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Craft-art in the Danish countryside: reconciling a lifestyle, livelihood and artistic career through rural tourism

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ABSTRACT

To contribute new insight related to the entrepreneurial strategies adopted by local actors involved in rural tourism, this article explores the array of dynamics and complexities faced by the members of the Arts and Crafts Association Bornholm, Denmark. Besides juggling a livelihood with a desired lifestyle, artists pursue the ambition of professional success, which adds a new and interesting dimension to the conceptualization of individual and collective strategies related to lifestyle entrepreneurship, rural identities, the commercialization of rural symbols and products, and new modes of production in the countryside. In their search for customers and spectators, these craft-artists have created a professional brand and work individually on various entrepreneurial strategies, allowing them to benefit from the short but intensive tourist season on their rural island. These strategies blur the line not only between their lifestyle aspirations, career ambitions and livelihood necessities, but also between the commercial, professional and rural nature of the space they present to tourists. This qualitative study was primarily conducted through open-ended interviews with members of the association. It is discussed lastly that these artists consequently create for themselves a hybrid space, strategized and redefined in relation to the complexities of residing in a countryside integrated within a global system.

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Introduction

Over the years, the countryside has become a hybrid space where local individuals and groups negotiate in different ways their particular position in a global system (Heley & Jones, 2012; McCarthy, 2007; Murdoch, 2003, 2006; Woods, 2007, 2009). A variety of actors have responded to global socio-economic changes by innovating and restructuring rural spaces to participate in the service economy as tourist entrepreneurs (Hjalager, 1996). As these actors get involved in tourism, they are left to navigate a web of relations and expectations often not compatible with their initial ideal of a rural lifestyle. As Brandth and Haugen (2011), Burton and Wilson (2006) and Sims (2010) stress, these actors are often pushed to modify their values, identities and practices over time to accommodate their position in the dynamic chains of production, regulations and events that extend well beyond their rural space. They must, for instance, negotiate an ambiguous

relationship between social spheres commonly understood as separated realms: the idyllic lifestyle and the viable business model (Andersson Cederholm, 2014; Brandth & Haugen, 2012, 2014; Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010). In light of such tensions, Saxena (2012) calls for more creative theoretical approaches to examine the implications for rural actors of the global/local tensions played out between discourses of rurality, local agency, and processes of production and consumption in rural tourism. Understanding the dynamics of the complex systems these actors navigate is critical to tourism research as it helps to conceptualize on what ground rural tourism is negotiated and legitimized.

Mostly, in tourism research, the local actors studied to understand rural agency are tourist entrepreneurs. These individuals are often interested in combining a lifestyle with a livelihood in order to enjoy things like daily outdoor activities (Andersson Cederholm, 2014; Andersson Cederholm, & Hultman, 2010; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011). Alternatively, or concurrently, they may turn to tourism to support an enterprise they wish to preserve such as a farm. It is not unusual, for instance, for farmers to run a bed and breakfast establishment or make quality visitor-oriented products such as gourmet cheeses or honey (Everett, 2012; Hjalager, 1996; Sims, 2010). Little research in tourism investigates more deeply the complex ambitions and ambiguous positions of actors who are not entrepreneurs per se, but are nonetheless significant cultural attributes to the countryside. Besides juggling a livelihood with a desired lifestyle, artists pursue additionally the ambition of professional success and acquiring fame in their trade, leading them to enact business-like practices despite the fact that they do not consider themselves as entrepreneurs per se (Deener, 2009; Jenkins & Romanos, 2014; Sheehan, 2014). Studying artists established in the countryside can contribute new insight into the nature of rural strategies enacted in relation to discursive and material complexities as these actors strive simultaneously for a livelihood, artistic career and lifestyle in the countryside. This adds a new and interesting dimension to the conceptualization of individual and collective strategies related to lifestyle entrepreneurship, rural identities, the commercialization of rural symbols and products, and new modes of production in a countryside integrated within a global system.

This study, therefore, explores the various discourses and practices the craft-artists of the Arts and Craft Association Bornholm (ACAB), Denmark engage with as they pursue a livelihood in close relation to rural tourism. The study was conducted through qualitative fieldwork on the island of Bornholm, including open-ended interviews with ACAB members. To varying degrees, the craft-artists follow global market logic in the pursuit of their professional ambitions, which ironically seems antithetical to their desire to pursue an idyllic rural lifestyle. Through the ACAB, the craft-artists collectively diffuse a brand based in hand-made, local and authentic craftsmanship that appeals to them as professional artists. This type of commercialization is done not only to support their livelihood, but also to preserve their artistic integrity and to pursue professional ambitions. By commercializing their art, they engage in encounters with tourists based in values of quality closely linked to the rural authenticity sought by tourists. For certain craft-artists, their artistic identity even has to be reconciled with their individual decision to have designs reproduced through global chains of production to increase output numbers and profit. This opens a discussion on strategic entrepreneurial practices that simultaneously contest and confirm discourses of rurality, where these artists consequently

create for themselves a hybrid space, strategized and redefined in relation to the complexities of residing in the countryside as a professional craft-artist.

This article starts by reviewing some of the literature highlighting the global/local and urban/rural tensions identified in rural geography and rural tourism scholarship. It also discusses the agency with which local actors respond to these tensions, and its spatial implications. The case and its findings are then introduced to explore the interrelations, local strategies and tensions that materialize in the spaces of the craft-artists on Bornholm. The last section is used to further argue that scholars and practitioners alike should consider the complex systems rural people live in to understand the dynamics of rural tourism.

