OWL 07 mainly spoke from the perspective of the institution it is representing.

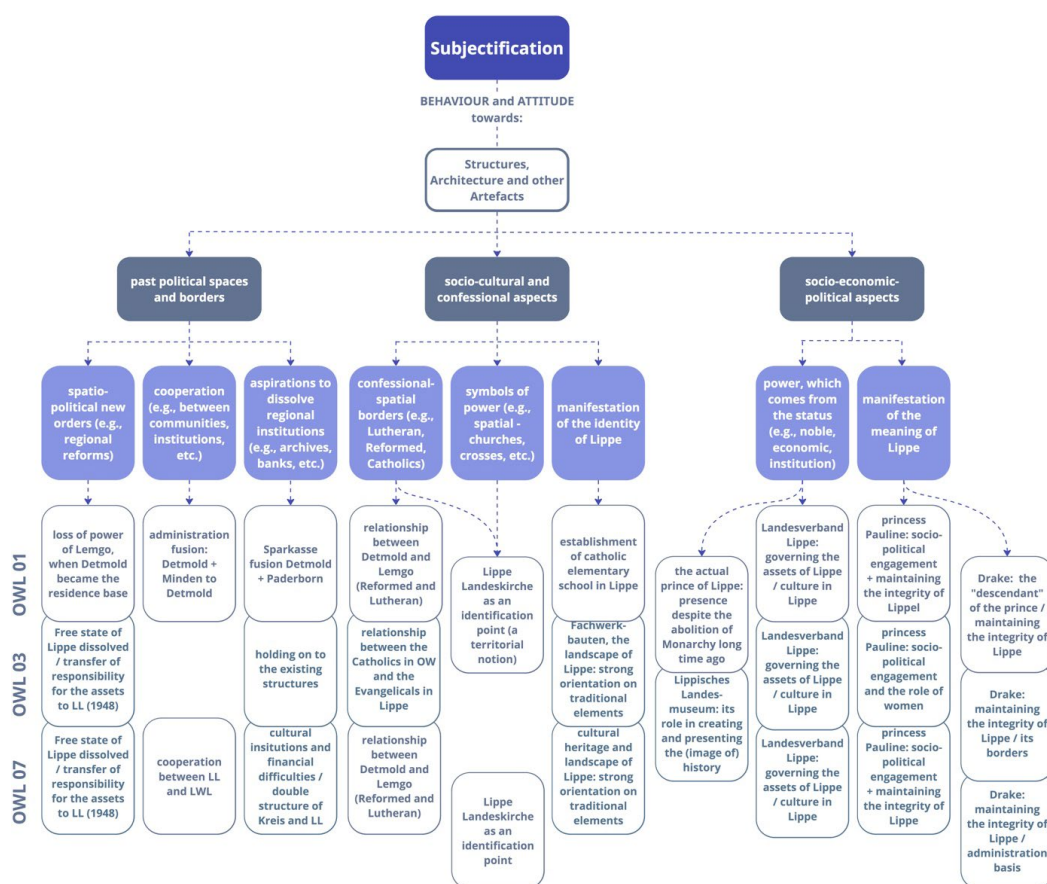
OWL 01: The interviewee did not speak a lot about the institution (“Landesarchiv NRW Abt. OWL”) itself or from a perspective of an employee of the institution. The interviewee rather focussed on the Lippe as region, its identity, historical events and artefacts and spoke about it as an expert in that theme. The interviewee’s expertise (mentioning his own contributions, lectures and publications), which is linked to the overall context of Lippe and contributes to the reproduction of cultural interpretations and subjectification, is thus in the foreground. In other words, his professional expertise on the history of Lippe, its protagonists and events, continues to have an effect even after the end of his institutional involvement.

OWL 03: The interviewee manifested a strong identification with the region and the people of Lippe. The interviewee was well informed about the history of the institution (“Lippisches Landesmuseum”) and its relation with the other institutions. Reflecting on an exhibition about the princess Pauline, organised by the institution (not by the interviewee specifically), the interviewee presented a distanced position: “I don’t really have anything to do with it, just the museum, right?” The interviewee was critical about the figure-centred communication of history (e.g., as in case of the princess Pauline) and neglect of the “everyday culture” within it:

“And that at the moment our historical consciousness is moving away from... I’m coming back from my subject, from everyday culture, and towards the history of the individual. (...) for here, for the house, I would see it that way. (...) But also... just look at the whole tabloid press. They only present personalities. They don’t question anything. And I think it’s more like... I’ll say it’s all about glamour and glory. (...) the simple everyday culture, the history of the... I’ll just say the cottagers, the farmers, I don’t think that’s so up to date anymore. (...) Pauline is of course, she is first of all... as a woman she is well suited to be put in the focus.” (OWL 03)

OWL 07: In addition to strong positive identification with the region, the interviewee identified strongly with its own institution (“Landesverband Lippe”) as well. The interviewee used mainly “we” instead of “I” throughout the whole interview—focussing on the responsibilities and actions of the institutions and not focussing on his individual contribution, e.g., “... we manage the princely assets (...) we—we at the ‘Landesverband Lippe’ (...) we do differentiate (...) we currently have the rule in our museums that (...)”, etc. This shows how much the interviewee identifies with the institution and its content and social practices.

The interviewees referred to particular artefacts with certain qualitative descriptions, denoting attitude of the interviewees towards those artefacts and structures. Analysing the collected data, several themes were identified, grouped into three main categories, the interviewee’s position towards the following: (1) past political spaces and borders; (2) socio-cultural and confessional aspects; and (3) socio-economic-political aspects (see Figure 5).



