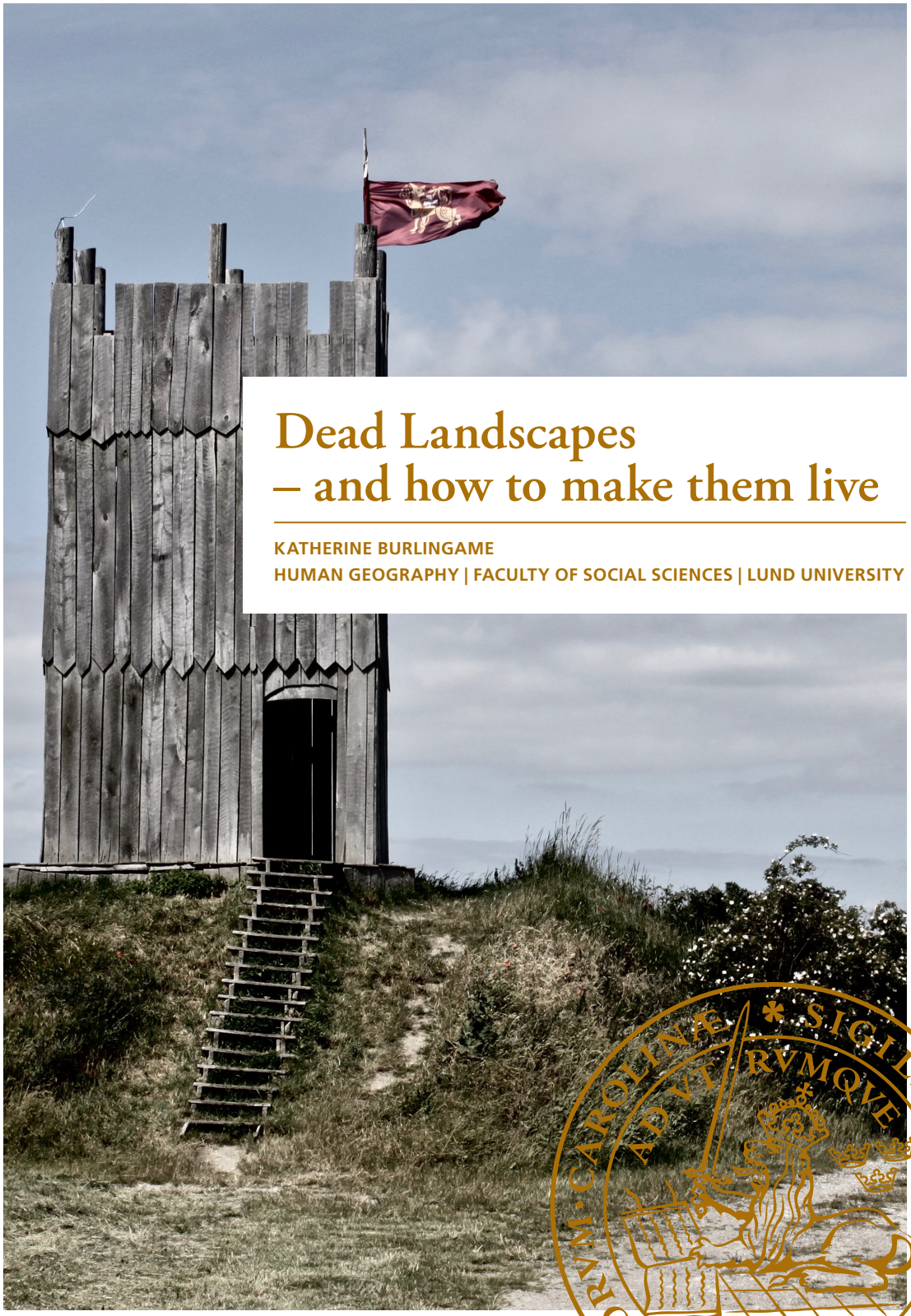

Dead Landscapes – and how to make them live

KATHERINE BURLINGAME
HUMAN GEOGRAPHY | FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES | LUND UNIVERSITY

DEAD LANDSCAPES – AND HOW TO MAKE THEM LIVE explores how certain deadening forces including *disneyfication*, *museumization*, and the *standardization* of heritagescapes have led to the loss of embodied, lived experiences. In an effort to (re)enchant how these landscapes are developed, managed, and encountered, a new landscape model is introduced that combines the more practical components of heritage management (*locale* and *story*) with strategies that explore the emotional and affective dimensions of phenomenological landscape experience (*presence*). Applying the model in four Viking heritagescapes reveals the desire for more multisensory, hands-on, and individualized encounters with the past.

Printed by Media-Tryck, Lund 2020 NORDIC SWAN ECOLABEL 3041 0903

LUND UNIVERSITY

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Human Geography

ISBN 978-91-7895-574-9

Dead Landscapes

– and how to make them live

Katherine Burlingame

LUND
UNIVERSITY

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
by due permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences,
Lund University, Sweden
To be defended in Världen, Geocentrum 1, Sölvegatan 10, Lund
Date: September 18, 2020 at 13:00

Faculty Opponent
Dr. David C. Harvey, Associate Professor in Critical Heritage Studies at Aarhus University, Denmark and Honorary Professor of Historical Cultural Geography at the University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Organization: LUND UNIVERSITY	**Document name:** Doctoral Dissertation
	Date of issue: 18.09.2020
Author: Katherine Burlingame	**Sponsoring organization:** Department of Human Geography
Title: Dead Landscapes – and how to make them live	

Abstract:

Certain deadening forces including *disneyfication*, *museumization*, and the *standardization* of heritagescapes have led to the loss of embodied, lived experiences. In an effort to (re)enchant how these landscapes are developed, managed, and encountered, a new landscape model is introduced that combines the more practical components of heritage management (*locale* and *story*) with strategies that explore the emotional and affective dimensions of phenomenological landscape experience (*presence*). Within landscape geography, the model provides a more concise methodology for landscape analysis. Bringing together often opposing perspectives, the model helps to peel back the different material, symbolic, and affective layers of landscapes. Within heritage and tourism studies, the model provides a vital stepping stone between theory and practice, and it serves as an accessible and replicable tool to study the complexity of the visitor experience and the different dimensions of historical landscapes. Applying the model in four sites associated with the Viking Age reveals the desire for more multisensory, hands-on, and individualized encounters with heritagescapes. This illuminates the need to thwart the deadening forces and reawaken the lived experience in landscapes of the past and present.

Key words: Landscape geography, heritage management, affect, presence, phenomenology, enchantment, Vikings		
Classification system and/or index terms (if any): N/A		
Supplementary bibliographical information: N/A		**Language:** English
Key title: N/A		**ISBN:** 978-91-7895-574-9 (print) 978-91-7895-575-6 (pdf)
Recipient's notes: N/A	**Number of pages:** 251	Price: N/A
	Security classification: N/A	

Dead Landscapes

– and how to make them live

Katherine Burlingame

LUND
UNIVERSITY

Front and Back Cover Photos by Katherine Burlingame

Faculty of Social Sciences | Department of Human Geography

ISBN 978-91-7895-574-9 (print)
978-91-7895-575-6 (pdf)

Printed in Sweden by Media-Tryck, Lund University
Lund 2020

To my parents–
for instilling in me a love for words and an insatiable curiosity about the past

Acknowledgements

I must start off by thanking three UK-based professors who offered invaluable feedback on early ideas and ushered me into landscape studies: Divya Tolia-Kelly, Mike Crang, and Veronica della Dora. I am further indebted to Matthias Maluck from the State Archaeology Department of Schleswig-Holstein in Germany for involving me in the UNESCO World Heritage nomination for Hedeby and the Danevirke. This book would also not have been possible without the support from the re-enactors and site staff who welcomed me into the Viking world. Special thanks to Strömma and the National Property Board of Sweden for travel and accommodation support on Björkö.

For critical feedback and lively discussions on previous drafts, thanks to Henrik Gutzon Larsen, Martin Hall, Bodil Petersson, Anders Lund Hansen, and my second supervisor, Tom Mels, who also arranged my fellowship with the Sustainable Heritage Research Forum on Gotland – a much needed writing refuge during one particularly long, dark Scandinavian winter.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to my supervisor, Tomas Germundsson. With an incomparable combination of kindness and humor and a contagious enthusiasm for life outside of the hallowed halls of academia (especially in the Scanian landscape), he has been a trusted guide and friend on this journey.

While my voyage to Sweden was unexpected and filled with many uncertainties, Emma Fogelqvist and Johan Cederlöf, along with their children Linnéa, Pelle, and Stina and mormor Eva, welcomed a stranger into their lives, and provided a home filled with laughter and unimaginable friendship. Tack för allt…

Finally, this book is a product of my upbringing and the invaluable support from my loving family – particularly my grandmothers Patricia and Margaret, my parents Susan and Philip, my brother Quinn and sister-in-law Bryn, and my husband Jochanan.

Abstract

Certain deadening forces including *disneyfication*, *museumization*, and the *standardization* of heritagescapes have led to the loss of embodied, lived experiences. In an effort to (re)enchant how these landscapes are developed, managed, and encountered, a new landscape model is introduced that combines the more practical components of heritage management (*locale* and *story*) with strategies that explore the emotional and affective dimensions of phenomenological landscape experience (*presence*). Within landscape geography, the model provides a more concise methodology for landscape analysis. Bringing together often opposing perspectives, the model helps to peel back the different material, symbolic, and affective layers of landscapes. Within heritage and tourism studies, the model provides a vital stepping stone between theory and practice, and it serves as an accessible and replicable tool to study the complexity of the visitor experience and the different dimensions of historical landscapes. Applying the model in four sites associated with the Viking Age reveals the desire for more multisensory, hands-on, and individualized encounters with heritagescapes. This illuminates the need to thwart the deadening forces and reawaken the lived experience in landscapes of the past and present.