Tensions and agency in the countryside

Discourses of rurality associate the countryside with visions of bucolic idyll, tranquility, wilderness, agrarianism, scenic landscapes and pre-modern ways of life, simultaneously making it a playground and ideal living space (Baylina & Berg, 2010; Short, 2006), a backward space in need of development (Phillips, 2007), the theater of resource extraction (Desbiens, 2013) and an exclusive space (Bell & Valentine, 1995; Neal & Agyeman, 2006). Rurality is as such a social construct, or, as Mormont (1990) explains, an imagined entity, which takes shape through particular discourses of rurality produced, reproduced and contested by the media, policy-makers, academics, lobby groups and the general public. One of the most powerful and enduring notions of the countryside relates to the rural idyll, where the rural is connected to ideas of peace, spirituality and tranquility, in opposition to the fast pace of the city (Jepson & Sharpley, 2015; Short, 2006). The countryside is as such embellished through various discourses to represent an escape from modernity and the negativities of the city, mostly for those who look upon it as outsiders in outlets such as films, books, and the news (Avraham, 2003; Baylina & Berg, 2010; Bunce, 2003; Shields, 1991). However, the actual reality of the way people live in the countryside can differ greatly from these discourses (Woods, 2011).

Conflicts over the meaning of rurality led geographers to account for the material complexity of rural places as these various discourses impact and problematize the experience of those living in the countryside (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 2006; Marsden, 1998; Murdoch, 2003, 2006; Woods, 2007, 2009, 2011). Halfacree (2006) concedes that rural spaces are simultaneously imagined, material and practiced, which should encourage the dismissal of polarized locality-based and social representation-based attempts at defining rurality. The locality, its representations in outlets such as the media and political discourses, and the everyday lives of its inhabitants should be studied relationally to understand the emergence of rural spaces (Halfacree, 2006). Moreover, rural places are engulfed in the same processes that change and remake urban centers, which emphasize 'the significance of networks, connections, flows and mobilities in constituting space and place and the social, economic, cultural and political processes associated with them' (Woods, 2011, p. 40). Rural places are multiple and extroverted through their integration in the global system, and thus, their analysis requires an approach that sees them in relation to extra-local processes and structures, and the various discourses over the meaning of rurality (Marsden, 1998; Murdoch, 2003, 2006).

With such complex interrelations shaping the countryside, Woods (2007) contends that rural places are remade unevenly depending on the distinct power relations linking them

to other localities. For instance, Queenstown, New Zealand evolved into a highly commercialized space for mass adventure tourism (Woods, 2009), while Bornholm, Denmark retained a bucolic charm for family holidays (Larsen, 2006). How local actors engage with these manifestations cannot be reduced to their domination by forces out of their control (Bell, Lloyd, & Vatovec, 2010), rather 'The impact of globalization on rural localities is revealed not as domination or subordination but as negotiation, manipulation and hybridization, conducted through but not contained by local micro-politics' (Woods, 2007, p. 487). Local actors cannot resist all the pressures they face from extra-local phenomena, but they can adapt their networks, value systems and internal structures to take advantage of these (Chaperon & Bramwell, 2012; Jackiewicz, 2006; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). For instance, Chaperon and Bramwell (2012) describe how planning decisions were made in Malta to develop a golf complex on the peripheral island of Gozo. The Gozitan population, mostly opposed this project coming from the core, and tackled the matter by coming together as residents, local environmentalists and nature users to demonstrate their opposition. Their efforts attracted considerable media attention, raising awareness of the cause. The protestors' agency formed on a backdrop of structural oppression, but encouraged the formation of a global association to network with extra-local agents, ultimately preserving rural Gozo as the locals wished.

The actions of rural actors are not necessarily performed to actively revolt against global processes, but more as a form of passive resistance. For instance, in their study on Lijiang Ancient Town, China, Su and Teo (2008) explain how elderly Naxi people reclaimed touristic spaces through everyday activities and symbolic representations of their own cultural identity. By performing their traditional dances on the square unannounced, these dancers ascertain what they deem as appropriate spatial practices in the light of economic restructuring as they seek to preserve their culture amidst increased visitors. Rural individuals and groups negotiate in different ways their position within a political, social and economic system that goes beyond and between rural spaces (Heley & Jones, 2012; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007, 2009, 2011). It is the local responses to standardized global structures and discourses, and to various legal and governmental regulations that give rural places their unique hybrid character (Woods, 2007). To understand the nature of the countryside, it is thus crucial to understand how local actors individually and collectively respond to the discourses and structures affecting them.

Rural tourism

With the decline of primary and secondary economic activities traditionally defining the countryside as a productive space, local and national governments rely increasingly on the development of tourism activities to fill what is perceived as an economic void (Cawley & Gilmore, 2008; Lane, 2009; Saarinen, 2007). Concurrently, local actors respond to these changes and incentives by innovating and restructuring their spaces to participate in the service economy as tourist entrepreneurs (Hjalager, 1996). The countryside is generally viewed in terms of rural tourism as a place where the signs and symbols produced and consumed relate to particular traditional rural practices, products and lifestyles embedded within places (Ray, 1998; Sims, 2009). Rural tourism is often conceptualized, as in this study, as a form of tourism functionally rural, displaying small-scale enterprises, traditional social structures and ways of living, agrarian economies and non-urbanized settings (Lane, 2009).

Through the promotion of tourism entrepreneurship and development of new rural products, rural places become entangled in new ways with global/urban processes and discourses. The tensions of interest in this study are presented in relation to the agency rural actors have to navigate structures and processes that simultaneously contest and confirm rural discourses, mostly the one that has to do with the rural idyll. More precisely, this study observes that, through rural tourism, local actors have a chance to produce and distribute goods and services in ways that reflect values such as their local identity, belonging and autonomy (MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003). With standardization and the spread of idyllic rural discourses, researchers such as Everett (2012), Murray and Kline (2015) and Sims (2009) consider the artisanal and traditional localized modes of production of rural goods as key elements attracting tourists to the countryside. The tourists and rural actors thus work together to construct an image of the countryside that confirms the rural idyll. Ateljevic (2000) calls this 'circuits of tourism', where consumers and producers communicate and negotiate within particular social and institutional contexts the nature of the product at stake, eventually producing and reproducing discourses and practices that uphold this construction. As such, tourism is a socially constructed activity that gives place meaning, both real and simulated (Ateljevic, 2000).