**Figure 5.** Synthesis overview—complementary analysis of the selected interviews—subjectification. Illustration by the Authors.



#### 4.2.1. Past Political Spaces and Borders

The interviewees referred to several changes in socio-political orders, institutional changes and dynamics in cooperation. The interviewees OWL 03 and OWL 07 referred to the change of political orders, in particular to the dissolution of the Free state of Lippe after the WW II, which had a major impact on the region and especially from the perspective of the interviewee OWL 07 and the institution the interviewee OWL 07 is representing—“Landesverband Lippe”. The “Landesverband Lippe” was established at that period, in 1948, taking the responsibility for the assets of the Free state of Lippe, which emerged from the Principality of Lippe in 1918. This had a major impact on the position of the interviewee OWL 07 related to the other aspects (artefacts, discourses and practices) mentioned in the interview. Cooperation between communities or institutions is perceived through the institution the interviewee OWL 07 is representing and its cooperation with the “Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe” (LWL) is mentioned as the most important to the “outside”. Also, “Lippische Heimatbund” and “Kreis Lippe”, including the “Marketing-Tourismus GmbH”, are mentioned as internal collaborators (within Lippe) (OWL 07). This indicates the scarcity of collaborations with institutions/communities outside of Lippe, and inward-oriented approach of the institution—following the past political borders from the period of the Principality of Lippe.

Aspirations to dissolve regional institutions (e.g., archives, banks) are mentioned, in particular, the example of the Sparkasse bank and the fusion of Detmold (Lippe) and Paderborn (Ostwestfalen) branch offices (OWL 01). The interviewee OWL 01 denoted this decision of the bank as purely economical, questioning why Detmold was not connected to Lemgo (both Lippe)—creating a “Lippe Sparkasse”. On the one hand, this shows that the merger represents a fundamental break with Lippe’s spatial references, which cancels out Lippe’s past territoriality. On the other hand, the purely economic justification is incomprehensible to the interviewee for this very reason. The interviewee laments the loss of the territorial unity of Sparkasse Detmold (formerly “Lippische Spar- und Leihkasse”), but does not see that the merger will strengthen the current spatial structure of East Westphalia-Lippe. Also, the interviewee OWL 07 reflected on the “double structure” and overlapping responsibilities of the “Landesverband Lippe” and the “Kreis Lippe”, referring to some aspirations to transfer the responsibilities of the “Landesverband Lippe” to the “Kreis Lippe” and dissolve the “Landesverband Lippe”: “... there are voices in Lippe who say that it must be abolished, that it is a double structure of ‘Kreis’ and ‘Landesverband’, that it could be merged and that would save a lot of money. In concrete terms, it is the Left Party in the ‘Kreistag’ who say that the ‘Landesverband’ no longer has a right to exist. The tasks could be transferred to the ‘Kreis’.” The interviewee OWL 07 noted financial difficulties within the cultural institutions, linking it to this issue. Nevertheless, OWL 03 argues that the institutions and people in Lippe are holding on to the existing structures.

The interviewee OWL 01 reflected on the administrative fusion of Detmold (Lippe) and Minden (Ostwestfalen) after the WW II. In this case, the administration of the regional government moved to Detmold, resulting in reduced importance of Minden which caused protests and dissatisfaction of officials and employees in Minden. Similarly, the interviewee OWL 01 referred to the internal relations within Lippe—between Detmold and Lemgo, as well—in particular, the long-past shift in dominance between the two cities, when Detmold became the “residence” city (where the prince is based) in 1617. While the interviewee OWL 01 mentioned that there are “people” who still perceive the past conflicts and changes in relations between Lippe and Ostwestfalen in the same way, the interviewee’s position towards the assumed ambivalence between Detmold and Lemgo (internally Lippe) nowadays is recognised in denoting it as a “folkloristic history” (OWL 01). The interviewee OWL 01 saw the past conflicts and changes in power between the cities within Lippe as not active or relevant anymore, yet as continuously present in public

narratives which is preserving and enabling possible referencing to those when necessary to differentiate or justify certain actions by the institutions or individuals within the region.

#### 4.2.2. Socio-Cultural and Confessional Aspects

The interviewees referred to some confessional aspects, such as the confessional spatial borders (e.g., Lutheran-, Reformed- and Catholic-majority territories) as well as the symbols of power (e.g., spatial symbols—churches, crosses, etc.). The difference between Detmold and Lemgo is mentioned in terms of confession, explaining how Lemgo succeeded in maintaining a Lutheran confession during the second reformation, unlike the rest of Lippe—being reformed-majority territory (OWL 01 and OWL 07). Similarly, the interviewee OWL 03 emphasised the relationship/difference between the Evangelicals and the Catholics in Ostwestfalen.

A reference to the “Lippische Landeskirche”, the evangelical church of Lippe (nowadays both Lutheran and Reformed confession) was made by the interviewees OWL 01 and OWL 07 and in context of supporting the territoriality of Lippe—having “Lippe” in its name, and therefore, being an identification point. The church is based in Detmold and its territory is the same as the territory of the former principality of Lippe, indicating the continuation of the territoriality of Lippe through various aspects, including the confessional one.

The confessional differences continue to play a role, and Lemgo is often perceived as an enclave within Lippe (maintaining Lutheran confession within the reformed-majority territory of Lippe). Similarly, Lippe can be perceived as a reformed-enclave, surrounded by the Catholics-majority Westfalen [41].