Related Publications

Burlingame, K. (2020) 'Hidden in the Mountains: Celebrating Swedish Heritage in Rural Pennsylvania', in Lovell, J. and Hitchmough, S. (eds) *Authenticity in North America: Place, Tourism, Heritage, Culture and the Popular Imagination*. London: Routledge, pp. 134-144.

Burlingame, K. (2019) 'Presence in affective heritagescapes: connecting theory to practice', *Tourism Geographies.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1696882

Burlingame, K. (2018) 'Where are the storytellers? A quest to (re)enchant geography through writing as method', *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*. 43(1), pp. 56–70.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Figure 20: Visitors to Birka (1944). *Utflykt.* Shelfmark: SE/FAC1370K2A66428. Tidningen Aftontidningen Uppsalaavd. Folkrörelsearkivet för Uppsala län. Available at: http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A226044&dswid=9776 (Accessed: 26 February 2020).

Figure 21: A replica of Birka in the museum

Figure 22: Traditionally dyed fabrics and handmade clothing by a re-enactor from Peru

Figure 23: A re-enactment of the Battle of Fotevik

Figure 24: Thersner, Ulrik (1818). *Borreby från östra sidan*. Record number: 183369. Lund University Library Archive. Available at: http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A183369&dswid=-151 (Accessed: 3 February 2020).

Figure 25: View from inside the museum facing the lake

Figure 26: One of the reconstructed houses in Hedeby

Figure 27: Visitors leaving Hedeby's spring market

Figure 28: Visitors at Hedeby's spring market

Figure 29: A younger visitor reaching for handmade knives

Figure 30: A fire burns as a re-enactor prepares lunch in the longhouse

Figure 31: The local guardians of Hedeby

Figure 32: View of Birka's archaeological landscape in July 2018

Figure 33: View of Birka's archaeological landscape in June 2019

Figure 34: Entrance into Hemlanden

Figure 35: Freshly-baked bread and hand-churned butter for visitors to try

Figure 36: A young visitor trying out blacksmithing making her own nail

Figure 37: One of the entrance buildings selling food at VikingaTider

Figure 38: A deer carcass hanging to dry in Hedeby

Figure 39: One of the stands selling mass-produced goods

—Once again

Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,

That on a wild secluded scene impress

Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect

The landscape with the quiet of the sky.

— William Wordsworth, *Lines Written A few Miles Above Tintern Abbey*, 1798

PART I
Background and Theoretical Considerations

1.1 Dead Landscapes

Landscape. A word charged with a thousand meanings. The tangible and abstract landscapes of the world swell with meaning, memory, emotion, narrative, identity, power, loss, history, change – the list is endless. We have now reached a point in time where human influence has affected even the most remote corners of the world. The once seemingly endless horizons of exploration are now easily navigated – demarcated through maps and coordinate systems, and the once untouchable skies now act as global transportation fast lanes. Even the cosmos cannot escape humankind's innate curiosity and hunger for knowledge beyond our current planetary home. As you read this, Elon Musk's personal Tesla roadster cruises into galactic oblivion, serenading the universe with Bowie's *Space Oddity*. While forces of change draw us further away from our previously symbiotic relationship between the ground below and sky above, it is easy to understand why some may argue we live in a disenchanted world. Yet, I believe this sense of a growing detachment has caused something of an awakening. Manifested in a new enlightenment filled with the echoes of the Romantics, the quest is to find new meaning in our lives; that is, while understanding our fleeting existence in an infinite universe, we are ever more aware of our *being* in the world, and we increasingly seek out powerful, lived experiences that help to remind us. As the writer Claire-Louise Bennett noted, "If we have lost the knack of living, I thought, it is a safe bet to presume we have forfeited the magic of dying" (2015, p. 88). Therefore, to feel alive, to recognize and celebrate *being* in the world, we must bring life back into the landscapes surrounding us and awaken the deeply intertwined corporeal and sensory connections we have within them.

Though critical geographers have argued that "the quest for enchantment is always suspect, for it signals only a longing to forget about injustice, sink into naïveté, and escape from politics" (Bennett, 2001, p. 10), a recent revival in humanistic geography and phenomenological research has brought the geographical gaze back to how emotional, affective, and performative encounters in landscapes have a

profound impact on how we develop as individuals with different interests and capacities to be affected. While it is vital to take a critical approach in understanding the many powerful forces that shape and manipulate landscapes over time, this new research focuses on the revival of the lived experience and the powerful moments of wonder and enchantment that leave us with a similar sensation shared by writer Sara Maitland in *A Book of Silence.* Pausing to have a cheese sandwich high up in the moors of the Isle of Skye, she writes:

> And there, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, I slipped a gear, or something like that. There was not me and the landscape, but a kind of oneness: a connection as though my skin had been blown off. More than that – as though the molecules and atoms I am made of had reunited themselves with the molecules and atoms that the rest of the world is made of. I felt absolutely connected to everything. It was very brief, but it was a total moment (2008, p. 63).

In these moments, the illusion of the self (see Harris, 2014) is overcome by our innate desire to connect with something greater. Yet only through an awakened, mindful interaction are we able to shut off our inner dialogue and make room for the poetics of landscape encounters.

If the solution to a growing sense of disenchantment is to reawaken these powerful, lived experiences, philosopher Jane Bennett argues that the world must still have some capacity to affect, or *enchant* us (2001). This means perhaps landscapes are not *dead* per se, but rather hibernating or in some sort of restless slumber akin to Snow White after eating the poisonous apple. Just as the seven dwarves falsely assumed her dead, so too is it wrong to depict the world as disenchanted because this "*ignores* and then *discourages* affective attachment to that world" (Bennett, 2001, p. 3, my emphasis). Therefore, inspired by the similarly-titled work *Dead geographies – and how to make them live* (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000), I focus on *dead* landscapes – and how to make them live.

While moments of enchantment can happen in all kinds of 'scapes' (landscapes, seascapes, urbanscapes, etc.), in this dissertation I focus on *heritagescapes* (see Garden, 2006) and the ways they are developed, managed, and experienced by different people for different reasons. I argue that the growing sense of disenchantment and loss of the lived experience in these landscapes has been caused by a rise in disneyfication and museumization and the standardization of tourist practices where "uniform products and places are created for people of

supposedly uniform needs and tastes" (Relph, 1976, p. 92). Inspired by emerging debates and discussions in landscape geography and heritage and tourism studies, I introduce a three-pillared conceptual model of landscape analysis that combines more practical components of site management (*locale* and *story*) with the emotional and affective dimensions of landscape experience (*presence*) explored through phenomenology. The model aims to fill the gap for a more practical, accessible methodology to study heritagescapes that can be employed by both site managers and researchers working in the heritage field across different disciplines. Applying the model in four sites associated with the Viking Age uncovers the desire for more multisensory, hands-on, and individualized encounters with heritagescapes. This illuminates the need to combat the deadening forces that cause mindlessness and disenchantment in order to reawaken the lived experience in heritagescapes.

Therefore, this dissertation has three main aims. First, within landscape geography, the model addresses the need for a more concise methodology for landscape analysis. While previous approaches have focused separately on the material, symbolic, and affective layers of landscapes – often framing them as being in opposition with one another, the model reveals the need to bring together the many interwoven dimensions of landscapes to create a more holistic and critical analysis of the landscape as a whole. Second, within heritage and tourism studies, the model provides a vital stepping stone between theory and practice, and it serves as an accessible and replicable tool to study the complexity of the visitor experience and the different dimensions of historical landscapes. Finally, this dissertation aims to reawaken the affective dialogue between humans and the many-layered-landscapes we live in by exploring the lived experience through different theoretical perspectives and employing a humanistic approach to research and writing.

How the Story Goes

The dissertation is divided into four parts. Part I provides the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological discussions that have inspired the creation of a new landscape model stemming from landscape geography, phenomenology, and heritage and tourism studies. The landscape model is introduced in Part II with different chapters describing each of its components and possible methods that can be employed. Part III demonstrates the model's different uses and benefits when applied to four Viking heritagescapes. Finally, Part IV presents the results

emerging from Part III and concludes that the model answers the call for a more concrete methodology to study landscapes that is more accessible, adaptable, and replicable across different research disciplines exploring experience and engagement in heritagescapes.

1.2 Defining Landscape

To understand the multiple (and multiplying) meanings of landscape, one must first pay homage to the original conceptualization of the relationship between man and land, custom and boundary, and more broadly, if we really should be separating nature and culture to begin with. Through a closer look at the development of landscape geography and the various approaches posited by critical geographers, humanistic geographers, cultural geographers, and others in the last decade or so, it is easy to infer a certain identity crisis in how to succinctly study a landscape – with some even arguing that the term 'landscape' is dead (see Henderson, 1998). Therefore, in this chapter I explore how the landscape concept has emerged in different contexts over time to help lay some of the groundwork for my landscape model presented in Part II.

What's in a name?

Pictorial representations of landscapes emerged already in the late 16th and early 17th centuries through landscape painting schools primarily in north-eastern Italy and southern Germany, and they were later stylistically employed by the Dutch for estate paintings (Cosgrove, 2006). In Dutch, therefore, the term *Landschap* has a much more artistic and visual connotation – not to be confused with the Old Dutch word *Landskab*, which related more to the earlier German *Landschaft* (Mels, 2006; Wylie, 2007). Crucial to the more critical geographical interpretations of landscapes today (see for example Don Mitchell's (1996) *Lie of the Land*), a *Landschaft* was an area connected through a notion of polity, custom, and culture (see Olwig, 2002) defined by "a collective relationship with land more than a specifically bounded territory" (Cosgrove, 2006, p. 54).