Products such as foods, and crafts, made for the distribution of services such as hospitality and retail and for restaurants are positioned in wider chains of production in the effort to offer local goods and services appealing to tourists (Sims, 2010). These chains of production link them to other actors and processes, often forcing them to redefine their values and practices as rural stakeholders over time for practical reasons (Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Burton & Wilson, 2006; Sims, 2010). For instance, Sims (2010), in a study on local foods, identifies tensions between the ideal and practicalities of producing, supplying and consuming local goods. The different actors involved in her study modified their definition of 'local foods' to surpass practical issues as their relations with the other actors evolved. Local suppliers who expanded their businesses to the extent that they could no longer get the ingredients they needed for their shops, cafés or restaurants from local producers would redefine their status as local suppliers in terms that could accommodate these practical changes. Sims (2010, p. 113) explains: 'Different definitions of locality arise from the need to negotiate the tensions between the values that people hold about the food sector and the practicalities involved in producing, shopping and buying food products'. Local strategies are adopted through a reaffirmation of values in relation to other actors and processes in whole chains of production, found at both the local and extra-local levels, in the development of rural consumer goods.

Also of significant importance, the web of relations and expectations these rural actors get tangled in are often not compatible with their initial lifestyle ambitions. Andersson Cederholm (2014), Andersson Cederholm and Hultman (2010) and Brandth and Haugen (2012, 2014) all found in their studies on lifestyle entrepreneurs discourses amongst their respondents that both contradicted and confirmed rural lifestyle aspirations. For these entrepreneurs, factors such as being close to nature, doing what one loves every day and avoiding a stressful lifestyle are often significant to their decisions (Andersson Cederholm, 2014; Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011). However, while Andersson Cederholm (2014) writes that values of autonomy and freewill were apparent in the descriptions of her respondents about their identity as lifestyle workers, there were some practical issues in their tourist

enterprises that blurred the lines between work and leisure spheres. This was especially the case as these entrepreneurs negotiate commercial and professional friendships with their employees, and private and social relations with their clients. The traditional business model still infuses the lifestyle enterprise, consequently blurring the lines between the idyllic rural lifestyle and product, and the effective business and its standardized product traditionally associated with urban spheres and processes of globalization.

These studies of rural entrepreneurship highlight the complexities of the structures and processes affecting the countryside, and shed light on the individual and collective strategies and identities these actors adopt to harness rural and global processes to their advantage. There is nonetheless space in tourism research to study the strategies of different actors with complex ambitions and ambiguous positions as entrepreneurs who are significant cultural attributes to the countryside. The following case thus explores tensions related to lifestyle entrepreneurship, rural identities, the commercialization of rural symbols and products, and new rural modes of production by looking into the case of craft-artists established on Bornholm.

The craft-artists of Bornholm

Bornholm, with a population of 40,096, is a 588 km² Danish island in the Baltic Sea (Danmarks Statistik, 2014) (see [Figure 1\(a\)](#)). The annual number of tourists visiting the island is around 750,000, mostly Danes and Germans, who arrive within a short summer season beginning in June and ending in September (Larsen & Rømer, 2013). Tourism is mostly hotel- and camping-based, with a good portion of these tourists returning every summer to the same spot. The rural idyll is very significant in the construction of Bornholm as a tourist destination. With its picturesque fishing villages, beaches and other natural areas, and its family-friendly cycle paths, the island represents for many of its visitors simple living in the days of the nuclear family (Larsen, 2006), and so, many tourists come to Bornholm for family holidays. Retirees also represent a significant tourist segment on Bornholm.

The case of Bornholm reflects a wider discourse of tourism in rural areas. The island relies heavily on tourism during its summer months to bring in currency to its local businesses. At approximately 150 km from the core of Denmark, Bornholm faces the realities of the rural periphery: a decreasing and aging population, reliance on extra-local support, decline of traditional industries and depressed economy (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2013; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003). Bornholm underwent economic restructuring when its fishing industry started collapsing in the 1970s, coming to a halt in the 1990s. Various European and national programs were implemented in the 1990s to counter the collapsed economy of the island, with many supporting the tourism industry (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003). The restructuring encouraged the development of various micro-businesses involved generally with specialized foods, hospitality and handcrafts, which now characterize the local visitor-related economy (Manniche & Larsen, 2013).

Many craft-artists have permanent workshops where they make pieces to exhibit and sell on the island. Besides the common ceramic and glass design, textile design, knitwear, woodwork and jewelry also make up the craft-art cluster on Bornholm. The majority of the craft-artists of Bornholm tap into the tourist season by advertising their studios and galleries on tourism websites and by opening up their workshops to visitors during the summer. In the early 2000s, the development of the arts and craft cluster garnered

