



Article

Dwelling in the tourist landscape: Embodiment and everyday life among the craft-artists of Bornholm

Tourist Studies
2018, Vol. 18(1) 63–82
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DOI: 10.1177/1468797617710598
journals.sagepub.com/home/tou



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Abstract

Non-representational theories have gained popularity in the last decades, encouraging social scientists to study the production of everyday life. Inspired by Ingold's dwelling perspective, I present my qualitative research on the arts and craft community on Bornholm, Denmark, by exploring some of the bodily movements and mundane practices that shape a taskscape into a tourist landscape. This analysis defines the material and corporeal relations of Bornholm's craft-artists with their island's tourist season and aims to contribute to the application of non-representational landscape theory in tourism scholarship. The everyday practices and embodied movements of these craft-artists fashion the emergence of a realm of dwelling, rather than an exotic site. The tourist landscape is the product of the skills and techniques these craft-artists have developed over time to work with their different materials, and of the creative spaces which they have built to pursue their art. The materials, techniques, and creative spaces used by these craft-artists mediate their interactions with tourists, but also, these encounters mediate the craft-artists' interactions with their materials, techniques, and spaces. I ultimately argue that the taskscape, as a realm of mundane embodied practices, cannot be detached from the landscape the tourists encounter. I propose scholars can use the dwelling perspective in their analysis of tourism to embed local people in their cultural landscape.

Keywords

craft-art, cultural landscape, dwelling perspective, materiality, narratives, non-representational theories, practice, taskscape

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Introduction

Non-representational theories have gained popularity over the past decades encouraging social scientists to look into the realm of bodily movements and mundane practices (Lorimer, 2005; McCormack, 2008; Thrift, 2000, 2001, 2008; Wylie, 2005, 2006, 2013). These theories are in contrast to the scientific tendency that dissociates the material from the cultural realm by relying on discourse, text, and representations to explain the world. Tourism scholars have used non-representational theories to analyze the different performances and embodied practices of those involved in the production of tourism. Haldrup and Larsen (2006), Obrador-Pons (2003) and Franklin (2003) encourage the use of non-representational theories to give more materiality to the realm of tourism. Tourism occurs through practical actions where bodies corporally engage with the landscape using props such as cameras, backpacks, walking shoes, guide books, sports equipment, and souvenirs (Crouch, 2000, 2003; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006).

Work carried under the flagship of the “performance turn” reflects an understanding in tourism studies that tourism is about doing something accomplished through bodily involvement (see, for instance, Edensor, 2000, 2001; Everett, 2009; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006, 2010; Larsen, 2008, 2012; Tucker, 2007; Weaver, 2005). This turn came as a reaction mostly to the work of Urry (1990) on the tourist gaze and other representational approaches in tourism studies privileging sight and discourse to analyze the dynamics of tourism (Larsen, 2008, 2012). Tourism is instead a social performance related to doing, touching, and being, which taken together generate tourist places (Coleman and Crang, 2002). Through the engagement of the tourist and tourist workers in performing (or resisting) their respective social roles in relation to one another, with scripts and props, tourist places emerge as metaphorical theatrical stages where tourists are the public, employees are actors, and guides are directors (Edensor, 2000, 2001; Larsen, 2008, 2012; Larsen and Urry, 2011).

A focus on mundane embodied practices such as walking, eating, looking, and playing takes the focus away from what Larsen (2008) calls the spectacular of the “traveling eyes” (p. 26). There is growing research seeking to de-exotify tourist travel as a mundane performance where unreflexive habits, everyday technologies, and common sense make up the tourist experience (Crouch, 2000; Edensor, 2001; Franklin, 2003; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Larsen, 2008; Obrador-Pons, 2003). However, tourist scholars do little to examine tourism as a part of the everyday life of those who dwell within landscapes contrived by tourism. When the local is considered in non-representational studies, as researchers such as Giovanardi, Lucarelli and Decosta (2014), and Zara (2015) do, it tends to be through a confined performative interrelation with tourists, such as at a particular event like a festival. The local’s involvement then ceases to matter when the encounter is over. As such, tourist scholars mostly use the concepts of embodiment and performance to define the experiences of those who travel, not so much to explore the emergence of a landscape out of the practices of those who live within toured spaces. A non-representational approach that focuses on the experience of those who dwell within a tourist landscape and who, through their everyday practices and embodied movements, incur and fashion its emergence over time is seemingly lacking in tourism scholarship.

An analysis of the tourist system that embeds local people in their cultural landscape would privilege their understanding of the world. It would avoid reducing their engagement in tourism to fleeting encounters with tourists, giving the researcher a deeper account of how tourist landscapes come into being through local activities. In order to contribute to such an approach, I explore the embodied movements shaping the tourist landscape I studied on Bornholm, Denmark, as a taskscape (Ingold, 2011). The taskscape, as described by Ingold (2011), implies a landscape transforms itself through movements of incorporation, meaning the processes that give rise to human activities weave themselves in the environment. My analysis sheds light on the material and corporeal relations of Bornholm's craft-artists with their island's tourist season. This study is the result of interviews with 16 ceramists and glass-artists of Bornholm Arts and Crafts Association (ACAB), where I met these craft-artists in their realm of involvement with their craft. Bornholm is a popular tourist destination in the summer for mostly Danes, but also other international tourists, who come to enjoy its natural surroundings and the micro-enterprises characterizing its cultural landscape (Ioannides and Petersen, 2003; Larsen and Rømer, 2013; Manniche and Larsen, 2013). Over the years, craft-art has become a significant aspect of the island's cultural landscape. Professional craft-artists working with mostly materials such as glass and ceramics have opened up studios, galleries, and boutiques around Bornholm to take advantage of the tourist season. Encounters with tourists are thus common for these craft-artists and have even encouraged some to present staged performances.