Merriam-Webster's definition of landscape also divides the term between intangible and tangible manifestations: (1) "a picture representing a view of natural inland scenery or the art of depicting such scenery"; (2) "the landforms of a region in the aggregate or portion of territory that can be viewed at one time

from one place" (2016). Cultural geographer John Wylie touches on the dichotomy between these two forms and the ways in which they overlap or are disconnected in various landscape discourses in his book *Landscape* (2007), which remains the most thorough resource covering the development as well as the different perspectives of landscape geography. In order to not simply repeat Wylie's book, in the following section I give a very brief overview of landscape research origins with more attention paid to the main perspectives that have influenced the development of my model.

Landscape Geography

As a research field, landscape studies falls under cultural geography, which lies under the widespread arms of human geography. That being said, the research origins of landscape studies remain rather unclear. Wylie (2007), for example, focuses on the rise of landscape studies in Europe and North America during the 20th century, and suggests landscape fell under the academic gaze namely through three people: Carl Sauer, W. G. Hoskins, and J. B. Jackson. American geographer Carl Sauer (1889–1975), known for his book *The Morphology of Landscape* (1929), contributed methodological developments to fieldwork such as observing tangible landscape features. He is also known for developing the *cultural landscape* concept through which culture is the influencing force and landscape is the medium. English historian W. G. Hoskins (1908–1992) was more focused on rural and local landscape history. His seminal work, *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), was very accessible to a wider public, and it inspired a sense of nostalgia and belonging in local communities. Finally, American writer and cultural geographer J. B. Jackson (1909–1996) shifted the focus to the everyday, or *vernacular,* landscape and emphasized the importance of "experience, dwelling and embodied practice" (Wylie, 2007, p. 18) in landscape studies. While these three are credited with much of the foundational thinking in landscape geography, the list is certainly neither exhaustive nor representative of a much wider array of writers, photographers, anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and others especially outside of the Western male tradition who likely had just as much if not more impact on the development of landscape studies.

Through these early conceptualizations, the landscape became the object of study for various types of analysis ranging from distant observation to sensuous corporeal immersion that have shaped the various branches of landscape research

used today. Though debates arise as to whether there are certain factions that separate landscape researchers, the landscape framework a geographer employs seems to be specific to the region and the landscape in which they work, and they often borrow from various methodologies that overlap with other perspectives. 'New' cultural geographers such as Stephen Daniels, Denis Cosgrove, and James and Nancy Duncan, for example, focus on the symbolism found within landscapes and how to uncover inequalities and power relations. Their perspective was much more about 'reading' the landscape and looking for ways to reveal hidden forces of power. For example, they criticize aesthetic idealization of landscapes because attention to romanticized forms ignores lived qualities and the impact of the humans who have shaped it (see Duncan and Duncan, 2001). Emphasizing preferred aspects of the landscape also creates an inauthentic space and ultimately makes a landscape a place to be owned, manipulated, and commodified (Smith, 2006; Perlik, 2011). Allowing landscapes to become possessions leads to social exclusion and loss of identity for marginalized groups (Duncan and Duncan, 2001; Germundsson, 2005; Mitchell, 2017). At the other end of the spectrum, a renewed interest in humanistic geography heralded by the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan in the 1970s (1976) gave rise to a wave of research using 'more-than-representational' approaches (Lorimer, 2005), phenomenological theory (Tilley, 1994), and discussions of affect to approach the lived experience, sense of place, belonging, and exclusionary practices in landscapes (Tolia-Kelly, 2007) – often through the use of more creative methods of writing and participatory empirical work.

With so many viewpoints on how to approach landscape studies, there are endless debates that tackle what is missed by using different methods. It seems whatever we do as landscape geographers, we will always fall in opposition to another viewpoint. This tension is perhaps best reflected in the difficulty of creating a landscape definition that everyone agrees on – especially with the various linguistic origins discussed before. However, I believe Cosgrove aptly summarizes the usage of the term landscape ranging from "the tangible, measurable ensemble of material forms in a given geographical area, to the representation of those forms in various media such as paintings, texts, photographs or performances to the desired, remembered and somatic spaces of the imagination and the senses" (2003, p. 249). From this definition, one might presume that landscape is everywhere, and seemingly, everything. However, it is exactly the uncertainty around landscape research that makes it such an intriguing and elusive subject.

While some have attempted to develop a holistic approach to the many dimensions of the landscape concept (most notably in geographer Don Mitchell's *New Axioms for Reading the Landscape* (2008)), there is still no concise methodology that recognizes the unbreakable bond between humans and landscapes. Like the new cultural geographers before him, in his axioms Mitchell leaves out the *more*, the *human*, and the embodied emotional connection that arises from *being* and *dwelling* in a lived and worked landscape over time. While Mitchell's axioms focus on the historical, social, political, and economic factors that affect the materiality of a landscape, there is little discussion of how landscapes make people *feel* outside the constraints of social justice, power dynamics, and exclusionary or violent practices. Mitchell therefore makes himself vulnerable to the same criticism he gives to new cultural geographers; whereas they used 'culture' as a totality, he uses 'capital', and as Wylie argues, this puts too much focus on landscapes merely as points of production through which "struggle and conflict become standout motifs" (2007, p. 106). In this vain, focusing on produced landscapes once again emphasizes the culture vs. nature dualism: landscape is the resource upon which we impose our capitalist desires or needs, which occludes the vastly more powerful study of landscapes as *home*, as places of belonging, interaction, and identity. Therefore, there is a need for a new landscape approach that strives to uncover the multisensory experiences of landscapes forged beyond the clutches of capitalist intervention. While considering Mitchell's axioms, my landscape model takes a step forward to the phenomenological and humanistic research introduced in the next chapter.

1.3 Landscapes and the Lived Experience

To grapple with the intricate and unique nature of human experience is to delve into the deep trenches of philosophical thought. Given the many different ways that landscapes are developed, maintained, and encountered, it is therefore important to situate my landscape model in a more clearly defined theoretical and conceptual framework. While my research relies on many different lines of thinking, the concept of the lived experience serves as an anchor to which these lines are tethered. Studying the lived experience moves beyond traditional theories and constructions of knowledge to a 'more-than' realm of philosophy. In this chapter I review how the concept of the lived experience emerged in the philosophy of the social sciences, how it has re-emerged in more recent paradigms with a focus on landscape phenomenology, and how it has inspired new humanistic methodologies that encourage creative, imaginative, and emotive research and writing.

The Evolution of the Lived Experience in Philosophical Thought

Positivism and Empiricism

Through positivism and empiricism, it is assumed that knowledge is derived from facts gained from observation. While empiricists such as John Locke (1632–1704) and David Hume (1711–1776) assumed that knowledge came from sense perceptions, positivists such as Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) took an empirical approach arguing that facts must be verified using logic through a scientific method. However, physician Ludwik Fleck (1896–1961) was quick to identify the weakness in developing pure truth from scientific observation. Based on what he called the *Denkstil,* or *thought style*, Fleck argued that the observer has their own experiences, level of knowledge, and

expectations that can affect the outcome of their observations (1935). Even if there is only one physical world, it can be perceived and experienced in a multitude of ways. This harkens back to the original conception of experience in two different German words: *Erfahrung* and *Erlebnis.* While *Erfahrung* was used by early empiricists to describe the notion of experience as more of a learning process, *Erlebnis* emerged to describe more reflective and personal encounters that occupy what is today considered the *lived experience* – where we are no longer distant observers in the world, but active participants.

Phenomenology

Similar to Fleck, German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), was troubled by the positivist scientific process, and argued that "merely fact-minded sciences make merely fact-minded people" (1970, p. 6). He noticed that the growing complexity of technical methods and jargon had strayed far from the original process of obtaining knowledge through sense perceptions. The lived environment had become the presupposed ground upon which scientific work was done without recognizing the subjectivity, or *intentionality,* involved in interpreting perceptible environment into objective being. Therefore, phenomenology was a way to turn back to the immediacy of the lived experience, and Husserl's student Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) finally made the break with positivist approaches with his concept of *being in the world* through which subjects and objects can never be separated (1962). This was later reinforced by French phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) who wrote, "My body is a thing amongst things, it is caught in the fabric of the world" (1969, p. 256).

Through phenomenology, the world becomes a place to live in, not a scene to view. As psychiatrist J.H. van den Berg wrote, "The relationship of man and world is so profound, that it is an error to separate them. If we do, then man ceases to be man and the world to be world. The world is no conglomeration of mere objects to be described in the language of physical science. The world is our home, our habitat, the materialization of our subjectivity" (1955, p. 32). Knowing, therefore, came from lived experiences and encounters with the phenomenal world, which opened the door for new materialism.

New Materialism

In her prelude to *Vibrant Matter,* Jane Bennett includes a quote from Henry David Thoreau: "I must let my senses wander as my thought, my eyes see without

looking. … Go not to the object; let it come to you" (in 2010, prelude). Bennet then goes on to define when objects (things) detach from subjectivity and thereby have their own essence and capacity to affect us and other objects. She is curious about the intangible, irreducible, and the non-representational dimensions of objects that we are unable to grasp or deduce epistemologically. Therefore, she switches to ontology to describe *vibrant matter* – where things have a unique *thing-power*. As we move through different spaces, she argues, we are in a constant dialogue with our surroundings. Our movements and interactions encounter a world that is alive – with constantly changing sense impressions ranging from simple observations to moments of awe and wonder. Therefore, the lived experience is built on interactions within different landscapes, which means landscapes are at all times filled with alive, vibrant things. Merleau-Ponty also discussed our inherent capability of discovering "in all other 'objects' the miracle of expression" (1962, p. 197). The problem, however, is how to represent these encounters empirically, which is perhaps why new materialism has largely been left out of landscape studies. However, this is something that non-representational theory attempts to solve.