Another reference was made by the interviewee OWL 01 to the establishment of the Catholic elementary school in Lippe. It was referred to in relation to the punctuations, conflicts and protests. The decisive factor for the establishment of the Catholic school was the change of government in Düsseldorf in 1950 (CDU government came along) and the new Minister of Culture, which the interviewee denotes as “extremely conservative”. Despite the initial refusal to admit the school, which the interviewee OWL 01 correlates with the punctuations and the guaranteed preservation of the Lippe community school on a Christian basis but without a denominational school, and despite the protests, the school was eventually established, as there were enough Catholic parents who applied to the establishment. The interviewee OWL 01 denotes the story as quite controversial and having considerable conflict. The story highlights the impact of the dominant confession of a region on religious practices within the region.

The interviewees OWL 03 and OWL 07 emphasised a strong orientation on the traditional elements of Lippe in cultural patterns and their role in manifestation of the identity of Lippe, especially related to the cultural heritage, historical buildings and the landscape of Lippe.

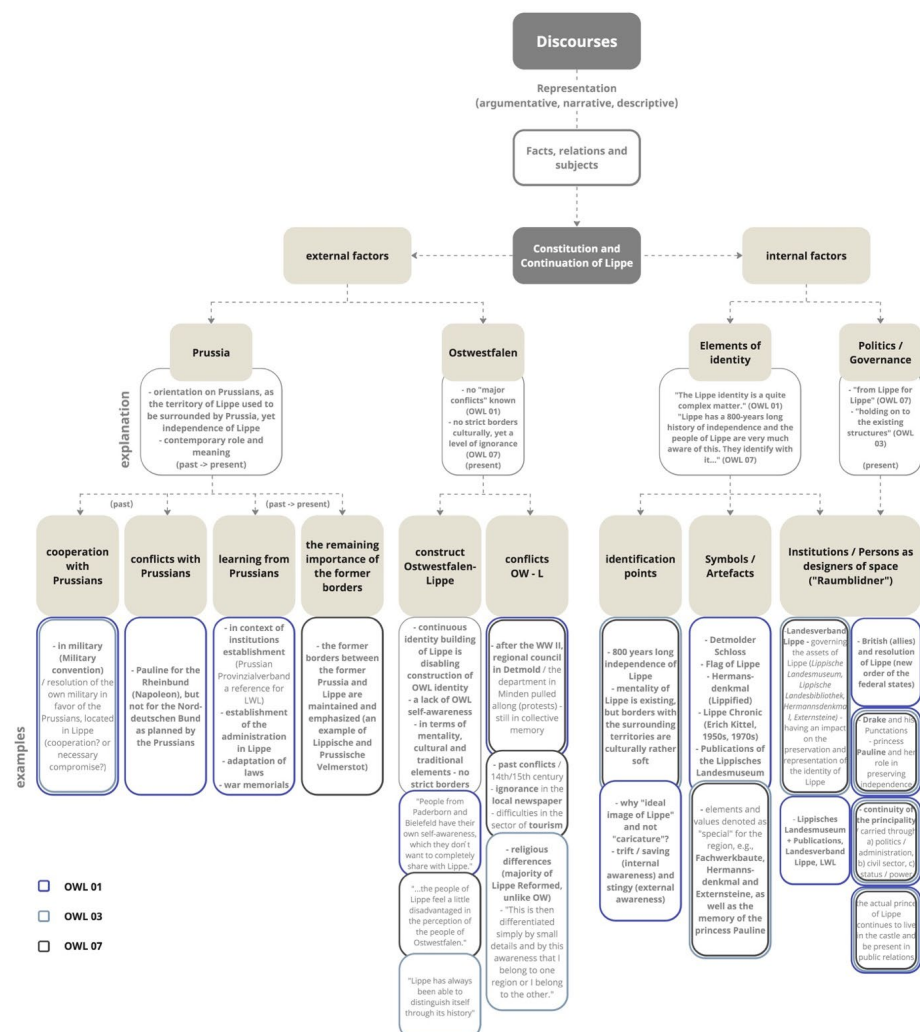
#### 4.2.3. Socio-Economic-Political Aspects

The interviewees referred to several artefacts and structures that are related to the manifestation of the meaning of Lippe and the power which comes from the status (e.g., noble, economic, institutional). In particular, the interviewees referred to the princess Pauline and her socio-political engagement and political decisions that contributed to the maintenance of the territoriality of Lippe. Similarly, a reference to Drake was made, as he contributed to maintaining the integrity of Lippe also in the post-war period within the new socio-political order. Also, the interviewee OWL 01 denoted him as the “descendant” of the prince, because of the way he governed: “It’s an absolutist, monarchical one. Well, I mean, it didn’t last that long, but it’s typical of him and his attitude. So, it’s a somewhat

more authoritarian generation” (OWL 01). The role of the principality continues, as perceived by the interviewees, through the role of the two structures—the “Landesverband Lippe” and the actual prince of Lippe. Their significant role comes from their status—the “Landesverband Lippe” is governing the assets of Lippe and supporting culture, cultural institutions and cultural events of Lippe, and the actual prince of Lippe is mentioned by the interviewee OWL 01 in terms of his presence despite the abolition of the monarchy a long time ago. The interviewee OWL 07 emphasised the impact of the institution the interviewee is representing, the “Landesverband Lippe”, and its role as the local governing body for maintaining the identity of Lippe and reinforcing the identification of people with the region. Additionally, the interviewee OWL 03 reflected on the role of the institution this interviewee is representing, the “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, in creating and presenting (the image) of the history of Lippe.