I argue that the encounters between the tourists and the craft-artists are more than single performances in time confined to a stage, nor are they exotic scenery; they are defined by the way these craft-artists dwell in their landscape. The materials and techniques used by these individuals mediate their interactions with tourists, meaning clay, and glass are essential at defining the type of interactions the different craft-artists have with tourists. In turn, the craft-artists' encounters with tourists mediate their interactions with their materials, techniques, and spaces, reflecting an incorporation of the tourist season in everyday practices. I ultimately contend that the taskscape, defined by Ingold (2011) as a realm of mundane embodied practices, cannot be detached from the landscape the tourists encounter. Bornholm's tourist landscape is the product of the skills and techniques its craft-artists have developed over time to work with materials such as ceramic and glass, and of the spaces which they have built, and opened up to tourists, to pursue their art. To demonstrate this, I first define non-representational theories, setting the grounds to introduce the dwelling perspective and the corporality, materiality, and relationality of the taskscape. Following my methodological framework are my findings. Finally, I discuss the main findings and propose further research in tourism scholarship.

Theoretical framework

The representational turn has been criticized and re-oriented by different strings of non-representational theories in the past decades, no less over the conception of the cultural landscape (see, for instance, Butcher, 2012; Lorimer, 2005; McCormack, 2008; Thrift, 2000, 2001, 2008; Tilley, 2004, 2008; Waterton, 2013; Wylie, 2006, 2013). Non-representational theories is an umbrella term to define the different theories that advocate

a focus on the production of everyday life in order to link scientific thoughts more closely to human experience. These theories stem from a discontent with the study of discourses and texts as it generates representations of the world that dissociate the subject from his or her realm of engagement (Lorimer, 2005; Thrift, 2001; 2008; Wylie, 2007). Scholars of non-representational theories, however, are not completely opposed to any form of representation (Dewsbury et al., 2002; Lormier, 2005; Thrift, 2008). The researcher instead apprehends representation as performative in itself, as part of a realm of embodied practices and performances that situate the subject as “in” and “of” the world (Dewsbury et al., 2002; Thrift, 2008). Lorimer (2005) even coined the term “more than representational” theory to avoid this misconception. As Lorimer (2005) describes, “the focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions” (p. 84). Instead of uncovering meaning and assigning value to the action of those studied, the researcher focuses on the material compositions and conducts of what he or she sees (Dewsbury et al., 2002; Thrift, 2008).

Embodiment and performance are key concepts of non-representational theories. The concept of embodiment finds its origins in Merleau-Ponty’s (1962 [1942]) phenomenology of perception. Phenomenology is a philosophy that focuses above all on lived and affective experiences, presenting humans as subjects immersed in the world (Wylie, 2013). To exist means being conscious of something. It is impossible to be solely conscious, one is always conscious of an object or another body. Individuals then use bodily movements to respond to the situations objects and bodies around them afford them. Crossley (1995) uses the example of a football player who sees not only bodies and props on a field but also the strategies and opportunities these bodies and props offer her. The body is not solely acted upon, but engages with other subjects and objects (Crossley, 1995). It is through embodied practices that humans go about their lives, where they are not mere spectators, but performers. The concept of performance denotes these bodily techniques, which are ultimately displays of embodiment in everyday life (Wylie, 2007). The mundane became a subject of interest for social research, as it is through everyday life that individuals interact with their world and give it meaning. Performance and embodiment have thus been studied through subjects such as dancing, gardening, caravanning, commuting, and walking (see, for instance, Crouch, 2003; Laurier and Lorimer, 2012; Lorimer, 2011; McCormack, 2008; Michael, 2000; Wylie, 2002, 2005). For example, Crouch (2003) relates gardening to an intimate engagement with landscape and nature where bodies kneel and bend, touch and manipulate soil and vegetation, giving meaning to the landscape and to ones’ daily routine. As such, the landscape surrounding these gardeners is not solely to be looked upon as flower and vegetables aligned in a confined space, but as the ensemble of corporeal movements that form the practice of gardening.