Non-representational theory

The difficulty in representing embodied, lived encounters is not that we cannot do it, "but that the moment we do so we immediately lose something" (Carolan, 2008, p. 412). Turning this perspective more specifically to landscapes, rather than looking at landscapes as some kind of code that we are able to read because they hold culture's hidden essence, non-representational approaches emphasize people's everyday interactions with landscapes. These approaches, according to geographer Emma Waterton, involve "a full range of sensory experiences: [they are] not only visual, but textured to the touch and resonating with smells, touch, sounds, and tastes, often mundane in nature" (2013b, p. 69). Non-representational theory, pioneered by geographer Nigel Thrift (see 2008), therefore attempts to understand the performativity and different modes of being that may not be easily captured by traditional scientific interpretation. In comparison to a phenomenological lived experience, in non-representational theory, the landscape is able to 'answer back' (Thrift, 2008) – falling more in line with Bennett's new materialist perspective. In geographer Christopher Tilley's book *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology* (2004), for example, he allows for a very open interaction and engagement with standing

stones and other megaliths and describes the conscious and almost verbal dialogue he has while approaching and engaging with them in various ways. In a previous work, he also reflects on how elements such as the whistling wind and the sound of a waterfall have their own autonomous affective capacity (1994).

While some have suggested using the word 'non' (in non-representational) contradicts being able to even use the theory, geographer Hayden Lorimer recommended changing the name to 'more-than-representational' (2005) to open up a more nuanced exploration of embodied experiences. However, as these new approaches have developed, there have been further criticisms that they continue to leave out certain power relations that inherently influence lived experiences (Butler, 2004), which is where post-phenomenology enters the stage.

Post-phenomenology

As the name suggests, post-phenomenology attempts to decentralize the universal phenomenological subject. While it includes a new materialist perspective on human-object relations, it still acknowledges the lasting impact of cultural and societal influences on embodied encounters. While it was first suggested by American philosopher Don Idhe in the early 1990s, post-phenomenology has more recently come into the field of geography through the efforts of Mitch Rose (2002), John Wylie (2005), and James Ash and Paul Simpson (2016). While more recent approaches using the lived experience argue that one can purely affect and be affected by all that is sensually and corporeally encountered, post-phenomenology takes a vital step forward in recognizing the vast array of individuality and subjectivity involved in landscape experience and how these relations and representations are always subject to change. However, as I will discuss in the next section, while post-phenomenology attempts to combine different theoretical perspectives to fill what are perceived as different gaps from previous frameworks, it fails to make a strong enough case as to why it is 'post'-phenomenology at all – given that it still largely relies on the foundational facets of early phenomenological thought.

Summarizing the Lived Experience

As I have demonstrated, the pedigree of the lived experience follows a long line of thinkers all grappling with humankind's place in the world. Recurring research themes question the place and power of the subject, the means through which knowledge is acquired, and the affective potential and influence of embodied

encounters. Regardless of so many lines of thinking about the lived experience, an enduring argument is that studying how people interact and engage with the world opens up new horizons to understand who we are collectively and apart, and begins to breakdown the very fundamental dominant discourses of being. Therefore, in the next section I introduce my own interpretation and approach in understanding and studying the nature of human experience in landscapes.

'More-than' Landscape Phenomenology?

> The landscape thinks itself in me …and I am its consciousness.
> — Paul Cézanne (in Merleau-Ponty, 1994 (1945, p. 67))

> Indeed, most scientists, and philosophers disdain the subject, for it suggests a neglect of standards: Bliss, it has been noted, is not conducive to detached observation.
> — Sam Harris (2014, p. 83)

Phenomenology has been used within landscape geography to "move away from a description of subjectivity in terms of rational, distanced observation, towards an alternate understanding of human being – of what it is to be human – in terms of expressive engagement and involvement with the world" (Wylie, 2013, p. 56). The trouble with this approach, however, is that it is often easily confused with non-representational theory. Though Emma Waterton argues non-representational theory pushes the boundaries of traditional methods used in phenomenology (2013b), Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty were already doing this early on in their work. As geographer Kirsten Simonsen points out, phenomenology involves a study of the "*phenomenal, lived body*" that emerges from an active engagement with the world – "within the order of things or within the unfolding of collective life" (2013, p. 16, my emphasis). It would therefore be difficult to argue that 'more-than-representational' approaches have a different understanding of the power of the lived experience except that they might argue the body itself should not be the only object of study in the interactive dance of a lifeworld.

Since I see a logical convergence between these various frameworks, this dissertation could be considered a 'more-than-phenomenological' study because it is influenced by the recent approaches that attempt to "expand the realm of

what the (experiential) human is, expand the realm of what counts as the empirical field (and how we go about evidencing this), and also what geography is" (Lea, 2009, p. 374) within the "self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multi-sensual worlds" (Lorimer 2005 p. 83).

I also hesitate to accept the term post-phenomenology so readily since new approaches in phenomenological research and more-than-representational theory already reflect these new ways of thinking (see, for example, Waterton, 2019). In her article that revisits phenomenology (particularly Merleau-Ponty's work), Simonsen notes that despite different criticisms from (post)-structuralist and posthumanist perspectives, Merleau-Ponty's stance actually shows he had anticipated the concerns addressed by post-phenomenology (2013). This is particularly clear in his moving away from the dominant image of phenomenology as being *transcendental* in which a "purified, intentional consciousness … [gives] meaning" toward a more embodied consciousness (Simonsen, 2013, p. 15). This, Simonsen argues, aligns phenomenology with different (post)-structuralist, posthumanist, post-colonial, and feminist modes of thinking because of their common interest in embodied experience. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology shows that "materiality and ideality, matter and meaning, body and mind must be conceived of as irreducibly interwoven and folded at every level, from the corporeal to the philosophical" (Ibid.), and this shows its malleability to be applied in different frameworks. This was also aptly demonstrated by feminist writer and scholar Sara Ahmed in her book *Queer Phenomenology,* in which she argues that phenomenology "emphasizes the importance of lived experience, the intentionality of consciousness, the significance of nearness or what is ready-to-hand, and the role of repeated and habitual actions in shaping bodies and worlds" (2006, p. 2). Therefore, while finding influence in many different theoretical frameworks, I primarily rely on landscape phenomenology.

Landscape Phenomenology

Though phenomenology lost speed in the 1980s and 1990s due to more critical approaches that saw landscape in "ideological, symbolic, and discursive terms"; for example, as a way of seeing and as a "visual ideology, expressing variously elitist, masculinist, racialized, and Eurocentric discourses" (Wylie, 2013, p. 57), there has been a recent reemergence of landscape phenomenology, which reawakens humanist values that ground the researcher and the researched in the same place through a sense of belonging and shared lived experience. In fact,

Wylie argues landscape cannot be discussed without considering phenomenology. For example, with the discussion of a lived landscape, its materiality, and corporeal engagement, it is difficult to side-step Heidegger's *dwelling* concept or Merleau-Ponty's discussion of the body in a landscape. However, many criticisms have also arisen regarding landscape studies with an emphasis on phenomenology (Cosgrove, 1985; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988). Arguably, with a focus on the lived experience, phenomenology might overlook other elements that have shaped the landscape over time including the social, economic, and political dimensions studied by more critical geographers. However, a simple exploration into research employing landscape phenomenology alludes to a much deeper understanding of these different forces affecting landscapes and thereby how they are experienced.

Within the humanistic geography tradition, Yi-Fu Tuan defines experience as "all the ways that humans perceive and understand reality through their senses and mind" (2011, p. 129). He describes senses in terms of being proximate (taste, touch, and smell) where they are unstructured and emotional, and distant (hearing and sight) that are less emotional and more aesthetic and intellectual. Finnish geographer J. G. Granö (1882-1956) also had a similar formulation in his discussion of proximity and space in his well-known 1920s (now translated into English) book *Pure Geography* (1997). He is one of the earliest pioneers in landscape geography who argued that landscapes are understood through human perception, and geographers should focus more on how the environment is perceived through the senses. He argued that people are at the center of their perceived environments, and thereby their perceptual space changes based on what they observe at different distances. What we observe is then surrounded by phenomenal space. Similar to Tuan, he defined the proximate environment as the space with which we directly interact and are able to perceive with all of our senses.

Such understandings tether experience to engagement and interaction that fall beyond simplistic scientific explanations of how humans encounter the world. As anthropologist Kay Milton argues, "Whatever innate cognitive mechanisms we possess, and however they are used in perception, the domain of personhood is not an ontological domain…, but an experiential one. … It is produced by the many ways in which the human and non-human things in our environment actively relate to us, as we actively engage with them" (2002, p. 48). And most importantly, perceptual experience and the development of knowledge from the

environment is both a private and a unique process that makes it frustratingly difficult to make any generalizations about the nature of human experience.

Especially in heritage landscapes, for example, there is a danger of developing a narrative that applies exclusively to certain people without considering the multitude of other cultural and social backgrounds that may cause people to react differently than the dominant perspective of the site (see Tolia-Kelly, 2007; Crang and Tolia-Kelly, 2010). It might therefore be questioned whether it is even possible to counteract dominant 'ways of seeing' in order to create a more representative mosaic of landscape experience. A frequent argument of phenomenological thinking, however, is that although it is important to consider these influences, cultural support is not necessary to be affected by something (see Tuan, 2011) and that sometimes one's cultural lens can even prevent them from truly connecting with a place. As landscape architect Anne Whiston Spirn notes, "Culture can prevent eyes from seeing and ears from hearing" (1998, p. 36), and this debate continues to cause a stir amongst scholars. For example, coming from cognitive studies, Catharine Ward Thompson argues, "As in wider nature/culture debates, it is important to recognize that preference is unlikely to be based simply on a biological or innate response to the environment" (2013, p. 28). Historian Simon Schama also argues when we encounter a place we always lug our "heavy cultural backpacks" with us (1995, p. 7), and this is echoed by geographer Edmunds Valdemārs Bunkše who writes, "It is nearly impossible for us to experience anything in nature without doing so through the prism of culture" (2004, p. 73). In anthropologist and archaeologist Barbara Bender's book *Stonehenge*, she recalls when she first moves to the English countryside and observes the new landscape around her – attempting "to understand the historical palimpsest of activities and relationships" (1998, p. 1). She realizes that simply surveying this new landscape was much more than an immediate, direct experience; it was a specific cultural act in itself and done through a particular way of seeing. Furthermore, she began to learn about ontological differences in human/nature interactions and recognized the need to understand a "different way of being in the world, and of engaging with the land" (Ibid., p. 2) – and that these differences also relate to different landscapes of privilege.