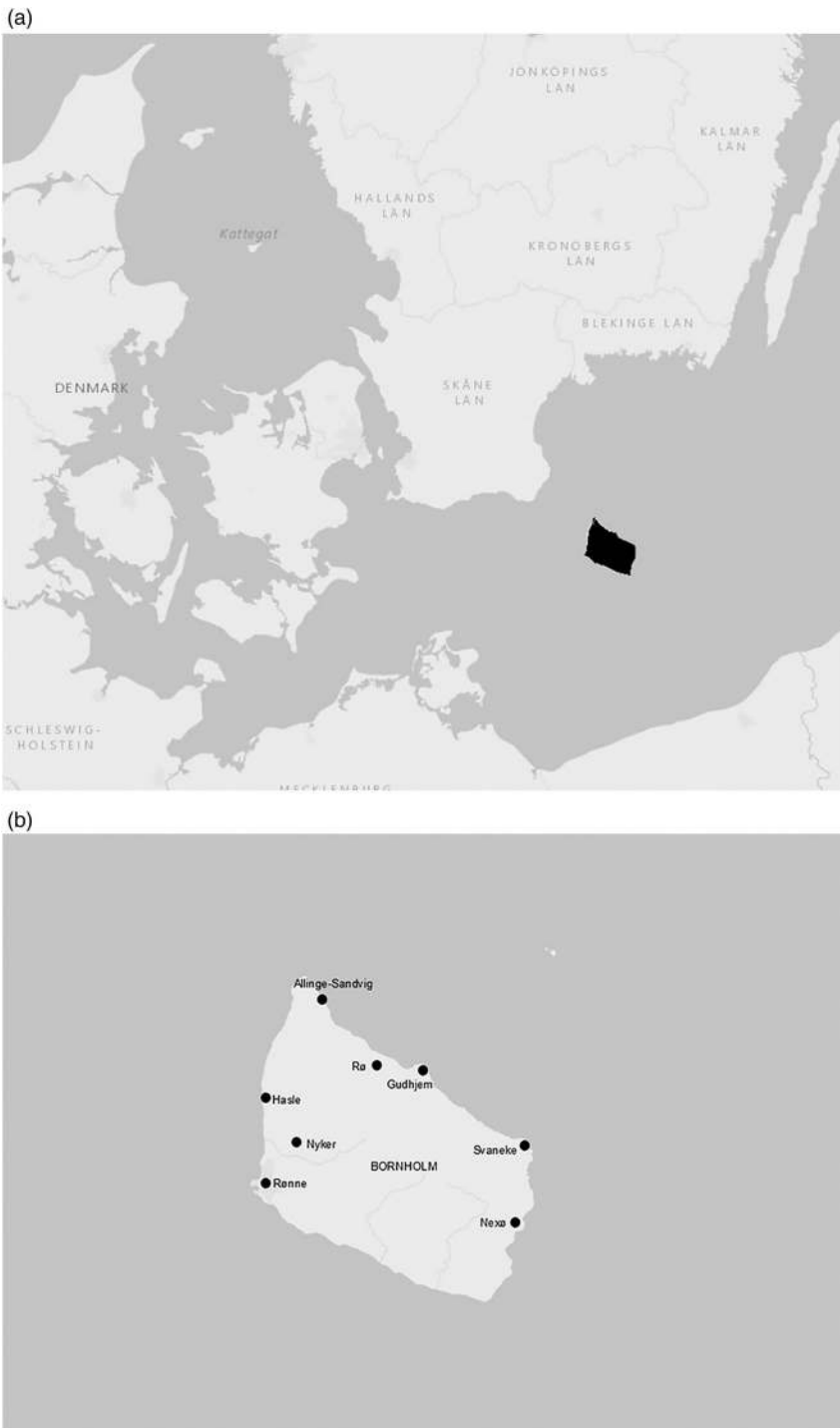


Figure 1. (a) Bornholm's location, (b) Bornholm's main towns.

attention from local politicians who were seeking to boost tourism on Bornholm by branding its municipalities. Part of this strategy included an interest in branding the Hasle municipality (see [Figure 1\(b\)](#)) as a center for craft-art, sparking the grassroots formation in 2002 of the Arts and Crafts Association Bornholm (ACAB). The founders of the ACAB believed that the craft-artists would benefit from presenting themselves as a professional interest group, rather than individually or as amateurs, when it came to benefiting from these development policies. The founders wanted an association that would provide a competitive advantage to its members on the international craft scene and during the tourist season. Membership would be based on a selection process to keep high-quality standards within the group and exclusivity to craft-artists established permanently on Bornholm. Eventually, the ACAB was able to secure funds from the European Union to strengthen its administrative competences and promote its brand, to the benefit of its members and the local economy. The ACAB began with 28 members and grew to its current 64 members. It is a cornerstone for professional artists who establish themselves on Bornholm to apply for membership in the ACAB, attesting to the successful development of the association into a local symbol for quality and professionalism.

Methodological framework

This study is the result of fieldwork on Bornholm during autumn 2013 and autumn 2014. The first visit lasted three weeks and the second five. Interviews were the main form of data collection during this fieldwork where 19 of the 64 members of the ACAB were visited at their workshops, boutiques or homes. The interview method was chosen since this study aims at understanding a phenomenon experienced by particular individuals. The interview participants were asked to comment on two questions, which could be explored more in depth with open-ended questions: what does it mean to be a crafts person on Bornholm, and how is it to live with the tourist season? To follow the evolution of discourses of rurality and their materialization within a complex countryside, the subsequent questions centered on everyday practices, meant at extracting narratives on the meaning of the actions and thoughts of the respondents (Freedman, 2004; Kvale, 1996). These questions generated interviews that lasted on average a little over an hour in length. The interviews were recorded and notes were taken after each meeting to capture the context of each respondent for the data analysis process. The autumn period was chosen for fieldwork because it is then the tourist season winds down, leaving time for the craft-artists to participate in interviews. The tourist season was not completely over though, making it possible to gather first-hand observations related to tourism and craft-art. These observations were conducted at various local galleries, museums and events.

The ACAB members interviewed were selected to generate a sample that could represent the spectrum of experiences within the association, with 5 glass designers, 1 woodworker, 1 textile designer, 1 knitwear designer, 1 potter and 10 ceramists interviewed (see [Table 1](#)). The ceramists represent the largest proportion of craft-artists in the association and so it was natural that more were interviewed. Within this sample were the two co-founders of the association, one also being a former longstanding chairwoman, and the current chairman. There were only five of the craft-artists interviewed, with two of them working as partners, who could be considered as running full-fledged businesses

Table 1. Biographical characteristics of interview participants.