Various mundane technologies mediate the performances that connect the body to an environment (Michael, 2000). Crouch (2000, 2003), Michael (2000), and Whatmore (2002) explain that materials foremost have their own agency which affords us bodily capabilities by enabling certain performances. Props, bodies, animals, natural features, and machines function relationally to give culture its practical, symbolic, and expressive form (Graves-Brown, 2000; Michael, 2000; Whatmore, 2002). Landscape is thus not

only scenery; it is a material surface where bodies are directly involved with its elements. Objects such as gardening soil, walking shoes, cameras, tools, rafts and bungee cords, and technologies such as transport and communications enable human relationships to go beyond detached gazing and involves the subject directly in the landscape (Bell and Lyall, 2002; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006). These capabilities are ultimately embodied practices that contain transformative elements that can fashion the landscape in enduring ways: the soil is used to make gardens, the shoes to trample paths and the tools to build houses (Crouch, 2000). Cloke and Jones (2001) speak of the fruit trees of an orchard which have differently “shaped the art of pruning” (p. 655) due to their own creative ways of flourishing, but which are inversely shaped by this pruning, outlining the relational aspect between humans, non-humans, and landscapes.

The dwelling perspective

The notion of a landscape interwoven in embodied practices resonates with the work of Tim Ingold. Ingold first presented the dwelling perspective in “The Temporality of the Landscape” in 1993 and discussed it later in a number of articles and books (e.g. Ingold, 1995, 2011). Various scholars interested in the connections between landscape, nature, place, and culture have commented and taken up the dwelling perspective in their work, criticizing some of its aspects and embracing it as landscape theory simultaneously (Cloke and Jones, 2001). Thrift (1996, 1997) who coined the term non-representational theory was inspired by the work of Ingold in anthropology and so, many of the key proposition of the dwelling perspective are fundamental to non-representativeness. Ingold’s dwelling perspective stems largely from Heidegger’s (1971) phenomenology where humans inhabit their world through their ongoing practices, and finds inspiration in Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology of perception. Ingold (2011) sees landscape as such and, thereby, the dwelling perspective implies:

A place owes its character to the experience it affords to those who spend time there—to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance. (p. 192)

Landscape as a space for dwelling privileges people’s understanding of the world in which they are involved. The cultural landscape is not a mere background to be filled through a process of enculturation; it is through its inhabitation that it finds its form (Michael, 2000). Dwelling implies people extract resources through time in different creative manners, build and refashion structures, form institutions, and hold bonds of different nature and strength, in relation to their material place and its other inhabitants, human and non-human alike (Ingold, 2011).

Ingold (2011) proposed looking at landscape as a taskscape, implying a landscape arises from the activities and practical engagement of those who dwell within it. The notion of a taskscape entails a landscape is formed through movements of incorporation. As the processes that give rise to the individuals’ activity are woven in their environment,

“the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves” (Ingold, 2011: 189). The taskscape thus relates to the practices and materials that shape a landscape into a place for dwelling. This is a process of incorporation, which Ingold (2011) called embodiment, and which differs from processes of inscription whereby a cultural template is used to give meaning to landscapes. Ingold (2011) uses the example of the hunter who knows how to track animals through her repeated immersion in the noises, textures, and smells of the forest. The hunter ultimately knows her way through the landscape because she inhabits it, not because she learned about it from text or imagery. For scholars like Macnaghten and Urry (1998) and Muir (1999), this perspective helps avoid the traditionally dichotomous approach to nature and culture.

Wylie (2003, 2013) and Cloke and Jones (2001) warn against a notion of dwelling embedded in practices infused with rootedness and romanticism. Phenomenological approaches face the criticism of seeking originary essences and experiences, and of being unable to accept confused and hybrid identities proper to (post-)modern times (Deleuze, 1988). Ingold’s notion of dwelling should “enable the register of the transient and the fleeting as well as the enduring,” Wylie (2003: 145) claims. Dwelling cannot be a means to delineate what forms a valid living space through criteria of belonging or authenticity, but rather be understood as “a medium through which landscape performances are enabled and enacted” (Wylie, 2003: 155). Dwelling defines all kinds of milieus of involvement where material cultures and ways of being fashion an array of spatialities and temporalities. Ingold’s (2011) temporality of the landscape in part remedies to notions of essences by giving the latter a dynamic component. Temporality implies that the cultural landscape evolves over time through the rhythms of everyday life.

Cloke and Jones (2001) warn nonetheless that these daily rhythms risk themselves of finding their root in essences and pre-modern cycles. For the notion of dwelling to remain relevant, it must consider the relational character of space. Places become, as Massey (2005) famously argued, increasingly heterogeneous through their extra-local connections. Accordingly, in their study of an orchard, Cloke and Jones (2001) detail the technologies, new species of trees, and marketing strategies that interwove themselves in the history of the orchard, making it a modern and hybrid realm of dwelling. Tourism is a good example of a phenomenon that destabilizes local practices as those who dwell within toured landscapes simultaneously incur and harness new relations (Prince, 2016). Relationality implies that places metamorphose as local actors engage with extra-local phenomena, actors, and materials of all sorts, ultimately losing any form of predefined essence and rootedness (Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006). This reality makes dwelling in the tourist landscape a dynamic matter built around relations between not only locals and their material landscape, but also between them, tourists, and the dynamics of tourism. Next, I explore more closely some of the multiple relations and movements that form Bornholm’s toured craft-art scene.