#### 4.3. Discourses

The discourses are understood as argumentative, narrative or descriptive representation of certain aspects related to Lippe. In particular, the facts, relations and subjects related to the “Constitution and Continuation of Lippe” are analysed. In this regard, the interviewees referred to certain aspects which can be classified under the “external factors” (linked to the RQ 3.1) and certain “internal factors” (linked to the RQ 3.2) (see Figure 6).



**Figure 6.** Synthesis overview—complementary analysis of the selected interviews—discourses. Illustration by the Authors.

Regarding the “external factors”, the interviewees reflected on the relations between Lippe and the other surrounding territories, in particular Ostwestfalen (nowadays part of OWL together with Lippe), as well as other territorial entities from the past, in particular Prussia and the past relations with it, which had an impact on the constitution and continuation of Lippe, its territoriality and identity. In addition to it, the interviewees reflected on the “internal factors” of Lippe itself, which are contributing to the constitution and continuation of Lippe, its territoriality and identity.

#### 4.3.1. Prussia

The relation to Prussia was mainly explained through the orientation on Prussians, as the territory of Lippe used to be completely surrounded by Prussia, while the independence of Lippe was preserved. This relation was explained through the following: (1) cooperation with Prussians, (2) conflicts with Prussians, (3) learning from Prussians and (4) the remaining importance of the former borders.

In terms of cooperation, the military connections from the 19th century are mentioned by the interviewees OWL 01 and OWL 03. The military convention meant the resolution of the own military in favour of the Prussians, located in Lippe. It is a question if this was a real cooperation or a necessary compromise. The interviewee OWL 01 notes that the relation with Prussians was not always without tensions. In particular, a reference to preservation of the independence for the region of Lippe (events, but also conflicts leading to it, including the princess Pauline, which had a leading role within it) is highlighted by the interviewee OWL 01.

Lippe was learning from Prussians in terms of the establishment of institutions, e.g., Prussian “Provinzialverband” was a reference for the “Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe” (LWL). The interviewee OWL 01 denotes LWL as a “Prussian institution”. The interviewee OWL 01 notes that the administration of Lippe in general was strongly oriented on Prussians in the 19th century, including the use of Prussian laws:

“It was probably also the case that the Lippe administration in the 19th century was strongly influenced by Prussia. It is said that they always copied the Prussian laws and then passed them here as Lippe laws.” (OWL 01)

The interviewee OWL 07 has not reflected on the past relations (such as cooperation or conflicts with Prussians), or learning from Prussians, but rather referred to the contemporary role and meaning. The interviewee mentioned the remaining importance of the borders between the former Prussia and Lippe, which are maintained and emphasised, giving an example of “Lippische Velmerstot” and “Preußische Velmerstot”.

The representation of this narrative of a small and yet strong and independent principality of Lippe in the context of a powerful Prussia is operationalised to underline the strength and stability of Lippe, its identity and territoriality—no matter how difficult or unfavourable circumstances have been in the past, or could be in the future. The emphasis of the former borders (as in an example of Velmerstot) is used as an instrument to further support this narrative in the public discourse.

#### 4.3.2. Ostwestfalen

The interviewee OWL 01 referred to the long-term identity building of the Lippe entity, noting that the manifestation of the Ostwestfalen-Lippe identity and awareness (corresponding to its entity) is unclear. The continuous formation of Lippe’s identity within the borders of the former principality, which continues to this day, hinders the development of the East Westphalian-Lippe identity and the self-confidence that refers to it. Additionally, the interviewee OWL 03 recognised religious differences—the majority of Lippe being reformed, unlike Ostwestfalen.

The interviewee OWL 07 reflected on the “construct OWL [Ostwestfalen-Lippe]”, explaining how the people of Lippe always feel a little bit left behind compared to Ostwestfalen. This perception applies to the North Rhine-Westphalian level (within the federal state) as well, as the interviewee explains:

“It’s actually true that I think that the people of Lippe feel a little disadvantaged in the perception of the people of East Westphalia. And even then, at the North Rhine-Westphalian level, people from Düsseldorf say, yes, East Westphalia... oh yes, Lippe is part of it too.” (OWL 07)

This observation by the interviewee suggests that there is a remaining need for comparison between Ostwestfalen and Lippe, instead of the focus of the both parties on building a common identity and acting as the region Ostwestfalen-Lippe.

Nevertheless, in terms of the mentality of Lippe or other cultural and traditional elements, the interviewees OWL 03 and OWL 07 argue that there are no strict borders between Lippe and Westfalen. This indicates the presence of rather similar cultural patterns, which are not emphasised enough.

The interviewee OWL 01 referred to the past conflict between Lippe and Ostwestfalen, the conflict dating already from the 14th/15th century. Both interviewee OWL 01 and interviewee OWL 07 reflected on the conflicts from the recent past (after the WW II) as well, when the officials were supposed to move from Minden (Ostwestfalen) to Detmold (Lippe) as the regional council moved to Detmold and the department in Minden was pulled along. The interviewees mention the resistance and conflicts, due to the dissatisfaction of officials and employees in Minden. Additionally, the interviewee OWL 07 recognised the impact of those actions nowadays as well, with a certain level of ignorance coming from the side of people of Minden towards the region of Lippe. Similarly, the interviewee OWL 07 notes comparable behavioural patterns in relation between Lippe and Bielefeld, exemplified with a local newspaper. Additionally, the interviewee OWL 07 recognised difficulties in the sector of tourism as well, referring to the OWL GmbH, which is supposed to represent the whole region OWL and yet, as the interviewee claims, it is including Lippe on a low level.