Name (pseudonyms)	Craft	Location of workshop on Bornholm	Procedence	Type of enterprise	Mode of production	Professional status
(1) Alex	Ceramic	Rø	Denmark (Bornholm)	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Works a second job
(2) Caroline	Ceramic	Nyker	Sweden	Workshop at home and shared boutique elsewhere	All pieces made by artist by hand	Works a second job
(3) Clair	Glass	Rønne	Denmark	Career on-hold	Career on-hold	Does not work with glass currently
(4) Danny	Ceramic	Rø	Denmark (Bornholm)	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living from craft and support from spouse
(5) Emily	Ceramic	Svaneke	Denmark	Workshop at home and shared boutique elsewhere	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist and supported by retirement plan
(6) Gary	Glass	Rø	Denmark	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist and supported by retirement plan
(7) Helen	Ceramic	Nexø	Denmark	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living from craft and support from spouse
(8) Jenny	Ceramic	Rø	Denmark	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist and supported by retirement plan
(9) Julie	Glass	Svaneke	Denmark	Workshop and three boutiques at business facilities	Pieces for retail designed by artists and reproduced by employees and outsourced	Makes living from glass design business
(10) Karen	Ceramic	Rønne	Japan	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Works a second job
(11) Karl	Wood	Rønne	Denmark	Workshop at external facilities and shared boutique elsewhere	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist
(12) Leila	Ceramic	Rønne	Denmark	Workshop at home with boutique	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist
(13) Maggie	Glass	Gudhjem	Denmark	Workshop and boutique at business facilities	Pieces for retail designed by artists and also made by employees	Makes living from glass design business
(14) Patrick	Glass	Gudhjem	USA	Workshop and boutique at business facilities	Pieces for retail designed by artists and made also by employees	Makes living from glass design business
(15) Rebecca	Knitwear	Svaneke	Germany	Workshop and boutique at business facilities	Pieces for retail designed by artists and outsourced for reproduction	Makes living from knitwear business
(16) Roy	Pottery	Allinge	Denmark (Bornholm)	Workshop and boutique at home	All pieces made by artist by hand	Works a second job
(17) Sara	Textile	Nyker	Denmark	Workshop and two boutiques at business facilities	Pieces for retail designed by artists and reproduced by employees and outsourced	Makes living from textile business
(18) Shelby	Ceramic	Nexø	Denmark	Shared workshop at external facilities and shared boutique elsewhere	All pieces made by artist by hand	Works a second job
(19) Victoria	Ceramic	Svaneke	Denmark	Workshop and boutique at external facilities	All pieces made by artist by hand	Makes living as professional craft-artist

providing them with full-time employment, and having their designs outsourced and/or reproduced by employees. Most of the ACAB members found other strategies to pursue craft-art such as taking on a second job or subsisting from the earnings of a spouse, all in the spirit of making all their crafts by hand. The artists not running businesses were selected to capture the whole spectrum of that experience: from those who work other jobs, to those who are established so that their craft-art is viable. Three of the craft-artists interviewed were originally from Bornholm, with all the other ones having moved to the island later in their lives either for professional reasons, to follow a spouse or because of the appeal of the place. Fifteen were of Danish origins, one Japanese, one Swedish, one American and one German. All the participants, like the great majority of craft-artists on Bornholm, are permanently established on the island. The interview participants were selected from different locations throughout the island. This was done to capture a comprehensive picture of the different experiences amongst the ACAB members as the localities around Bornholm differ in their touristic appeal.

Findings

Craft-art and rural livelihoods

The aspiration of the craft-artists of Bornholm to drive a successful enterprise, build a career and live up to rural values alters the character of their spaces as they negotiate simultaneously, and in different ways, strategies to preserve a rural lifestyle and others aimed at improving their entrepreneurial assets. The story of how the two co-founders established themselves on Bornholm as craft-artists attests to the kind of negotiations rural stakeholders undertake as they need to develop innovative ideas and entrepreneurial skills to make a living following their creative and professional interests. Both women now run successful businesses where they sell their crafts locally during the tourist season. Maggie,¹ with her husband Patrick, runs a glass design business on Bornholm with eight employees. Their facilities include a space for public demonstrations, a gallery and a boutique. Initially, they sold their pieces in shops outside of Bornholm and even planned to export them abroad to make a living on the island, but as the economic recession in the 1980s hindered that plan and they found the commission on wholesale too low, they eventually redefined their strategy. They realized quickly enough that they would be better off to develop a strategy to profit from visitors in the summer. As their business grew, they bought new facilities strategically located along the main road between two popular tourist towns, and with a big parking space.

Sara, the other co-founder, is a textile designer with a similar story. Sara came to Bornholm when her husband was transferred for work. She decided to open a business after staying at home with her kids for 11 years. She also wanted to export her designs outside Bornholm, in her case, to shops in Copenhagen, but realized that she was better off selling to tourists to make her business profitable. Now, Sara has a boutique in Svaneke and one in Nyker where she also has her workshop where two employees work on reproducing her designs. She explained that the tourists find it interesting to see how she prints the fabric and that is why she has the printing machine in the boutique, effectively bringing part of the production process into the same space where consumption happens. Once the fabric is printed at her workshops, Sarah sends her fabric and

patterns to a factory in Poland to be sewn into garments. By outsourcing, she remedies to the lack of qualified labor on the island and the high costs of production in Denmark, and successfully fills her boutiques with new designs, making her business viable.

The strategic responses of Sara, and Patrick and Maggie, in light of their professional and livelihood aspirations, and the external constraints they faced, are akin to the dynamics of integrated rural tourism found in earlier research where local stakeholders mobilize cultural assets to accumulate capital conducive to regional development (Cawley & Gilmore, 2008; Saxena, Clark, & Oliver, 2007). For these craft-artists, becoming business people was seen as a valid strategy. By turning their art into a business, they get, comparably to lifestyle entrepreneurs, to make a livelihood out of doing what they love every day. The challenge for these individuals rests on making their business viable while they can enjoy developing their artistic creativity, and in these cases, they turned to rural tourism to elevate this dream. The same level of entrepreneurial skills and innovations is not shared by all craft-artists in the ACAB. Certain craft-artists show no major commercial ambition as they strive to become professional craft-artists. Some craft-artists work a second job or have a spouse/partner finance their efforts and livelihood, often with the hope that their artwork done in small workshops will eventually provide a full source of income. These individuals are nonetheless significant cultural attributes to Bornholm's countryside and its craft-art scene. These rural actors' relation to tourism must thus be conceptualized in a different way.