Methodological framework

I visited the Danish island of Bornholm in autumn 2013 for 3 weeks and returned in autumn 2014 for 5 weeks to undertake fieldwork to study the members of the local

craft-art community. I chose the autumn period 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, which made it possible to gather first-hand observations at different venues related to local arts and crafts such as galleries, museums, and events to add to my qualitative findings. Arts and crafts are a significant aspect of Bornholm's touristic brand, and though the local craft-artists might not all, or directly, identify themselves as tourist entrepreneurs per se, they are engulfed in the dynamics of the tourist season through their professional ambitions and livelihood choices (Prince, 2016). The open studios, boutiques, and galleries exposing local glass and ceramic crafts form only a part of the island's tourist landscape, but it is that part I have chosen to concentrate on to give a more in-depth approach of living with tourism. These craft-artists form nonetheless a significant part of Bornholm's tourist landscape, as there are hundreds of them on the island with small private or shared workshops. The tradition of handcrafts on Bornholm has flourished so that new artists are now working with materials such as textile, woods, jewelry, and blacksmithing, sparking the grass-roots formation in 2002 of the Arts and Crafts Association of Bornholm (ACAB).

Through my fieldwork, I interviewed 19 of the 64 craft-artists that formed the ACAB at that time. This article focuses on the 1 potter, 5 glass designers, and 10 ceramists I interviewed, as it is the materials and techniques of their crafts that inspired me to write about dwelling. The ceramists represent the largest proportion of craft-artists in the association, and so it was natural that I interviewed more. I interviewed these craft-artists in their homes and private workshops, where they could show me their creations and explain the inspiration, techniques, and materials behind their practices. It was important to visit these craft-artists in their context of involvement as in-place methodologies situating conversations and observations in the emotional and active realm of the participant better reveals lived experiences (Anderson, 2004; Anderson and Jones, 2009; Bondi, 2005; Nash, 2000). The interviews were open-ended with two main questions guiding the study: what does it mean to be a craft-artist on Bornholm? How is it to live with the tourist season? My interview questions centered on extracting information on the everyday practices of my respondents to form narratives on the meaning of their actions (Freeman, 2004; Kvale, 1996). These questions generated interviews that were mostly a little over an hour in length. I recorded and transcribed all the interviews. I also took notes after each one to capture each respondent's context for the data analysis process. I gave my interview participants pseudonyms.

Within the sample used for this article, three of the glass-artists, with two of them working as partners, ran full-fledged businesses providing them with full-time employment. These glass-artists have their designs outsourced and/or reproduced by employees. The rest of the craft-artists interviewed chose other strategies to pursue craft-art, such as taking on a second job or subsisting from the earnings of a spouse. I selected the artists not running businesses in a way to capture the whole spectrum of that experience, from those who work other jobs, to those for whom their craft-art is viable. Three of these craft-artists are originally from Bornholm. The others moved to the island either for professional reasons, to follow a spouse, or because of the appeal of the place. All participants, like the great majority of craft-artists on Bornholm, permanently live on the island. I interviewed participants from different locations on Bornholm to capture a

comprehensive picture of the different experiences among the ACAB members as the localities around Bornholm differ in their touristic appeal.

Craft-art on Bornholm

Bornholm is a Danish island located in the Baltic Sea, accessible from the mainland through a ferry ride from Sweden or a flight from Copenhagen to its capital Rønne (Figure 1). The island boasts picturesque fishing villages such as Gudhjem, Nexø, Svaneke, and Hasle (Figure 2). While cliffs and rocky beaches characterize most of Bornholm’s coast, there are sandy beaches in the south of the island, which are



Figure 1. Map of Bornholm showing the island’s location in northern Europe.

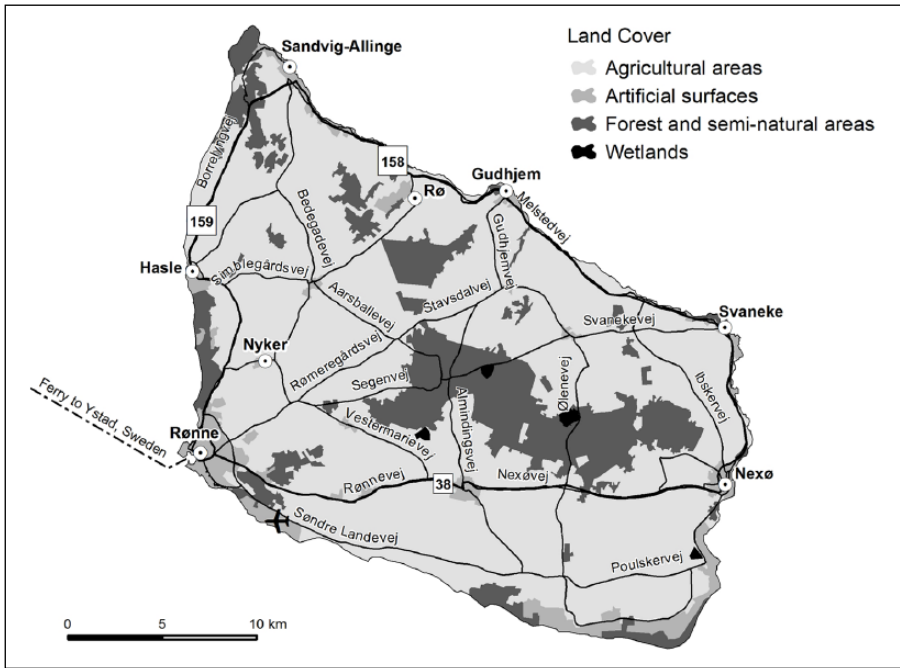


Figure 2. Map of Bornholm showing the island’s main villages, roads and land cover.