The past conflicts and shifts in dominance between the cities of Lippe and the cities of Ostwestfalen remain present in the public discourses, being referred to whenever it is necessary to differentiate or compare the two parts of the region. The repeating pattern of emphasising differences and conflicts is hindering the development of Ostwestfalen-Lippe identity and unity, leaving it as an artificial, contested “construct”.

#### 4.3.3. Elements of Identity

The interviewee OWL 01 denoted the identity of Lippe as rather complex. The “ideal image of Lipper” was explained through some characteristics generally associated with Lipper, such as “thrift/saving” (their internal awareness) and “stingy” (as they are perceived by externals).

For the constitution of the Lippe identity, several symbols/artefacts were mentioned by the interviewees, such as the castle and the flag of Lippe. The publications such as “Lippe Chronic” by Erich Kittel [42] and the publications of the “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, were mentioned by the interviewee OWL 01, having an important role in the continuation and representation of the Lippe identity. The interviewees OWL 03 and OWL 07 mentioned the “Hermannsdenkmal” and the “Externsteine”, denoting them as “typical” for Lippe. However, the interviewee OWL 01 argued that the “Hermannsdenkmal” was appropriated as part of the Lippe narrative (“lippification”). As explained earlier, “Hermannsdenkmal” was reinterpreted from a national monument to a symbol of identity for Lippe (see Section 4.1). This and other artefacts (monuments, symbols,

publications, etc.), acting as identification points of Lippe, are contributing to the continuation of the Lippe identity and strengthening Lippe as a separate territory. This inwards-oriented approach is preventing the common identity-building of Ostwestfalen-Lippe as a common region.

The interviewees OWL 03 and OWL 07 highlighted a 800-year long independence of Lippe, recognising self-awareness and strong identification with it of the people in Lippe. Nevertheless, the interviewees were arguing that the borders, especially towards Westfalen, but also Niedersachsen, are rather soft. This observation indicates that, despite the urge to maintain former territorialities by emphasising differences and specificities, the cultural patterns between the spatially close territories, in this case Lippe and surrounding territories, are not that different.

#### 4.3.4. Institutions/Persons as Designers of Space (“Raumbildner”)

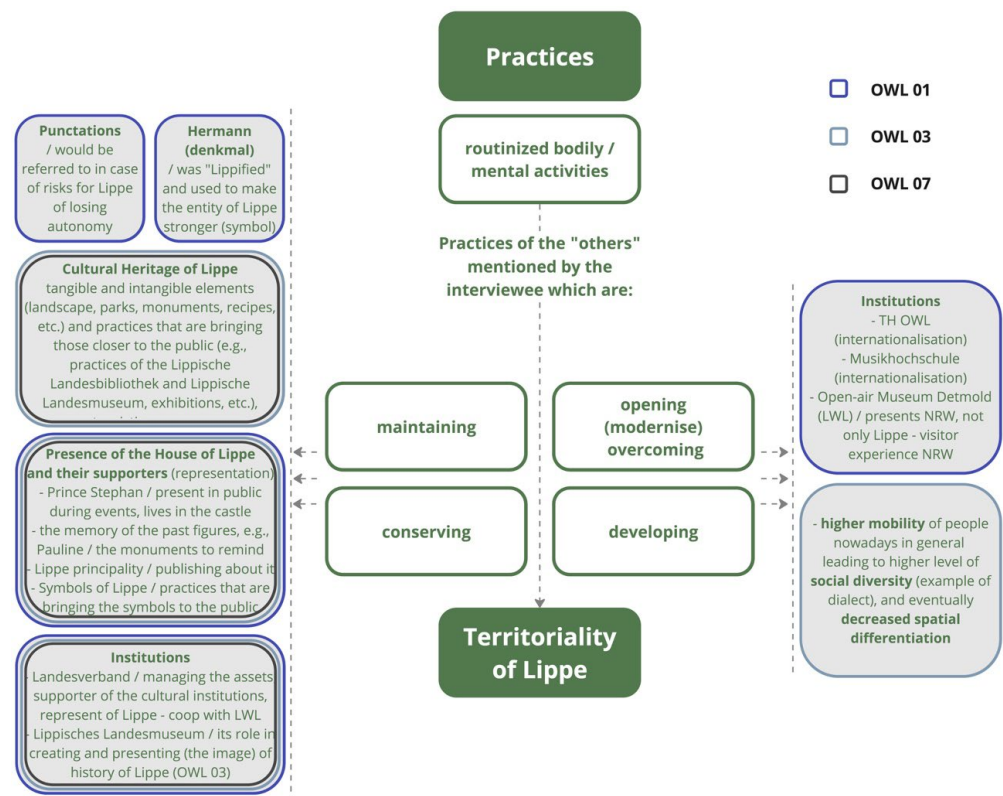
The interviewees referred to several institutions/persons which can be denoted as designers of space (“Raumbildner”)—understood as being both elements of the identity of Lippe and part of the politics/governance of Lippe.

The interviewee OWL 07, as a representative of the “Landesverband Lippe”, gave an insight into the important role and responsibilities of the institution in terms of governing the assets of Lippe emphasising its impact on the preservation (and representation) of the identity of Lippe. The “Lippisches Landesmuseum” (with the publications) and “LWL” are additional institutions mentioned by the interviewees.