Within landscape phenomenology, perception of a landscape goes much further beyond immediate experience and is far more like "an act of remembrance [where] remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in

the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past" (Ingold, 2000, p. 189). Therefore, in the pursuit of an authentic lived experience, previous experience must be considered as well as the complexity in encountering a landscape that carries its own background.

The lived experience in different landscapes is therefore a constantly changing dialogue of sense impressions understood through one's unique way of looking at the world, which points at the significance of considering experience in heritagescapes. Phenomenology should therefore play a larger role in how landscapes are studied with a renewed emphasis on affective and experiential dimensions. As I will show, a more phenomenological understanding of landscape experience within heritagescapes provides a wider canvas of engagement possibilities, which ultimately helps visitors foster more meaningful lived experiences embedded with their own layers of history and memory. While a phenomenological approach can take many forms, an increasing body of research based on a humanistic revival has begun to explore new ways of accessing this knowledge – some of which I wish to explore.

A Humanistic Revival for Landscape Enchantment

> [My] interest was far too personal and not strictly academic and so my methodology came across as nostalgic and my perspective rather naïve since I ignored the usual critical frameworks which were anyhow quite incomprehensible to me and instead pilfered haphazardly from the entire history of Western literature in order to strengthen my argument, which I cannot now recall.
> — Claire-Louise Bennett (2015, pp. 20–21)

> It is very true … the admiration of landscape scenery is become a mere jargon. Everybody pretends to feel and tries to describe with the taste and elegance of him who first defined what picturesque beauty was. I detest jargon of every kind, and sometimes I have kept my feelings to myself, because I could find no language to describe them in but what was worn and hackneyed out of all sense and meaning.
> — Marianne in Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, 1811

Recent research in human geography has seen an 'emotional turn' involving new methods that attempt to shift traditional scientific research and writing to more affective, emotional, embodied, performative, and participatory approaches in which the researcher plays a far more active role. Inspired by phenomenology's

similar call "to resist the temptation to press our own experience into prefabricated conceptual boxes in the service of tradition or theory" (Carman, 2008, p. 14), a renewed humanism allows for the use and development of more creative research methods and writing techniques including novels, music, or poetry (Spirn, 1998), travel narrative (Wylie, 2010), storytelling (Daniels and Lorimer, 2012; Lorimer, 2014; Burlingame, 2018), photography (Crang, 1997), performative methods such as map-making or creating art pieces from reflections, collages, or drawings (Tolia-Kelly, 2007), and elements of autoethnography that help researchers reflect on their own embodied encounters (Pocock, 2015).

The ecologist and evolutionary biologist David Haskell once said, "Science deepens our intimacy with the world. But there is a danger in an exclusively scientific way of thinking. The forest is turned into a diagram; animals become mere mechanisms; nature's workings become clever graphs" (in Gorman, 2012). Science is just one part of the story in a much larger narrative. Within human geography, Wylie (2010) also notes how a growing anti-humanism and anti-subjectivism movement affects how he is able to express his voice as a creative researcher and writer. Wanting to both create an interesting experience for the reader and to conform to scholarly standards of critical research seems to leave many researchers perplexed; very few have actually drifted into these realms or have merely dipped a toe to test the waters of acceptance from more critical landscape colleagues. Wylie argues, "More than almost anything else, the humanist notion that creativity, agency, and inspiration are qualities rooted in, and in some sense defining, the individual artist, writer, and so on has been exhaustively critiqued and deconstructed" (2010, p. 99).

Geographer Edward Relph also argues that there has been a "devaluation of commitment and a shift from reliance on thought to a dependence on methods of procedure that allow a dispassionate and objective assessment of matters" (1976, p. 125). Another geographer, John-David Dewsbury also touches on this when he criticizes the tendency in science to separate the material world from its affective qualities (2003), which has led to what might be referred to as a growing sense of disenchantment in geographers. However, disenchantment in scientific research had already emerged long ago as a reaction to different strains of rational scientific thought, where imagination was trodden upon by reason. Already in 1918, Max Weber declared that to be rational and intellectual implies there is no room for imagination or enchantment (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2013).

While I have discussed the concept of enchantment previously in terms of its connection to experiencing moments of intensity and an active awareness of *being* in the world, here I refer to enchantment as "a term frequently used by human geographers to express delight, wonder or what which cannot be simply explained," and it is often employed "as a force through which the world inspires affective attachment" (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2013, p. 195). The Prussian scholar and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) is often credited for his thoughts on enchantment because he was both a scientist and humanist who believed that "wonder was the foundation of science" and that conducting a purely scientific study of nature overlooked many of its affective qualities including the "beauty, charm and the sublime – of such study" (Ibid., p. 200). Later, J. K. Wright (1891-1969) brought enchantment and a humanist approach to American geography, and with Anne Buttimer's article *Grasping the Dynamics of the Lifeworld* (1976) and David Seamon's book *A Geography of the Lifeworld* (1979), it became clear that there was a new attentiveness to humanistic geography. However, few other researchers can be credited with advancing a humanist approach in this respect as much as Yi-Fu Tuan, whose concept of *topophilia* explored "affective ties with the material environment" (1974, p. 93) and the intimate relationship between people and places.

Humanistic Research

Perhaps one of the largest issues that goes along with the sense of disenchantment in geography is the loss of the researcher's sense of self while playing the role of objective researcher. As Cloke et al. argue, "The researcher's presence as an 'I', a creative and reflexive figure in the research process who is not erased as a non-issue … or cloaked behind a veil of claimed objectivity" is just as much part of the research process as theories, data, and methods (2004, p. 24). However, instead of conceptualizing researchers as objects with "no sense of themselves, no hopes or fears and no creative role to play in shaping their surroundings" a humanistic approach emphasizes researchers as "experiencing, perceiving, feeling, thinking and acting beings … to foster a new emphasis on the *human* part of geography" (Cloke *et al.*, 2004, p. 22, original emphasis). As Ingold once wrote, "Something must be wrong somewhere, if the only way to understand our own creative involvement in the world is by taking ourselves out of it" (1995, p. 58).

Phenomenological research has also provided an important outlet in allowing researchers to push the boundaries of traditional research methodologies (see

Elwood, 2010). In landscape research, for example, it is difficult to tangibly identify the feelings, senses, and memories embedded in the landscape through traditional methods such as maps and geographical texts that typically leave out the human element. Therefore, researchers need to think performatively and develop new ways to make the world come alive using new techniques extending the current range of research as well as the possibility to explore new forms and sources of knowledge (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000).

Within phenomenological research I have been deeply inspired by Barbara Bender, who herself was inspired by Donna Haraway (1988) and her idea of 'situated knowledges' (also called 'standpoint epistemology' by Sandra Harding (1991)), which aimed at challenging the presumed objectivity of dominant knowledge. Considering the challenge of objectivity, Bender writes, "One cannot be objective but, rather than float on a sea of relativity, one can position oneself so as to ask questions and propose interpretations that seem relevant to contemporary contexts" (1998, p. 5). In phenomenology, there can be no true objectivity as long as bodies remain deeply entangled with the surrounding world. This is especially true in landscape phenomenology, where researchers study the landscapes from the inside through walking, touching, smelling, listening, and being present in new ways. This has also opened up the possibility for incorporating more creative methods in conducting the research as well as finding more interesting and compelling ways to express and represent knowledge.

The call to action to reinvigorate such research seems to resonate across many different fields. Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, for example, suggest using a "broader range of theory to rework the [heritage] field in a way that advances not only the study of heritage, but the very nature of the enquiry itself, by reformulating our scope, looking beyond our field of study and reinvigorating our methods" (2013, p. 558). David C. Harvey echoes this when he says that diversifying methods helps to "broaden our attention to look beyond the monument, the artefact, and the fabric of a site-based case study and make room for more open and contextual work" (2013, p. 156).

Though geography was built upon the stories of explorers and daring adventurers with a level of curiosity and intrigue that gripped audiences around the world, interest in the geographical work has steadily decreased, and it is hard not to wonder whether the strict academic regulations of acceptable empirical rigor and the impossibly specific jargon have isolated geography from its former popularity.

As Jane Bennett writes, "The inevitable price for rationalization or scientization is, they say, the eclipse of wonder at the world" (2001, p. 8). Reviving a humanistic approach, therefore, helps remind geographers of their curiosity about the world and what drew them to their research in the first place, and encourages a more enchanted approach to research and writing.

Having now established some of the main foundational theoretical and methodological foundations for this thesis, in the next chapter I identify some of the most problematic deadening forces that have created a sense of disenchantment and disconnection for visitors in heritagescapes. While one key to reawakening landscape encounters lies within the affective capacities of the landscapes themselves, the other key is in the hands of the visitors to be more mindful and active in their own encounters.

1.4 The Making of Heritagescapes

> If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, Infinite. For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things through narrow chinks of his cavern.
> — William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1793

In order for my landscape engagement model to be effective, I work from the assumption that standardizing heritage landscapes and providing a generic experience for all have negatively affected embodied landscape experiences. This is predominantly based on recent research that argues for a more critical consideration of the visitor experience and the motivations and interests of the visitors themselves. For example, Laurajane Smith notes that beyond simply going to heritage sites to "learn and/or to recreate," people go "to feel, to be emotional" (2014, p. 125). Such research attributed to the emotional and performative turns first in geography and increasingly in tourism studies emphasizes the variability in how sites are used for different reasons by different visitors.