Picture 1. A view of Gudhjem, a popular tourist destination on Bornholm, where many craft-artists sell their art in boutiques and galleries during the summer (source: photograph by Solène Prince).



Picture 2. Svaneke is also a popular tourist destination on Bornholm as this picture shows. Many craft-artists sell their art in boutiques and galleries in Svaneke during the tourist season (source: photograph by Solène Prince).

popular among tourists. Bornholm's attractions and towns are moreover accessible through an island-wide system of family-friendly cycle paths. Bornholm therefore represents for many of its visitors a place for memorable family holidays in an idyllic countryside (Larsen, 2006). The island, with its population of 39,829 permanent residents (Statistics Denmark, 2016) receives annually around 750,000 tourists, mostly Danes and Germans, who visit within a short summer season beginning in June and ending in September (Larsen and Rømer, 2013). Generally, tourism is hotel and camping-based, with many of these tourists returning regularly to a familiar area. Besides families, retirees also represent a significant portion of the tourists visiting Bornholm.

The island relies heavily on its intensive tourist season to bring in currency to its local businesses. When its fishing industry began collapsing in the 1970s, coming to a stop in the 1990s, Bornholm underwent major economic restructuring. Several European and national programs were implemented in the 1990s to counter the island's collapsed economy, many of which supporting the tourism industry (Ioannides and Petersen, 2003). The restructuring stimulated the development of various micro-businesses involved mostly with specialized foods, hospitality, and handcrafts, which now characterize Bornholm's economy and cultural landscape (Manniche and Larsen, 2013). The presence of domestic and international tourists during the summer is thus a major part of the experience of dwelling on Bornholm. Bornholm's craft-artists generally live permanently on the island, and as such can tap into the tourist season by advertising their workshops and galleries on tourism websites. Moreover, craft-artists often open up their workshops as open

studios to tourists during the summer. These craft-artists have their home and workshops located all around the island. Many of them have nonetheless preferred to establish and/or display themselves around Gudhjem and Svaneke (Pictures 1 and 2) as these coastal towns, with their many boutiques and eateries, have developed into touristic hot spots over the years on Bornholm.

Findings

The landscape of arts and craft on Bornholm is not readable as a framed view, where from a vantage point it comes together as an observable whole. As Cloke and Jones (2001) explain through their study of an orchard, it is not a fixed and detached gaze that can explain such landscapes, as they are the result of a *mélange* of experiences, practices, and performances where the observer needs to be immersed in its noises, sights, and smells to understand its production. I will thus try my best to make some sense of the complex ways the landscape presents itself on Bornholm. My aim is to present the tourist landscape as a space formed through the embodied practices of those who dwell therein as they make sense of the materials, people, and spaces around them, reflecting the mundane reality of interacting with tourists. I made three analytical categories to develop this conceptualization. In *Materials*, I present clay and glass as having agentic properties which weave themselves in the everydayness of interacting with tourists. In *Techniques*, I discuss how local skills become performances attracting tourists, reflecting the fusion of tourism dynamics in the taskscape. Finally, in *Creative Spaces*, I argue that craft-artists ultimately incorporate their social and material relations in the physical landscape.

Materials

Materials are central to craft-art as they afford the artist with a medium through which to develop their creativity. Already in their raw state, glass, and clay have a way of defining how the craft-artists interact with tourists, demonstrating how the innate characteristics of objects creatively shape human experiences (Cloke and Jones, 2001; Crouch, 2000, 2003; Michael, 2000; Whatmore, 2002). There are different stages the clay goes through before it becomes a piece of art. First, the ceramist has to mold wet clay with his or her fingers. Although ceramists enjoy the muddy feeling on their fingers, this wet and sticky clay comes in the way of interacting with clients. There thus often needs to be some sort of separation between the process of creating and the business of selling in the schedule of the ceramist. Victoria, for instance, completely separates the creative realm of production with the clean realm of customer service by selling her ceramic creations outside of her workshop in Svaneke. She explains that because clay is wet and sticky, she cannot interact with tourists in the way they would expect:

The same people say: “Why don’t you show how you do it? Why don’t you work down here where people can see?” I can’t. I have clay on my fingers all the time and it takes such a long time to make pieces [...]. I can see people don’t understand it takes a long time. They don’t see it. They don’t get it. So I say go to the museum Hjorths Keramik Fabrik because there you will see it takes hours. It is wet and then you have to do different things and wait and see how dry it is. So [the craft] is like a little child; you have to be around it all the time. Feel it; is it now or is

it not? It takes a long time. If I sat down there and threw clay, for example, I couldn't work to sell anything. I can't go out and dry my hands all the time.