Moreover, the most important figures from the history of Lippe, such as the princess Pauline, are mentioned in the context of her political and social impact, related to the preservation of the independence of Lippe. Additionally, Heinrich Drake is mentioned by the interviewees, in context of his political impact on the preservation of Lippe and its identity, as well as enabling the governance of the assets locally. The interviewee OWL 01 mentioned the role of the British allies in the new order of the federal states and the position of Lippe within it. The continuity of the principality, which is carried through politics/administration, civil sector and status/power, has a significant role for the preservation of Lippe. The fact that the actual prince of Lippe continues to live in the castle has an impact as well.

#### 4.4. Practices

This part of the analysis identified practices of the “others” mentioned by the interviewees, which are maintaining and conserving (related to the RQ 4.1) or opening (modernising), overcoming and developing (related to the RQ 4.2) the territoriality of Lippe (see Figure 7).



**Figure 7.** Synthesis overview—complementary analysis of the selected interviews—practices. Illustration by the Authors.

The analysis of the interviews identified the following practices of the “others” that are maintaining and conserving Lippe, its territoriality and identity:

- Referring to punctuations in case of any risks for Lippe of losing autonomy, threats to its identity, etc. (OWL 01);
- Hermann (denkmal) being “lippified” and continuously used to make the entity of Lippe stronger, becoming a symbol (OWL 01);
- Cultural heritage of Lippe, tangible and intangible elements (landscape, parks, monuments, recipes, etc.) and practices that are bringing those closer to the public (e.g., practices of the “Lippische Landesbibliothek” and “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, exhibitions, etc.) (OWL 03, OWL 07);
- Presence of the House of Lippe and its supporters (representation) reflected through the presence of the prince Stephan in public during events, him living in the castle, as well as the interest of people for the house (e.g., reflected in interest of people for the wedding of the prince). Moreover, the memory of Pauline and building monuments to provide reminders. Also, publishing about the principality and other practices that are bringing the symbols of Lippe to the public (OWL 01, OWL 03, OWL 07);
- Practices of the institutions—e.g., “Landesverband Lippe” managing the assets of Lippe, supporting the cultural institutions and being representative of Lippe; “Lippisches Landesmuseum”—its practices that are creating and presenting (the image of) the history of Lippe (OWL 01, OWL 03, OWL 07).

Although most of the aspects mentioned by the interviewees are related to the things that are maintaining and conserving the territoriality of Lippe, there are certain aspects mentioned that are opening (modernising) or developing Lippe further.

In particular, the institutions such as “Technische Hochschule Ostwestfalen-Lippe” (TH OWL) and “Musikhochschule” are examples of that, as their activities are contributing to the internationalisation of the region, as the interviewee OWL 01 explained.

In addition to the two institutions of the higher education, the interviewee OWL 01 referred also to the “Landesverband Westfalen-Lippe (LWL)” with its open-air museum in Detmold, which is presenting the culture of NRW and not only Lippe, offering to visitors an experience beyond Lippe only, or an experience of Lippe as an integrated part of NRW.

Furthermore, the interviewee OWL 03 emphasised the role of the higher mobility of people nowadays, leading to an exchange and higher level of social diversity (example of the dialect in Lippe) and eventually decreased spatial differentiation between Lippe and surrounding territories. The interviewee OWL 03 argued that for a change in relations and structures to happen, political actions are needed:

“People hold on to existing structures. Maybe because they don’t know of a better alternative at the moment. Maybe because old structures always offer a certain level of security. Because people are used to what they are used to or like to fall back on what they are used to. In my opinion, new structures can only emerge if we change something new politically or install something new. And ... yes, I would think that is not in sight at the moment.” (OWL 03)

This observation by the interviewee OWL 03 indicates the significant role of the existing cultural patterns and structures on the social practices, which in return, through constant repetition and joint performance of social groups, continue to reinforce the established orders of knowledge. In order for change to take place, old structures must be criticised and new structures developed. This requires a change in the practices (of individuals) within institutions and means a fundamental questioning of previous procedures and processes.

#### 4.5. Synthesis Overview of the Main Results

The complementary analysis of the selected interviews showed the following:

- Most of the artefacts/structures mentioned by the interviewees date from centuries ago, many from the 12th–15th century, some from the 16th–17th century, some emerged in the 19th century, while only several artefacts date from the 20th century. The interviewees revealed a comparable importance of the artefacts from the very distant past and contemporary context. The high density of those symbols is highlighting the territorial unit of “Lippe” (from past to present).
- Regarding the spatial distribution of the artefacts, the majority of those mentioned by the interviewees are located in the city of Detmold and only a few in other cities. This indicates a dominance of the city of Detmold in terms of distribution of both spatial and social structures relevant for the territory of Lippe. It reflects the centralised political power at the time of the principality (the residency in Detmold), which had an impact on the later development of the region as well.
- The study identified a remaining significance of past historical borders, despite them being no longer active, as is the case of the long-gone territorial border between Lippe and Prussia—people of Lippe being still very sensitive nowadays about it. The narrative of a small and yet strong and independent principality of Lippe in the context of a powerful Prussia is operationalised to underline the strength and stability of Lippe, its identity and territoriality—no matter how difficult or unfavourable circumstances have been in the past, or could be in the future.
- The narratives of the past actions, events and decisions is mainly preserved and transmitted by the institutions of Lippe (e.g., “Landesverband Lippe”, the key



institution in governing the assets of Lippe locally, providing a certain level of integrity and further autonomy; “Lippisches Landesmuseum” and its practices that are creating and presenting (the image of) history of Lippe). These institutions thus continue to contribute to the perception of Lippe as a territory and, in particular, to manifesting it through an inward-looking historical narrative. Furthermore, the inward-oriented approach of the institutions is reflected in the scarcity of collaborations with institutions/communities outside of Lippe.