The craft-artists who do not run full-fledged businesses sell nonetheless in boutiques and galleries around Bornholm, open their studios to visitors, and advertise their location in tourist brochures. All craft-artists interviewed wished to subsist from their artwork to spend their days doing what they love, but this is impossible. Simply, one needs to earn money to survive. It is not viable for any craft-artist, even under the umbrella of the ACAB, to solely make unique exhibition pieces. The chairman of the ACAB explained: 'All workshops here are aimed at tourists. Even the best of the artists who sell mostly at exhibitions around here and in Europe, they need the summer tourists to make it work'. This reality is not always handled by building a viable business aimed at high output production and offering consumer experiences, as Maggie and Sara did. However, the professional success of all craft-artists rests on their ability to run a workshop and attract a public interested in their work. The tourist season on Bornholm is an avenue to start fulfilling this aspiration. Deener (2009) found similar results in his research on street artists at Venice Beach, where these individuals negotiate market-oriented practices in their pursuit of an artistic lifestyle. Deener (2009) concedes that his subject did not associate tourist art with an authentic artist identity *per se*, but rather as a means to sustain a particular lifestyle with the intention to eventually build an artistic identity (see also: Jenkins & Romanos, 2014; Sheehan, 2014).

The discourse of the idyllic rural lifestyle was often connected to the choice of keeping a small workshop, where all was made by hand and the craft-artist could meet consumers in person. The story of Alex reflects the challenges behind the position of these craft-artists. Alex lives in the little village of Rø where he has a small ceramics workshop and gallery in his yard. Alex makes all his pieces by hand and has no intentions of having them reproduced abroad, but he understands that he needs publicity and customers to fuel his professional career: 'That's a thing actually that doesn't interest me so much; this marketing thing. But you have some way or another to show the world outside this little lawn here

that you actually exist'. The tourist season fulfills both his financial and creative ambitions as he defined the benefits of having visitors not just for economic reasons, but also through their interest in his style:

You have to make things that appeal to people. I feel that even though they [the tourists] are not buying, they come in to see special things they have never seen before. That encourages me a lot. It gives me comfort that I am on the right track. When you can see the results in the account it is also good. It gives you relief. [...] We also rebuilt the roof, made some rooms, so we have loans in the bank to pay.

The simultaneous search for spectators and customers is significant to the professional career of the craft-artist; yet, Alex also clarifies that there is more to his personal ambitions than his career: 'For me it has always been about the whole lifestyle and not only making pots. I live in a nice place, close to nature, close to family; that has been important too ... and not too stressful!' Alex is a music teacher during the school year, which enables him to generate a steady income and have the summer to run his workshop at what he calls 'family-friendly opening hours'. This gives his family the chance to enjoy their summer together, while Alex can still work on his passion.

Similarly to what scholars already found on lifestyle entrepreneurs (Andersson Cederholm, 2014; Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011), all interviewed craft-artists with small workshops mentioned that they all enjoy a lifestyle revolving around creative work and a pleasant living atmosphere. All they need is to make enough money to pay the bills. However, alike what Deener (2009) found on street artists, as these craft-artists with small workshops elevate their creativity to the professional level to live their passion daily, they all require strategies and a level of ambition similar to that needed to be a successful business person as it is crucial for them to reach and appeal to an audience. As Anderson Cederholm (2014) demonstrates, the traditional business model still infuses even the smallest lifestyle enterprise, and thus, though the craft-artists with small workshops are less ready to admit it than those who manage full-fledged businesses, they need to find ways to reconcile issues such as marketing, opening-hours and product development while they live a lifestyle of tranquility, artistic development and creativity.

The spaces these two types of craft-artists create are different, but both are ultimately entangled in the inevitable reality that success, economic or personal, is based in productivity. As seen through this section and the coming ones, the search for an audience of consumers creates various tensions related to negotiating a lifestyle, career and livelihood in the countryside which problematizes the conceptualization of rural tourism strategies. It is not only the reconciliation between a lifestyle and a livelihood that pushes the craft-artists toward a complex relation with tourism, like in the case of the lifestyle entrepreneur, but also the search to enjoy a livelihood in the countryside while developing an artistic career.

Commercializing spaces of artistic integrity

The tensions created between the search for a rural lifestyle and the development of a tourist attraction lead to the commercialization of spaces that were initially built to strive for professional and personal artistic development. Similarly, as Everett (2012),

Murray and Kline (2015) and Sims (2009) established, it was found that rural tourism enables the creation of a local brand based in hand-made, local and professional crafts that appeals to the producer and consumer alike. Interestingly, some craft-artists explained their decision to sell locally as partly a question of artistic integrity, rather than solely an economic strategy. For instance, Victoria, a ceramist in her fifties, described negatively her experience of sending pieces to be sold in Copenhagen earlier in her career:

When the customers walk out the door in the big shops in Copenhagen, they forget about me. It would have been different if I had a workshop in Copenhagen, then they would maybe go from Ilums Bolighus to see me, but here I don't see them [the customers in Copenhagen]. So I said screw them and earning so much money on me those shops. Now, I have everything home and just sell here. I don't want to sell myself for nothing anymore.

Victoria now sells her crafts on Bornholm in a boutique below her workshop, and at one little shop she says she likes in Denmark. This way, she can meet most of the tourists interested in her art as a local product of Bornholm, and share her inspiration. Maggie voiced a similar concern when she conceded that selling wholesale was stressful and not very profitable. She added that she and her husband enjoy interacting with the people interested in their art and its creation process who come to their facilities: '[selling locally] is a good way to bring people into our world and that is why we do it [invite tourists]; so that they understand [our world]'. The idea to attract visitors to their creative spaces is here associated with their passion and identity as artists and rural dwellers, and not solely defined through economic reasoning.