That clay sticks on fingers makes it hard for Victoria to switch to customer service when she is creating. When she is with her material, she is deeply involved in giving it its form through the process it requires to become art. She cannot leave her creation to wash her hands and interact with visitors. Victoria describes the care she gives her clay as it develops into art as the care a parent gives a child. The process of making ceramics requires patience. Once molded by the ceramist, a piece needs to dry. Then the ceramist fires the pieces in a kiln to glaze it. The texture the ceramist seeks defines the temperature and time the piece stays in the kiln. The whole process can take days. There is great intimacy in the way the ceramist engages with the clay. Victoria's decision to separate her workshop from her customers exceeds prefigured notions of intellectual character over tourism management. It is through her involvement with clay that Victoria enacts her practices related to the tourist season. As Ingold (2011) proposed, a landscape takes shape through the incorporation of local activities in an environment. The tourist landscape cannot be seen in separation from this incorporation.

Not all ceramists categorically decide to separate sales from creation due to the properties of clay. Some ceramists seek more interplay with tourists for professional and entrepreneurial reasons. The properties of clay nonetheless always have an impact on the artist's relations with tourists. Alex is a ceramist with a small workshop next to his house in Rø. His workshop is open to visitors during the tourist season. Alex believes the tourists like to see him create pieces and that it is a good way to get them interested in buying his creations. His wife, who joined the interview, mentioned that the clay could come in the way of finalizing a sale:

I have actually seen it. When you do it [work while tourists visit], you don't sell so much, but when you don't, people are focused on the things: "Wow, we should buy this." If they see that you are sitting there throwing [clay on the wheel], you have clay all over, then they say: "Well, we do it another time." Then you don't sell.

Again, the sticky and wet of the clay mediate the interaction between the craft-artist and tourist. Michael (2000) points out that objects are not always conducive to the practice or experience we wish them to provide. Technologies and materials can create annoyances through their innate characteristics. Alex finds himself adjusting his movements in response to the ongoing perceptual monitoring of tourists. He sometimes asks his wife to work on the sales so he can continue working during the day or reserves certain times to create. Such movements are a part of the mutually attentive way in which people engage with each other in the taskscape (Ingold, 2011). The presence of tourists is the product of extra-local relations, but tourists inevitably become integral elements behind the everydayness of interacting with materials for craft-artists, making dwelling something that is ultimately dynamic, as Cloke and Jones (2001) suggested.

Interplay between host, guest, and materials is also visible with glass-art. Glass differs from clay because the craft-artist does not handle it with his or her fingers, as it is too hot when it is in a state of development. The properties of glass make glass blowing more

compatible with the open-studio trend. Glass-artists use intense heat and air, moving quickly to form new shapes instantly. These properties limit the interactions of the glass-artist with tourists in other ways nonetheless. Julie's endeavors illustrate the matter. She is the owner of a company that sells glass designs at four different venues on Bornholm. Moreover, in Svaneke, her customers can imprint their own designs on glassware through sandblasting. Julie's sandblasting concept is a good way to offer hands-on experiences to tourists, but she does not involve any customer in glass blowing. Hot malleable glass is great to look at, but it is dangerous, Julie explained:

It's ok there with the sandblasting concept. There they can actually make a very nice product by themselves, and they love it. It's fun to do it and they are very proud. But to come here [in the glass-blowing workshop] and do something they would never be able to do if I wasn't besides them to help them and move their hands ... you know? Then it takes time and it will stress me because I will be very careful so they don't burn their hands. It can easily happen you know.

That the realm of the craft-artist is unsafe, as is the case with glass, or dirty, as is the case with clay, requires the tourists to keep a distance from the former's materials. Julie believes in offering tourist experiences to boost her profit as she developed the sandblasting concept, but the inner characteristics of glass that make it hot when blown set a limit to her involvement in offering tourist experiences. These tensions in the production of tourist experiences ultimately all interweave themselves with the agency of objects. Material objects involve the body within a social environment (Bell and Lyall, 2002; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006), but it cannot be overlooked that besides enabling involvement, they can complicate or even prevent human interactions. Non-representational and relational theories ultimately highlight that it is not just cultural norms over what a tourist experience implies that dictates how people dwell in toured landscapes (Franklin, 2003; Obrador-Pons, 2003).

Techniques

As Ingold (2011) holds, the taskscape comes into being through movement. The arts and craft scene on Bornholm cannot simply be understood as a final product where one sees only pieces of art in the landscape. The craft-art scene can be described, as Crouch (2003) concedes, as a pattern of corporeal movements that reveal different kinds of creative practices done in relation to other beings and material entities. Materials afford the development of skills and creativity to the craft-artists, generating different embodied practices. The visual character of these practices is incorporated in the tourist landscape as the craft-artists use them to entice tourists to discover the production process behind their creations. However, some production processes create performances that are more conducive to the spectacular than others are. Ceramics, with its slower process, is not conducive to the spectacular. Most of the process consists of waiting, and making things with one's hand is not extraordinary. Roy, a potter with a small workshop in his garage in Allinge, highlighted through an anecdote that working with clay does not have the spectacular effect conducive to a performative encounter between artist and tourist:

I had another pottery [workshop] down in the town and it was an open workshop. The tourists could see me work, but it wasn't really much of an attraction. A tourist came in one-day: "Can I look at you working?" I said: "Yes, I am glazing now." He says again: "Can I see you work?" So, on the wheel, I throw some clay, and then just after I cut it and put it up and showed it [he said]: "Thank you!" Then he went out. It was just something to do on a rainy day on a holiday [...]. It is only on the wheel, the throwing, they really consider as work. The rest is just ... it is not interesting.