While traditional heritage management and conservation strategies have focused on the heritage resource itself as a 'thing', new research in tourism and heritage studies has shifted toward conceptualizing heritage as a social and cultural process that is just as much tethered to the past as it is to the present (Smith, 2014). Similarly, as argued by Gianna Moscardo (1996), research should focus on the visitor experience rather than tourism development for the masses. Instead of assuming a universal visitor and producing a repetitive experience that reduces visitor attention, she argues research should focus on the varied levels of tourist interest and interaction. She also showed that visitors prefer having more control over their own experiences, and are less engaged when their time has been planned or constructed for them. Therefore, the goal in studying the visitor experience is to produce visitors who are mindful, "active, interested, questioning and capable of reassessing the way they view the world" (Moscardo, 1996, p. 382).

Effectively interpreting the site and providing a variety of experiences and possibilities to interact with the landscape has a number of advantages including creating a better distribution of visitors throughout the landscape, changes in behavior, and sustained support from the public and other stakeholders for conservation purposes (Moscardo, 1996). Effectively interpreting sites will also ultimately help to alleviate negative effects caused by mass tourism and the strain this causes on local communities and landscapes, while still creating meaningful and enjoyable experiences for visitors.

Following Moscardo, in this chapter I connect my previous discussion of landscape geography to the much earlier movement of landscape preservation and the subsequent rise of the heritage landscape. Heritage landscapes, I argue, provide the perfect platform to observe the conflicting branches of landscape research because they are deeply connected to enchantment and phenomenological affective attachment while also being embedded with different forces of power and capital. I then take a critical look into the history of tourism and how it has transformed into the enormous industry it is today. My discussion of travel and tourism in general is discussed from the Western tradition because the deadening effects of the tourism industry grew out of this tradition. And this of course requires keeping in mind, as Baranowski and Furlough note, that "tourism remains primarily the preserve of the guests of the wealthy nations of Western Europe and North America" (2001, p. 21) and remains highly tethered to class and access.

In my discussion I address some of the 'deadening' effects of the tourism industry including the impacts of mass tourism and overtourism, standardized site experiences, and mindless tourist behavior. I then argue there is a rising movement of (re)enchantment in tourism that aims to bring heritage landscapes back to life motivated by 'more-than' theories, affective and emotional approaches, and mindfulness. My discussion emphasizes the importance of helping visitors become more mindful and reflective of their experiences, and once again alludes to the areas in which the landscape model aims to make a contribution.

Landscape Preservation

> O! Call back yesterday, bid time return.
> — Salisbury in William Shakespeare's *Richard II*, 1597

Until a few centuries ago there was little thought put into preserving the past because there was not yet an awareness of the past being a time that no longer existed (see Lowenthal, 2015). This is apparent in the often stripped-bare ruins of ancient Greece and Rome that were recycled into new constructions or plundered by colonialist elites who were eager to expand their priceless collections of cultural artifacts. However, a historical consciousness slowly emerged in the late 18th and 19th centuries recognizing a past "that is, somehow, part of who we presently are and to whose call we should respond" (Ankersmit, 2005, p. xv). At the same time, landscape preservation also became tethered to the rise of the nation state. While early landscape paintings aimed at expressing realistic pastoral life in some regions and idyllic countryside scenes in others, by the 18th century, landscape paintings began to reflect ambitions of rising nation-states through depicting "the supposedly organic relationship between community and land" (Cosgrove, 2006, p. 55). As regions developed an attachment and thereby identity and sense of belonging based on this organic relationship, so too arose the desire to protect it. In the 19th and 20th centuries, as the world began to rapidly change, landscape painting was employed to freeze rustic landscapes in time – creating a picturesque and undisturbed scene safe from the forces of modernity. As Cosgrove wrote, "Picturesque was applied to a style of seeing and representing that took a nostalgic pleasure in the signs of roughening through age, longevity and decay; a sentiment that we can easily recognize as a response to the cultural uprooting and displacement associated with carboniferous modernization" (Ibid., p. 66). Visual representations of diverse landscapes over time have fundamentally shaped perception of ideal forms, and this is clearly reflected in landscapes placed under protection for cultural and/or natural values.

The sense of loss and response to preserve the past in landscape geography strongly resonates in heritage landscapes that contain tangible and intangible qualities underpinned by nationalist and/or regional identities. This provides a vital foundation for a large body of research relating to the manipulation and 'museumisation' (Relph 1976, p.101) of heritage landscapes. There is a certain irony in the tension of preserving landscapes that are always vulnerable to the forces of

change. As Mitchell crucially writes, the "creative destruction" (or perhaps, deadening effect?) of landscapes due to modernization, capitalization, and I would add museumization here, "is also the destruction of real places, real communities, [and] real landscapes" (2008, p. 42). Therefore, it is important to engage with the initial motivations of heritage landscape preservation and how such landscapes continue to be influenced and shaped by different sources of power.

Similar to the landscape concept, it is difficult to pinpoint when and how a historical consciousness emerged, but perhaps the most prominent and formalized era of European preservation sensibility occurred in tandem with a period of romanticism discussed before in relation to early landscape painting. The romantic notions of the "beautiful, sublime and picturesque" (Bunkše, 2011, p. 26) that emerged during the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries inspired various art, literature, music, science, and philosophy movements in Western Europe. The Romantic writers, for example, included the likes of Jane Austen, John Keats, Mary Shelley, William Wordsworth, the Brontë sisters, Lord Byron, and Emily Dickinson. Faced with the Industrial Revolution, urbanization, and the rationalization of thought and nature through the Age of Enlightenment, the Romantics were fearful of a rapidly changing world. The once picturesque landscapes of their childhoods were suddenly torn asunder by modern industry. This "aesthetic deterioration" of rural landscapes was also not only reserved for the educated elites, but was also felt particularly strongly among the middle class (Lekan, 2004, p. 4). As Graham et al. write, "The initiative for the intensification and conservation of heritage was by no means always governmental, but was frequently triggered by the concerns of private citizens for the protection of a past legacy perceived to be disappearing under the weight of nineteenth-century urbanization and industrialization" (2000, p. 14). However, the Romantics should not necessarily be accused of being anti-modern. Instead, as Lekan argues, they aimed to bring forth more humanitarian and naturalistic principles in an attempt to improve the process of modernity (2004). In addition to landscape preservation, they emphasized individuality, emotion over rationality and logic, and they encouraged authentic, awe-inspiring aesthetic experiences in sublime nature.

This movement led to the pursuit of more idyllic rural lifestyles to escape increasingly crowded, industrialized cities – a movement referred to as *counterurbanization* (see, for example, Mitchell, 2004). Furthermore, for those

who already lived and worked in rural landscapes, industrialization and commercialization also deeply affected their local identities and connections with the landscape. With more mechanical machinery, for example, the bond between man and land was weakened. Suddenly the relationship was more functional than intimate, and rural attitudes to preserving local distinctiveness increased in order to protect the character and integrity of rurality.

At the same time, rising nation states in Europe took advantage of these emotions to fulfill their own agendas of creating nations bound by a common sense of belonging. With less of an ecological focus, the motivation to preserve landscapes was rooted more in the loss of national character and its organic foundations (Lekan, 2004). Nations, as defined by Storey, are "social collections of people with a sense of common identity bound together through feelings of a shared history and an attachment to a territory or *homeland*" (2012, p. 15, my emphasis). In order to distinguish between who does or does not belong within their borders, nation states fix the boundaries of their territories and attempt "to exercise complete and unique sovereignty within them and to resist external influence" (Orsi, 2014, p. 434). Once these lines are drawn, there is often a search for something in the landscape to prove that the nation and its people naturally or culturally belong there through some kind of common heritage – thereby establishing a national identity. The more contemporary these historical manifestations are, the easier it is for the people to feel connected to the nation as a whole since they share a sense of stewardship for a landscape worked, lived, and passed down from their ancestors.

In Germany, for example, the concept of *Heimat* (homeland) was tethered to regional identities and a sense of belonging in once independent provinces. From the very beginning of its unification in 1871, Germany struggled with its fragmented identity, having been built upon unique regional populations who had lived and worked within the landscape that served as a repository of cultural memory. Varying regional identity formation movements in Germany led to the creation of local histories, the founding of natural history museums, research on dialects and local folklore, the publication of regional histories, and historic preservation movements (Lekan, 2004). However, with the rise of nationalism and in an effort to create notions of a collective German identity, Lekan writes, "Individuals gave the nation a tangible, emotive quality that linked individual life stories to the collective memory of *Heimat*, enabling provincial Germans to

visualize, touch, and even smell their particular region as part of a larger geographical entity: the German nation" (2004, p. 8). Propagated by Romantic nationalists including the poet Heinrich Heine, the philosopher Gottfried Herder, the artist Casper David Friedrich, and the musician Richard Wagner, sublime elements of landscapes were utilized in order to connect the nation with a more concrete past and definitive future. Landscapes with previously unique regional and local identities now fell under national control and thereby national ideas of shared history and landscapes.

A similar development occurred in Sweden where, in a quest to unify the nation, "the cultural grammar of developing a national folk culture became the model for promoting local and regional heritages for touristic purposes" (Löfgren, 2001, p. 140). For example, opened in 1891, the Skansen open-air museum in Stockholm contains a collection of historic homesteads from all across Sweden. When it was first opened, the upper classes of Stockholm were able to "discover their rural roots, and visitors from various corners of the nation and from abroad" (Ibid.) were given an image of what fell under 'authentic' Sweden. Just as in Germany, Sweden was portrayed "as a harmonious and well-integrated mosaic of regional parts" (Ibid.). In this sense, tourism was also highly tethered to the concept of nationalism because of its potential for economic development. Therefore, such campaigns for tourism at home further contributed to a feeling of collective identity and a shared sense of stewardship to protect the narrative of a nation organically linked to the land.