Tourism might in itself be a result of uneven global interrelations, but, in the way it materializes on Bornholm, its dynamics are preferred by some of the craft-artists over other global phenomena, such as exporting and/or outsourcing, that generate what they perceive as relations of dependency and distrust. Opening up to tourists a space built for one's own professional development and artistic integrity is seen as a legitimate entrepreneurial option in this case. In the same fashion, Woods (2009) upholds that global processes can be strategically harnessed by local actors to resist other global processes. The craft-artists perceive that their spaces and artwork retain the artistic character they like through their implication in rural tourism, though the latter is in itself a global phenomenon, which can lead to commodification and standardization. This highlights the agency the craft-artists have to manipulate and interpret global processes to their advantage as they strive economically and professionally in the countryside.

The commercialization of the craft-artist' spaces resembles the process of reproduction Ateljevic (2000) discussed in her treatise on circuits of tourism, where tourism producers and consumers construct and normalize together the meaning of their context and interactions. The commercialization of the crafts and spaces of the craft-artists is done through an interrelational process where both the craft-artists and the tourists negotiate the meaning of locality, professionalism, rurality and authenticity through their encounters. The question of trust is also important for the consumers of craft-art on Bornholm. Rebecca, a knitwear designer, mentioned that she has many recurring customers in the summer who ask about her new collection when they visit, but who also want to know how she is doing. She believes that this interest has to do with the personal interactions tourists seek when on holiday in rural places:

It's like when you have a favorite place somewhere, then you like that somebody will recognize you and say: 'Oh, how nice that you are back!' That you have these relations to people [matters], because you can go to very beautiful places, but if you don't meet people, it will not get important for you. That's a part of the story of the shop: they like my stuff, but they also want me to be here.

This account emphasizes that social interactions give products a special meaning. The creative spaces of the craft-artists become meeting spaces, fueling a discourse of rural spaces as idyllic bearers of authentic products and experiences (Baylina & Berg, 2010; Short, 2006). There was consensus throughout the interviews that tourists were particularly interested in buying crafts that were local and handmade when they came to Bornholm. Emily, a ceramist, thinks that the interest of the tourists in their crafts has to do with the creation process:

They can go to a lot of other places to buy cheap and sometimes really nice things. But I think here it is a story. We are making it from the start, we decide how it should look, how we are making it, fire it [in the kiln] and then sell it.

The spaces of the craft-artists are, to different degrees, spaces of resistance to chains of mass production and their standardized products for the tourists, adding to the perceived authenticity of the rural product (Everett, 2012; Murray & Kline, 2015; Sims, 2009). The search of the craft-artists for artistic integrity and the search of the tourist for idyllic rural experiences reinforce a romantic discourse of rurality where the localized, handmade, personalized and interactive materialize in the space of the craft-artists. The craft-art scene on Bornholm is thus constructed in large through these social relations that blend discourse and practice (Ateljevic, 2000; Massey, 2005). In this case, the meaning of rurality is negotiated and reproduced not only by the craft-artists through the ACAB and its professional criteria, but also through the interactions of the craft-artists with tourists. As Sheehan (2014) explains with her case of street artists in New-Orleans, such artist' identities are formed through prevalent discourses and practices not solely associated with ideals of art, but also those related to tourism. All the while, these negotiations over authenticity and rurality occur in the light of the relation of the countryside to global and urban processes which contest the rural nature of these spaces and practices (Woods, 2007), highlighting the role of tourism in giving place particular meaning (Ateljevic, 2000).

The craft-artists find bargaining power in the discourse of quality and locality the ACAB diffuses. The entrance criteria of the ACAB ensure that the association preserves the high standards of quality that define the crafts of its members as special compared to amateur crafts. To Victoria, this recognition matters during the tourist season:

It's what you want. It's not a hobby, it's serious. It's quality. It's professional. It's a stamp for this is the good art and there is a difference. But if the ACAB wasn't there they [the tourists] wouldn't know about that.

The identity of the ACAB members is not solely built in relation to tourists, though they need them as consumers and spectators to propel their career. The ACAB is a successful mechanism for preserving quality as part of the arts and craft brand on Bornholm in the light of amateur competition. The ACAB, with its entrance criteria, prevents the crafts of the cluster to be associated with what one ceramist called 'souvenir in a bad way'. Sheehan (2014) explains that, traditionally, tourist art has been perceived by

Western society to be of lesser value than 'real' art as it is a commodified product, losing its special status. In this case, the professional ambitions of the craft-artists and their ability to form a network as a local interest group give them the agency to define the limitations to the commercialized nature of their crafts circulating within the tourist system.

The strategic reliance on rural tourism to pursue simultaneously artistic and economic ambitions does not translate in the total dependence and subordination of craft-artists to its standardizing dynamics as a global phenomenon. As Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) and Su and Teo (2008) explain, tourism is not necessarily always actively resisted as it threatens to commodify local attributes; rather, it can be modulated by local actors to preserve cultural originality in the face of global changes. In this case, following Woods (2007) on rural interrelations, through the creation of the ACAB network, the craft-artists increase their agency to negotiate relations of trust and integrity with tourists in the face of the inevitable commercialization of their workshops by upholding a professional and local brand.

Negotiating modes of production and professional identity

From the commercialization of private spaces, there ensue new discourses and materialities aimed at reconciling new modes of production with a professional and ideally rural identity (Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Burton & Wilson, 2006; Sims, 2010). Most glass, textile and knitwear designers interviewed have companies that send designs abroad to be reproduced to then be sold locally, and sometimes also extra-locally. This strategy was seen as a necessity by these owners and they did not see this as problematic to the authenticity of their creations or status as artists. Julie is a glass designer and the owner of a company that sells glass designs and creative experiences at four different venues she owns on the island. Her business went really well in the first 10 or 15 years. As her sales began to drop, Julie started to send pieces to a Polish factory to be reproduced. She then felt she could compete with the cheap glass coming from China that was increasingly entering the glass market. Her glass blowing enterprise was then re-invented as a design company. Though the glass is produced elsewhere for economic reasons, the crafts are still signed by Julie as she designs and decorates the pieces. Now, her glass comes from China as Polish labor became too expensive with the entrance of Poland in the European Union. The glass pieces she sells on Bornholm are thus the result of an extra-local chain of production and strategic entrepreneurial decisions that are typical of the global economy and dissimilar to the principles of locality and authenticity upheld by the craft-artists with small workshops in their interactions with tourists.