The part of the process that interests the tourist is when the ceramists spin the wheel to make pieces. This is only a very small part of the entire process of finalizing a piece. The expectation of being entertained through technical performances mediate in part the encounters with tourists of ceramists with open-workshops. For that, these ceramists must emphasize the part of the process that is interesting to the viewer while keeping the rest of the production process outside of the sight of the tourist. Everett (2012) explains that sites of production and consumption increasingly become hybrid spaces as tourism reaches rural regions. Local producers are adapting, like these ceramists, their timing and actions to suit the tourist. The tourist landscape these ceramists produce is ultimately, as Larsen (2008) contends, not an exotic sight, but a landscape formed by the mundane practices of those who dwell therein, though arranged to accommodate the presence of tourists.

Glass in itself is not overly exciting, it is the process of melting and blowing it that turns it into an act of contemplation that attracts tourist in the artists' creative space. The properties of glass make it more apt to display as a form of entertainment to tourists. A glass-artist can melt and blow glass within a few hours. The creation process involves the twisting and spinning of melted glass by an artist standing by a furnace. This makes glass-art quick and easy to present as a theatrical performance. Glass blowers and designers often open their workshops in the summer so the tourists can see them or an employee handle glass and make creations. Patrick and Maggie, both glass-artists working at the same business outside of Gudhjem, have created a show out of their art of blowing glass. This goes beyond the scheduled representations they give during the day to tourists where they show how they make glass pieces. This show is on particular evenings of the week, where people book tickets to see Maggie and Patrick make glass-art with the support of sound, lights, and choreography. This is a striking embodied practice where one can observe mundane skills elevated to produce a theatrical performance. These glass-artists completely channel in their practices the role of the host as a performer on a theatrical stage, as defined by the performance turn in tourism scholarship (Edensor, 2000, 2001). This embodiment highlights how individuals constantly interact with their social and material space and give it meaning in their everyday life (Wylie, 2007). As tourism has become a reality of everyday life on Bornholm, its craft-artists incorporate its dynamics in their daily movements.

Creative spaces

Potters and ceramists around Bornholm all own, share or rent workshops where they create their pieces. They then sell their creations either there or at other venues on or outside the island. These physical features of Bornholm's landscape reflect the process of incorporation discussed by Ingold (2011) where individuals leave something of themselves in the

landscape that becomes part of its enduring features. This process is again related to the embodied movements that constitute the everyday life of creating craft-art and interacting with tourists. Keeping a small workshop, sharing with others or creating a proper business have much to do with personal choices related to individual definitions of artistic success. Nonetheless, these creative spaces can also be seen as the outcome of the craft-artists' embodiment of their materials and techniques in relation to the tourist season. In the case of Patrick and Maggie, the spectacular properties of glass and its blowing technique materialize in their workshop as they designed the latter specifically to present spectacles. Similarly, I understood Julie as fully embracing the discourse of the theatrical stage. The tourists' expectation to consume experiences coincides with her way of designing glass, making it easy for her to stage performances in her facilities:

In these days, people want experiences. People want to see this is created by hand and they get so fascinated that they have to buy. It was an open studio ever since we started here. I have never worked without people watching me and I don't mind. Actually, I think it is fine to have people's reaction. I am used to it.

Julie reveals herself as an extroverted person who is open to the gaze of others, and this coincides with the easiness with which glass entertains when blown. It is as if Julie embodies the properties of glass in her personality. With her craft's malleability, it is easy for her to embody the codes of conduct of spectacular work during the tourist season and so she builds spaces conducive to these interactive performances.

Ceramists also embody their craft's materiality, though the personal traits they project on their creative spaces are more akin to introversion. Leila is a ceramist with a little workshop where she also exposes and sells some of her creations. Her workshop is located in a hard-to-find area on the outskirts of Rønne. Leila expressed her difficulty in reconciling her professional ambitions with the tourist season. She is a sensitive person who does not like confrontations and stress. However, customer interactions and increased production are key to her success as a craft-artist. Leila defined further her sensitivity, saying the tourists probably expected the spectacular of her, but that it was very difficult for her to perform it with a craft like ceramics and her reserved personality. She explained, "Ceramics is very slow. People would get bored. I wouldn't like people to watch, because I am introverted; when I work I like to be in my own space." Leila likes the location of her workshop because she does not get people who just drop by out of curiosity. Generally, ceramists keep their creative spaces more private and smaller in scale than the glass-artists do, and as Leila does, often link this to a matter of personality where they need tranquility to concentrate on creating. Their embodiment of their slower less flamboyant craft is thus conducive to a different kind of interactive space than the one fostered by the glass-artists.