- The role of the principality of Lippe continues, as perceived by the interviewees, and even though it has not existed since 1918, it remains an anchor of identity for the people of Lippe. The continuity of the principality is carried through politics/administration, the civil sector and status/power of certain structures, e.g., practices of the “Landesverband Lippe”, presence of the House of Lippe and the actual prince of Lippe continuing to live in the castle, publishing about the principality, and other practices that are bringing the symbols of Lippe to the public.
- There is a strong orientation on the traditional elements of Lippe in cultural patterns and it has an important role in manifestation of the identity of Lippe, especially related to the cultural heritage, historical buildings and the landscape of Lippe. These artefacts are being used to make the entity of Lippe stronger, acting as identification points of Lippe, contributing to continuation of the Lippe identity and strengthening Lippe as a separate territory. This is reinforced through the practices that are bringing those artefacts closer to the public (e.g., practices of the “Lippische Landesbibliothek” and “Lippisches Landesmuseum”, exhibitions, etc.).
- The continuous formation of Lippe’s identity within the borders of the former principality, which continues to this day, hinders the development of the Ostwestfalen-Lippe identity and the self-confidence that refers to it. Although the cultural patterns between these spatially close territories are not that different, there is an urge to maintain former territorialities by emphasising differences and not similarities. The past conflicts and shifts in dominance between the cities of Lippe and the cities of Ostwestfalen remain present in the public discourses, being referred to whenever it is necessary to differentiate or compare the two parts of the region. Moreover, the confessional differences continue to play a role, and Lemgo is often perceived as an enclave within Lippe (maintaining Lutheran confession within the reformed-majority territory of Lippe). The repeating pattern of emphasising differences and conflicts is hindering the development of the Ostwestfalen-Lippe identity and unity, leaving it as an artificial, contested “construct”.

## 5. Discussion

The high degree of “habitualisation” of actions and behaviour of institutions and individuals in Lippe, identified as *practices*, the continuous representation of narratives, often from the distant past, defined as *discourses*, and nurtured relevance of the past figures, symbols and objects, denoted as *artefacts*, proved their role in the continuation of territoriality of Lippe. This has an impact on the internal perception, *subjectification*, of individuals, as well as institutions and different social groups in the region; on the willingness to collaborate with the closest territorial entities, their institutions and structures; and on further development and modernisation of the region in line with the contemporary societal values and aims.

The specific case study of the Ostwestfalen-Lippe (OWL) region showed how long-past territorialities and historical spatial and social references have an impact on the contemporary practices of the institutions and individuals, hindering cross-regional, but also inter-regional cooperation (within OWL itself). Hirschhausen et al. [23] were also able to work out the power of historical territorialities with their concept of “phantom borders”.

Using empirical findings and conceptual categorisations, they demonstrate the effectiveness of historical spatial orders in East Central Europe in the present day. They noticed “striking similarities between regional differences and long abolished [historical] borders” [23] (p. 7). In the absence of action and measures for overcoming the previously identified issues, the region struggles to move forward.

Furthermore, the social practices and patterns we revealed and presented in our research showed how important and strong those institutions and individuals are in their role of “designers of space”—the “Raumbildner”. According to Reckwitz [1] (p. 122), practices are “always cultural practices in that they contain specific cultural orders of knowledge”. These cultural orders are expressed on two levels, which contribute to the collective consolidation of certain spatial images, concepts of space and demarcations: the “public lexicon” as an institutionalised, collective form of memory, and the “private album”, which contains the individual transmission of knowledge of history(ies) and localisation(s) shaping in the family environment [43]. Both levels interact and are more or less interwoven depending on the context. Using our study as an example, we were able to show that institutions, in the sense of a public lexicon (artefacts, discourses, practices), still refer to historical territorialities that were meaningful to them and thus reflect a kind of routine in behaviour and thus in practices. Reckwitz describes this as a repetition sequence, “in which one acts ‘again and again’ in a certain way. However, this ‘again and again’ is also ‘always new’, in the sense that the act is unique and can never be a complete copy of the past, but sometimes contains more, sometimes less significant deviations, irritations and innovations” [1] (p. 123). In other words, when we talk about practices, we find routines in dealing with this or that on the one hand, but at the same time—and this is inherent to culture—more or less strong modifications of these routines. Even if today’s institutions are modern and forward looking, their behavioural patterns refer and relate to past meanings and significance in connection with space and its territorial boundaries. Their actions therefore legitimise the historical spatial layout, as it is directly linked to the institutions. It is therefore quite difficult to overcome these historical boundaries, as this in some way calls these institutions themselves into question. Revealing and highlighting the usually invisible cultural patterns therefore represents an important contribution to spatial planning and possible future development of the region. It is enabling a better understanding of what spatial knowledge systems exist and how strong those links to the past events, actions and figures can be. Thus, it is providing a basis for addressing the current challenges and difficulties in modernisation and development of the region.

The study points to several aspects for future research. Firstly, our study was limited to the specific case study on a regional scale. It needs more comparative research, which is planned in the next steps. It is necessary to compare or contrast the experiences of this set of interviewees and identify social practices and cultural patterns with the experiences from other regions. Secondly, it was targeting representatives of institutions, and integrating insights of the local population might provide further relevant perspectives. Also, “external” perspectives, those coming from the surrounding territories, could be explored further. Thirdly, our research was bounded by the strong focus on the past and its impact on the current situation. Further research oriented on the future perspectives is necessary to shed light on possibilities of overcoming the identified issues and developing planning practices to facilitate alteration of the outdated patterns.