Ironically, however, in the increasing competition to create unique national histories, there appeared to be certain trends (especially in relation to heritage experiences) that began to develop; for example, the need to package "the unique, the exotic, the sublime" (Löfgren, 2001, p. 141) in recognizable ways so that travelers from abroad had a shared imagination of what these landscapes should look like and therefore could rank the most beautiful places. The need for competition, therefore, led to a growing standardization of historical landscapes. In an attempt to become different, nations became more alike, and they inadvertently created an aesthetic and folkloric appreciation that transcended boundaries and unified ideas of heritage and nature beyond nationalistic discourses.

Later, with the onset of the European Union, new initiatives began to recognize transboundary landscapes and communities in an effort to reduce other

exclusionary nationalistic discourses. Once again, however, international interference could also cause problems for local distinctiveness. For example, through UNESCO's World Heritage list or other cultural heritage organizations that work to protect heritage, there is still a "hegemonic 'authorized discourse', which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies" (Smith, 2006, p. 11). Though improving in recent years, this 'authorized discourse', Smith argues, continues to "privilege[] monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus, and national building" (Ibid.).

Perhaps the most well-known author critical of landscape preservation is David Lowenthal through his book *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985/2015). Lowenthal strongly disagrees with the preservation of historical landscapes as stagnant, unchanged places. He writes, "Unlike painting, landscapes have no 'original state'; they ceaselessly evolve" (2015, p. 475). Therefore, trying to restore landscapes is meaningless because "the past is irretrievable and irreproducible … because we are not past but present people, with experience, knowledge, feelings, and aims previously unknown" (Ibid., p. 494). In fact, preserving landscapes from a single period, he argues "makes the past decidedly unlike the present. When everything dates from one selected time and nothing from any other, the effect is peculiarly static, wholly unlike present-day scenes where new and old everywhere commingle" (Ibid., p. 572). Similarly, when pasts become remade, they are "less idiosyncratically encountered" and "more monolithically seen" because, as Lowenthal argues, "its guides fit us all with the same distorting lens" (Ibid., p. 575). Therefore, encountering an authentic sense of the past becomes entirely inaccessible as the traces of time in the landscape have been washed away.

Given the connection of landscape preservation with national, regional, and local identities, as Palang et al. write, "We tend to look at such landscapes of the past as being stable and as having a distinct character and identity, forming a basis for the homeland of those who worked it over the centuries" (2004, p. 1). Therefore, because landscapes of the past are considered to be stable, any changes or pressures from the present-day are seen to threaten the very essence and value of the landscapes themselves. Similarly, even if historical landscapes were shaped and produced by humans over time, further human impact always seems to be discouraged (Setten, 2004).

There is also a certain paradox in freezing landscapes under the guise of heritage preservation. As Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes note, "Through heritage preservation we map, freeze, and frame the past, while simultaneously desiring a 'living history' that provides a spectacular background for the present (2006, p. 13). Deciding at what time a landscape should be frozen also has serious implications for local communities, for the level of authenticity, and for any future changes to the landscape that may be seen as harmful to the chosen aesthetic. Furthermore, valuing a certain point in time is also a largely exclusionary practice and can result in stripping layers of history (and thereby people) that don't belong. The landscape becomes ever more manipulated and construed to fit with dominant narratives that may contradict local or regional perspectives of a more dynamic, living landscape. The problem with the present day, however, is that there is a growing sense of urgency in preserving threatened landscapes. As Hartog notes, there is a certain crisis of the present time that he calls 'presentism' that relates to feelings of disenchantment where the present has become isolated both from the past and the future. He writes, "The past has more attraction than history; the present more than the past …; the valuation of the local is accompanied by the search for a history of one's own" (2003, p. 206). In an increasingly disenchanted world, the desire to preserve certain landscapes and the memories and stories they contain grows stronger. Perhaps there will always be a nostalgia for past landscapes because they are a reminder of what once was. In Hartog's discussion of 'presentism' he notes there is a need to hurry – "before it is too late, before the night falls and yesterday has completely disappeared" (Ibid.). The difficulty in preservation, however, falls within debates of who gets to decide what is worthy of preservation and how preservation as such is inherently an exclusionary practice.

When trying to unlock the many facets of power structures involved in heritage landscapes, it becomes clear that there are endless pressures from local to international levels of control that attempt to shape how a landscape is perceived, interpreted, and represented. At all times, there are multiple forces involved that may or may not agree with each other. As will be discussed later, my landscape engagement model specifically tries to address these different power dynamics by dissecting who has the power, who has had the power, and who might be excluded because of this.

The valuation and preservation of historical landscapes is therefore another one of the conditions that has created the 'deadened' heritage landscape through which a variety of exclusionary practices take place. While some argue that landscapes in particular are open to all people, regardless of age, class, gender, or religious background and they require not "education, breeding or taste to interpret [them]" (Lekan, 2004, p. 4), this is a very Westernized way of thinking. As Tuan argues, "No planned landscape is wholly free of the taint of coercive power. If one's moral imagination is fervently at work, even the most ordinary scenes contain shadows that spoil one's enjoyment" (1986, p. 130). Therefore, I wish to direct this section toward those shadows – the hidden places, the excluded voices, and the forgotten stories in order to study the many layers of power affecting heritage landscapes and how they are constantly changing and renegotiated.

Landscapes of Power

Heritage landscapes have most often been developed around the views and perceptions of the powerful elite through their nostalgic notions to preserve a picturesque past (Smith, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2013), and local knowledge or marginal identities have been excluded despite locals often having a deeper knowledge of their own land (Setten, 2004; MacDonald, 2005; Robertson, 2008). In places of heritage there is usually an assumed target audience, which excludes those whose experiences do not fit the dominant discourse. Emma Waterton, for example, has studied how heritage representations continue to exclude certain visitors and associated groups. Her research in working-class history museums in the UK reveals that visitors often feel excluded from wider dominant narratives of the upper class and are pleased to explore a museum dedicated to those who represent a greater proportion of the population. This indicates a continued domination and "the power of 'the visual' in representations of heritage tourism" that continue to focus on the "elite, tangible, and inherently *white*" (Waterton, 2013a, p. 77, original emphasis).

Disagreement in the meaning of heritage is intrinsic in its nature, but more often than not, powerful elites are the ones to "determine the limits of meaning for everyone else by universalizing its own cultural truths" (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 24). Therefore, the control over heritage is also highly tethered to one force that is often more powerful than all: profit. With the onset of mass tourism, landscape preservation faces a certain irony. As Chhabra et al. argue, heritage tourism is "an economic activity that makes use of socio-cultural

assets to attract visitors" (2003, p. 703). However, marking places as worthy of preservation inevitably means that tourists flock annually by the thousands, sometimes millions, to come and see for themselves – often causing irreversible damage to the landscapes themselves. Barbara Bender once asked Christopher Tilley why he no longer likes Stonehenge, and he replied: "[It] has lost its aura of the past, it's much more a contemporary monument … because of the car-park, the thousands of people there, all the information signs, and the guards and the fencing. … It's a site that's peopled, and a site that's contested" (in Bender, 1998, p. 79). The original goal to preserve landscapes becomes overshadowed by a desire for economic gain. This ultimately causes the degradation and further 'death' of the landscape. As it becomes more popular, the price increases, and it becomes further protected, frozen, and distanced from the humans who simultaneously save and destroy it. At this point, the paradox between preservation and popularity comes to the forefront, and this is where landscape officially becomes what Mary-Catherine E. Garden refers to as a heritagescape – that is, "a means of describing and thinking about those specific landscapes that make up a heritage site" (2006, p. 398), which will discussed in more detail later.

Heritage Economics

In 2011 UNESCO joined forces with the World Bank to put forth an agenda that focused on the development possibilities of heritage with an emphasis on economic value. While heritage professionals are now more than ever responsible for considering the economic benefits of heritage, it is important to discuss the strengths and weaknesses in economic valuation of heritage and why it continues to be a topic of contention in the heritage field. The tensions between economic discourses and heritage conservation discourses have long existed between the two fields of study as they are often pinned against each other with different motivations. Early on, heritage professionals were concerned that economists would replace cultural significance with "crude financial criteria" (Throsby, 2012, p. 46) such as "resource, product, price or consumption" that imply a "commercialization that attracts distinctly derogatory connotations in debates about the contemporary functions of heritage" (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 129). However, it is exactly the cultural significance of sites that are difficult to quantify in economic terms. Cultural values such as aesthetic, symbolic, spiritual, social, historic, authentic, or scientific values (Throsby, 2012) all help bolster the need to preserve certain places, but they often have little to do

with economic success. As Jeffrey Lee Adams writes, "In the logic of global capital, heritage places are resources to be mined," and such an "exploitative agenda is antithetical to the socially, culturally and geographically embedded qualities of heritage" (2010, p. 118). That being said, having places attributed with cultural value can often benefit local communities through an increase in profits, incomes, and jobs. However, negative effects can often outweigh the benefits due to the processes of gentrification, competition of 'valued' resources, and an unequal distribution of benefits (Throsby, 2012; Grevstad-Nordbrock and Vojnovic, 2019). Heritage sites also struggle when they require financial support to function, and there can be very tangible effects emerging from governmental budget cuts, a lack of philanthropy, and the reduction in funds due to a greater distribution of heritage resources (Gould, 2018).