It terms of the formation of space, it must also be added that the craft-art scene on Bornholm is highly heterogeneous as the materials used by the craft-artists are mostly imported, few of them are originally from the island and all of them reproduce their designs to some extent to profit from the tourist season. The realm of dwelling of these craft-artists is ultimately defined by a multitude of interactions both local and extra-local, highlighting the relational nature of spaces (Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Prince,

2016). For instance, Maggie and Patrick acquired their creative space and the skills they display over a long period; there were years of education and internships in Denmark to master the art, and years of investment projects to build their facilities. Maggie and Patrick studied their craft in Nexø on Bornholm and were mostly determined to stay on the island afterwards due to its idyllic character. Initially, they wanted to export their creations abroad, but as they explained, with the economic recession of the 1980s, this business-model was not successful at enabling them to live from their artwork. Instead, they turned to tourists and built a space to entertain and sell to them to support their livelihood. The concept eventually became viable. The taskscape of these craft-artists is the product of social relations over time with other places and actors through which they developed the skills, spaces, and talents that now make up the tourist landscape.

Cloke and Jones (2001), who criticized the dwelling perspective for romanticizing rootedness into idyllic authenticity, are not against the notion of a form of rootedness. They believe instead that the rootedness that forms a landscape occurs through all form of material boundedness to place itself, but also through cultural constructions and movements of flow to and from places. The pieces and performances the craft-artists of Bornholm show to tourists are the product of years of professional networking and harnessing global process to their advantage, eventually becoming successful artists on an island that inspires idyllic rurality due to a host of other social relations. The facilities and skills the craft-artists display are not final products forming a static idyllic tourist landscape; the landscape in which they dwell is temporal (Ingold, 2011) and relational (Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006).

Conclusion

I presented the notion of dwelling in the tourist landscape to conceptualize tourist spaces as realms inhabited by, and as such emerging from the actions of, individuals who make sense of the world around them through time. I demonstrated through this case study that the craft-artists of Bornholm incorporate various objects and skills in their daily practices, and that these processes cannot be disembedded from the landscape tourists engage with as they visit the island. The encounters between the tourists and the craft-artists are much more than a one-off performance in a confined space, dubbed as a stage or exotic scenery, and occurring through a delimited period; they are defined by the way these local individuals dwell in their landscape. The ceramists and glass-artists on Bornholm entertain different relations with tourists due to the properties associated with their craft, which emphasizes, as Franklin (2003), Obrador-Pons (2003) and Haldrup and Larsen (2006) claim, that tourist landscapes are corporeally enacted through material relations. The mundane practices of dealing with sticky fingers, avoiding touching hot glass, spinning clay on a wheel, twirling melted glass, and so on, define the way through which these craft-artists simultaneously experience and manipulate their encounters with tourists. Tourism then becomes a part of these craft-artists' taskscape as they incorporate their encounters with tourists in their techniques and physical spaces.

The objects, technologies, spaces, and skills that make up the tourist landscape are tied up to the cultural and social life of individuals who have built living spaces over many years. The formations these craft-artists have received locally or elsewhere, the

internships abroad they went on, the hardships they went through, the investments they made, the crafts they have chosen to work with, the way they have designed their workshops, and the people they involve in their sales all simultaneously form a dynamic taskscape and tourist landscape on Bornholm. It becomes crucial to consider the elements that make up the everyday lives of those who dwell since reducing local involvement to behavioral models, scientific theories, and intellectual critique risks severing science from the world of the living by disembedding its subjects from their realities (Ingold, 2011; Latham, 2003; Thrift, 2000, 2001, 2008). Not the least in tourism scholarship, it must be recognized that landscapes are created through social practices. The dwelling perspective can engage tourism researchers critically in their conceptualization of tourist spaces by defying notions of the tourist system that disembed local people from their cultural landscapes. Even when contrived by the pressure of the tourist gaze or when filled by spectacular encounters, a landscape is ultimately lived by those who inhabit it and recreate it through their embodied practices.

Non-representational theories reanimate the cultural landscape as a dynamic material world of substantive engagement, where people interactively inhabit and consequently actively model their surroundings over time (Waterton, 2013). As Wylie (2013) notes, “[...] a focus upon individual lives and landscapes can enable the forging of connections with wider cultural, historical and political questions regarding the constitution of landscapes” (p. 61). Moreover, the body as unit of analysis gives primacy to the experiential dimension of social life where socio-political discourses and economic relations of productions become lived experiences through, for instance, restrictions, violence or aesthetic expectations (Simonsen, 2012). Tourism researchers can engage with those they study by asking, “How do these individuals incorporate the unique material features of their landscape into their lives, and ultimately fashion it through their experiences and practices?” With the dwelling perspective, the emphasize is put on the observation and sensation of activities and practices, which can reveal how individuals shape their environment by resisting creatively, coping with, taking advantage of, and following the dynamics of tourism through everyday practices.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the people at the CRT, mostly the late Tage Petersen, for all the help and support during my fieldwork on Bornholm. I also wish to acknowledge my two doctoral supervisors at Mid-Sweden University, Dimitri Ioannides and Sandra Wall-Reinius, for their comments on this article. The maps were kindly made by Wu Shuo-Sheng at Missouri State University.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work was supported by a grant from Nordeas Norrlandsstiftelses resestipendium 2014.

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