## 6. Conclusions

The main findings of this study are related to the (1) methodological contribution—operationalisation of the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis” according to Andreas Reckwitz (see Section 6.1) and (2) substantive contribution—the role of social

practices on the continuation of territoriality of a region (see Section 6.2). Possible application of the analytical framework in planning research and practice is highlighted in Section 6.3.

#### *6.1. Methodological Reflection on the Operationalisation of the “Praxeological Quadrat of Cultural Analysis” According to Andreas Reckwitz*

Social practices are multi-layered and include routinised actions that are anchored in a cultural context. The application of the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis” according to Reckwitz, as a theoretical starting point, is intended to help capture the complexity of social practices and reveal the degree of habitualisation of those. The study conducted in Ostwestfalen-Lippe operationalises this approach through a triangulation of semi-structured interviews, narrative content analysis and a synthesis analysis. The combination of different methods makes it possible to analyse the different dimensions of social practices in as much detail and precision as possible. This approach contributes both to a certain “validation” of the findings and to a general increase in knowledge [44] (p. 12). At the same time, it helps to minimise method-related distortions and to obtain a holistic picture of the phenomena under investigation (mixed methods procedure) [45].

Furthermore, this study offered an empirical practicability of Reckwitz’s theoretical conception of the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis”. As earlier stated, his theoretical conception is very precise, with each dimension of the quadrat being clearly outlined in theoretical terms, yet without explicit indications on operationalisation of it in empirical research. Therefore, this study addressed the identified gap and offered an approach on usability and applicability of the model to analyse social practices. It provided a methodological framework for the collection, analysis and interpretation of data, translating the four dimensions of the quadrat into observable units. The approach enabled a deeper understanding on how space and territoriality are continuously (re-)produced through a network of repeated, habitualised practices.

#### *6.2. Substantive Reflection on the Correlation Between the Concepts of Territoriality and Social Practices*

The study revealed many social practices and patterns that are based on historical spatial and social references of the long-past territorialities. The narratives of past actions, events and decisions are mainly preserved and transmitted by the institutions of Lippe, which continue to maintain the memory of the artefacts linked to the principality of Lippe. They play an important role in maintaining and representing Lippe’s historical image, which is achieved through a high presence, density and contextualisation of artefacts, structures and symbols that emphasise the territorial unity and, to a certain extent, autonomy of “Lippe” (from the past to the present).

This inward-looking historical perspective of the institutions is contributing to the perception of Lippe as a separate territory, emphasising its territoriality and identity, while differentiating it from the surrounding territories. As a consequence, cooperation with institutions/communities outside of Lippe, through which the political territorial boundaries of the past are called into question, rarely takes place. The study revealed a remaining significance of those past political and historical borders, borders that are not visible in spatial terms, but are mentally very pronounced and active in the perception of the people of Lippe (we here—there the others).

Additionally, past conflicts and changes of power, even if they are no longer active or relevant, are constantly present in public narratives. This contributes to the fact that certain actions that transcend past borders and emphasise the common, supra-regional are questioned or rejected against the background of established orders of knowledge. The repeating pattern of emphasising differences and conflicts is hindering the

development of Ostwestfalen-Lippe identity and unity—although this spatial unit has existed on an administrative level through the administrative district of Detmold since 1947—leaving it as an artificial, contested “construct”.

These historical references identified in the study have an impact on the contemporary practices of the institutions and individuals, resulting in obstacles to action and co-operation at a local, regional and cross-regional level. The mental constructions, constituted through routinised practices and actions, give rise to patterns of spatial or regional identities of historical or historicising roots, and influence perceptions of belonging, foreignness and conflict.

Recognising mental constructions of space and reflecting on historical boundaries are essential for spatial and regional planning, as they reflect and shape social realities of the past, transmitted to the present, with an impact on the future. Planners, designers and decision-makers need to become more sensitive to these aspects. Planning that ignores these aspects risks exacerbating existing conflicts or developing spaces and (supra-)regional projects that are eventually contested. Knowledge of such regional orders of knowledge, which are expressed in artefacts, discourses, subjectification and practices, is relevant for many levels of spatial planning. They help planners to understand cultural and spatial settings and to consciously deconstruct and analyse them using the methodological approach shown in this study.

### *6.3. Application of the Analytical Framework in Planning Research and Practice*

By applying the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis” according to Reckwitz, we have shown that it is suitable as a tool in application-related spatial and regional planning research. The added value lies in the following points:

- Holistic analysis: it makes it possible to understand the complex interactions between material, social, subjective and symbolic dimensions;
- Cultural sensitivity: planning can respond better to cultural patterns and historical references, which can contribute to greater acceptance in planning processes;
- Sustainable spatial design: by taking practices into account, spaces can be transformed and used and maintained in the long term;
- Participatory planning: the integration of subjective experiences, individual and collective practices in space can promote more democratic and equitable planning.

A transfer of the application of the “praxeological quadrat of cultural analysis” is conceivable for planning processes in existing urban neighbourhoods, for example. The analysis of the cultural and symbolic significance of urban places and associated, multi-layered social practices would take greater account of the identity-forming effect of physical structures in urban spaces as well as social networks and neighbourhoods in planning. Urban development thus becomes a cultural process that strengthens community and local identity (for example in the revitalisation of historic city centres).

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