Julie and the other craft-artists outsourcing designs made it nonetheless clear that they were artists. Their choice to turn their creativity into a business with an international chain of production rests mostly in their personal definition of success. Julie maintained that she can reconcile her passion for running her business with her identity as a successful glass designer:

Did you see the candle-holders there? I made them twenty-years ago and we sold so many. I am so proud of that product. We sold thousands and thousands. That could keep four women busy producing them. That gave me a lot of freedom to create other things. I can be very proud of a unique piece, but I was really proud of that little product because it was the best. It was the candle-holder for tea candles that sold the most in Denmark for years! Why shouldn't you be proud of a product like that?

Here, the identity of the artist is linked to entrepreneurial success and redefines questions of authorship and authenticity in the world of art (Sheehan, 2014). This definition of success is not shared by all ACAB members. None of the ceramists interviewed outsources production and few conceded that they would if offered the opportunity. Victoria explained how important it is for her to make every piece herself: 'It is inside you as a craftsman; it is a part of your professionalism and the standards you have for yourself. I don't make things just for making money. I do it because it gives me something'. Victoria rather found her professional success by investing time exhibiting and selling pieces she made herself, which took her years to make viable. Ceramists will make all their pieces by hand; even the ones they serially reproduce to generate a stock of products, such as teapots, cups and bowls for houseware, they perceive as authentic art. Both paths ultimately characterize the arts and craft scene on Bornholm, and outline the different discourses and practices that form a single cultural scene.

Though both craft-artists who produce by hand and those who outsource can be members of the ACAB as long as they present unique pieces when they apply for membership, they undertake its values differently as they individually make sense of their career and livelihood ambitions on Bornholm. The meaning of success and authenticity is malleable, as Sims (2010) argues, and is more likely to result from personal strategic redefinitions, than to be the outcome of pre-defined standards. The objective authenticity (Wang, 1999) of every craft on Bornholm can be contested, since their materials are mostly imported, few artists are native from the island and all artists reproduce their designs to some extent to reach a larger audience of customers. The brand of the ACAB serves to reconcile these tensions by asserting a stamp of originality to the crafts of its artists based on criteria they defined collectively. Thereafter, it is the definitions suiting the particular livelihood, lifestyle and professional ambitions of the craft-artist that will be adopted, and which will materialize in their practices and interactions with tourists as rurality. The challenge for the tourism researcher is thus not to find what the right balance should be between the artistic and the commercial, the authentic and the inauthentic, local and global, rural and urban, but rather to understand how local actors form the countryside by constructing and diffusing a variety of definitions of it that suit their realities and ambitions.

Conclusion

This article has explored the context and the strategies enacted by craft-artists pursuing a career and livelihood in the Danish countryside. Studying craft-artists brings new insight related to the entrepreneurial strategies adopted by local actors involved in rural tourism as it demonstrates that, besides the search for an idyllic lifestyle, professional ambitions and a desire to preserve one's valued identity can also affect rural actors' decisions related to their participation in rural tourism. This study moreover underlines that understanding the span of the development of tourism in the countryside requires a consideration of the strategies used by local stakeholders operating both within and beyond the boundaries of the tourist system. As Saxena (2012) and Sims (2009, 2010) highlight, rural tourism occurs in a realm where discourses of rurality and processes of production and consumption are negotiated between different actors in relation to complex contexts. As demonstrated, it is in their search for a public that these different

craft-artists have collectively formed a professional brand and work individually on various entrepreneurial strategies that allow them to benefit economically and professionally from the short but intensive tourist season on their rural island. There are nonetheless many aspects at stake when the craft-artists of the ACAB decide if they want to preserve their personal essence in their craft or present a more commercialized side, which is better at reaching larger audiences but compromises the artists' identity within the collective and the authenticity of the product. All these choices, it is argued, contribute to the generation of various discourses over the meaning of rurality which in turn (re)create a hybrid countryside, filled with products that cannot, as Halfacree (2006) concedes, simply be delimited as authentic, idyllic or commercialized.

Tourism is important to the subsistence of the craft-artists, but they have the agency to enact their own definition of artistic integrity and success to make compatible their lifestyle aspirations, professional ambitions and livelihood necessities in relation to their particular context. Local actors, though seeking to benefit from tourism, modulate their space to inscribe their own meaning to it (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Su & Teo, 2008). Particularly, the ACAB is a significant tool for the craft-artists to negotiate positive interrelations with tourists. The craft-artists of Bornholm foster positive interactions with their consumers and spectators by upholding traits in their spaces and creations both parties deem important, such as professionalism, locality and craftsmanship, which then creates a space where tourists discover the world of craft-art and potentially return to see familiar faces and consume pieces they feel connected to. This finding reinforces earlier claims that local actors should not be seen as powerless in the face of extra-local processes due to their ability to negotiate their position in the global system (Chaperon & Bramwell, 2012; Jackiewicz, 2006; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Woods, 2007, 2009).

Global economic and cultural processes deeply penetrate rural areas, challenging local identities, everyday lives and structures in complex ways (Cloke, 2006; Heley & Jones, 2012; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007). Further research can explore new geographical areas and interest groups to add to the findings of this research or test its applicability. What can be further said about the role of grassroots networks, like the ACAB, founded to define producer and consumer interactions, in the construction of the countryside? The hybrid nature of the countryside implies that a multitude of tensions materialize in a multitude of contexts, leaving much space for research into the dynamics of rural tourism. Tensions relating to gender roles, cultural or ethnic identities, government regulations, or discourses of sustainability, which were out of the scope of this study, are also themes that can be further researched to give a fuller relational picture of rural tourism.

Note

1. All names are pseudonyms.

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