Cultural assets were only included in capital theory starting in the 1950s when there was an awareness that they contributed to the social good. In economic theory, heritage values are divided between *instrumental* and *intrinsic*. Instrumental use refers to what people are willing to pay under different circumstances for the cultural good, while intrinsic use has a non-use value and refers to the cultural values listed previously that are not easily monetized as well as subjective experiences and meanings attached to these resources by individuals (see Gould, 2018). The non-use values of heritage resources continue to put a wrench in the wheel of the heritage industry as it is difficult to assess their economic impacts or potential. While some have tried to create a numerical approach to determining heritage value (Peacock, 1995; Stabler, 1996; Throsby, 1999; Peacock and Rizzo, 2008; Nijkamp, 2012), there is still "no economic method today [that] resolves the need to delineate and monetize separately the instrumental values of heritage resources … from the intangible intrinsic values and benefits of heritage" (Gould, 2018, p. 8).

With Pine and Gilmore's consideration of the experience economy (1999), the tourism industry became a sector through which tourists are assumed to exchange valued resources such as time for powerful and emotional experiences. Providers of these services are therefore expected to somehow stage encounters to give visitors a positive feeling of engagement. While some criticize the existence of an experience economy in places that are free or where there are limited (if any) staged encounters such as in nature areas, it is difficult to deny that both the sites and the tourists themselves are perceived as potential resources.

This is evident in research addressing the visitor experience and making it more 'valuable' thereby justifying the price tag on a given heritage site. Chhabra et al., for example, try to quantify (in monetary terms) the information they collected from their study to "help planners determine heritage tourism demand and the behavioral structure(s) underlying it" (2003, p. 703). The data generated, they argue, would then help planners find the "products best fitted to the tastes of potential tourists" (Ibid.). Pine and Gilmore (1999) recommend five different techniques to employ staged encounters that would yield more valued experiences, Dahle and Molnar (2003) propose eight principles to help better design parks to create more memorable and meaningful user experiences, and Ellis and Rossman (2008) use a model that builds on Pine and Gilmore's work to include technical and artistic performance factors in staged encounters.

Another issue that emerges when monetary gain is prioritized is the potential exclusion of visitors in certain heritage sites due to accessibility issues such as the cost of travel, accommodation, transportation, and expensive entrance fees. Through UNESCO's World Heritage List, for example, a list of elite cultural and natural sites has emerged all over the world. The sites on the World Heritage List are arguably the most outstanding in the world for the criteria under which they are nominated (though the list remains rather Eurocentric), and the title of a UNESCO World Heritage site does offer protection and attract faithful globe-trotting visitors eager to pay large travel and accommodation costs and entrance fees. However, more expensive entrance fees, remote locations, and the arrival of affluent visitors with certain expectations marginalizes who can access heritage and on what scale. An announcement from the National Park Service in the United States, for example, proposed an increase in national park fees at various parks across the country – arguing it would help to both protect the parks and provide much needed maintenance funding (National Park Service, 2017). However, raising park fees has an enormous impact on low-income families and minorities. As Sarah Gibbens wrote in a piece for *National Geographic*, "Communities of color have been historically underrepresented at national parks. Whether barred by the cost of reaching and entering parks or deterred by a sense that they don't belong, minorities are consistently only a fraction of annual park attendance" (2017). This also relates to the concept of landscape preservation because oftentimes efforts to protect and preserve places leads to higher entrance fees, limited visitors, and restricted audiences (e.g. only open to academics, students, etc.). And, as Margueritte Shaffer (2001) points out, the preservation of national

parks in the United States was always fundamentally based on economic means as they found themselves in competition with the awe-inspiring built heritage of Europe. Lacking sublime ruins and castles, early American leaders chose to use nature as the backdrop of a national history filled with luscious, green, wild frontiers in order to attract people to move West and not feel nostalgic for their historic European homelands.

While monumentality has served as the main characteristic of the most popular tourist sites, non-monumental sites have perhaps the most potential in terms of access because they are typically free (or visitors are asked to make a donation). Access to non-monumental heritage landscapes is therefore often targeted at more local visitors of all ages and backgrounds. While the consumption of famous landscapes remains the main driver of the heritage industry, there is ever more competition to market non-monumental sites in different ways to attract more visitors. This poses somewhat of a pressing need to consider how to create more meaningful and enjoyable visitor experiences beyond simply trying to make non-monumental landscapes like monumental landscapes. The key, therefore, is to emphasize the significance for belonging and identity development and engagement possibilities in more 'ordinary' heritage landscapes. This means opening up more of an existential bond and dialogic relationship between the visitor and the landscape. By analyzing different layers of the sites themselves and considering them in relation to the motivations of visitors, planners can avoid converting humans into data and can generate engaging experiences that transcend merely economic ambitions.

1.5 Tourism in Heritagescapes

> How can we get from extensive to intensive travel,
> from devouring miles to lingering,
> from ticking off items in the travel guide to stopping and thinking,
> from rush to leisure,
> from aggressive and destructive to creative communication,
> from camera-wearing idiots to people with the third eye?
> I believe
> These are the important and burning issues.
> For we are all looking for meaning and humanity
> — Al Imfeld (in Krippendorf, 1987, p. 141)

Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough write that looking at the history of tourism opens up a view "into the grand narratives of modern history: class formation, nation building, economic development, and the emergence of consumer cultures" (2001, p. 21). To set the stage, traveling long-distance for pleasure in the distant past (that is, pre-1700s) was, for the most part, non-existent. Travel was typically reserved for religious or economic reasons (more bluntly, often via war and conquest) limited to pilgrims, traders, those in pursuit of goods and further 'resources', those forcefully displaced, and perhaps a select few who had a thirst for new discovery. Traveling was dangerous, unpredictable, expensive, time consuming, and was not often pursued by the common man. Even the word 'travel' itself has roots in Old French and Old English and was more synonymous with struggle and labor. There was, of course, always a fascination of new lands and the discovery of new cultures (both typically inspired by colonialist ambitions), sublime landscapes, and ruinous relics of the past enjoyed by wealthier elites, but up until the 18th century, there were no massive movements of common people seeking pleasure and leisure easily accessing places far away from home.

Before modern means of transportation, travel over land or sea was incredibly time consuming. Thus, early travelers would have spent months or years on the road in pursuit of a more educational, rather than pleasurable experience – making numerous stops at various destinations along the way. They were the original 'slow travelers'. With more time to capture the essence of the places they would visit, travelers were often held accountable to keep detailed journals of their observations so that those unable to make the journey might also inform themselves of places and peoples far away. Travel in the Western world was educational, and therefore highly bound to class and gender.

In the ancient Roman world starting in the Augustan Age (44 BCE–69 CE), for example, there is evidence of a thriving upper class tourism infrastructure based on the accounts of intellectual travelers and historians such as Strabo (Lominé, 2005). Besides archaeological evidence alluding to some more widespread travel to nearby countryside and seaside spots in the hot summer months, tourism on a broader scale was reserved for Roman and Greek well-born young men and higher-class citizens such as senators who wished to journey into the extended Mediterranean and Asia Minor regions for educational purposes. This could perhaps be considered an early version of the Grand Tour of 18th century Europe rather than the mass tourism seen today.

These educational tours, however, should not be entirely romanticized. For example, upon visiting the towering statue of Memnon in Thebes, Egypt at some point during the Augustan Age, Strabo already began to notice the signs of staged authenticity for the sake of visitors. Developing a critical eye, Strabo set himself apart as having a 'tourist consciousness', which Lominé defines as "the awareness that tourism can be based on trickery and artfulness" (2005, p. 77). Later in the 16th century, French philosopher Michel de Montaigne expressed his own similar disappointment and frustration that Venice was an overcrowded popular tourist destination that detracted from the idyllic renaissance image of the city he had expected to find. Montaigne was also an advocate of trying to blend in with the local culture and was quick to criticize fellow travelers who refused to test local cuisine or embrace spontaneous travel paths. He wrote that these travelers were "covered and wrapped in a taciturn and incommunicative prudence, defending themselves for the contagion of an unknown atmosphere" (in Bakewell, 2011, p. 234). Again in 1849, John Ruskin was troubled by the inauthentic settings arising in places of heritage. In his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* he writes:

> How is it that tradesmen cannot understand that custom is to be had only by selling good tea and cheese and cloth, and that people come to them for their honesty, and their readiness, and their right wares, and not because they have Greek cornices over their windows, or their names in huge gilt letters over their house front? … How much better for them would it be – how much happier, how much wiser, to put their trust upon their own truth and industry, and not on the idiocy of the consumer.

The same mentality seems to have carried into the present day – for example, tour groups with strict itineraries scheduling a stop at the 'local' Hard Rock Café, allowing tourists to choose familiar foods in unfamiliar places.

The recognition of a changing body of people traveling to visit sites goes hand in hand with distinguishing travelers from tourists. Lynne Withey defines the tourist as "one who makes a circuit, traveling over a particular itinerary … for the sake of the journey itself" (1997, p. x) rather than the earlier educational purposes of travel. As extended travel abroad had been invariably linked to class, access to transportation, resources, and proper security, new tourism possibilities emerged in a changing world of new technologies and infrastructure that made travel cheaper, safer, and more crucially, accessible. The onset of industrialization in the 19th century created leisure time for the middle class, and suddenly the Grand Tours of Europe, formerly reserved for the upper class, became available to a wider array of people by way of the more fiscally manageable tours started by Thomas Cook. These new travelers led to a significant change in the prior assumption that travel was only worthwhile if it was educational. Now, travel was regarded for benefitting "the pleasure of the flesh more than the intellect" (Ibid., p. 8). These new 'tourists' had few concerns due to pre-arranged itineraries and the sense of security offered by larger groups of people from the same country and culture. In 1838, the first guidebook to Europe was published in America aimed at the less-than-wealthy travelers highlighting different hotels, historical sites, and other activities offering more average expenses – not unlike the guidebooks of today. Thomas Cook started his tours in 1841 with seashore excursions, but later expanded as far as Egypt and the United States. At first, these visitors must have shocked people because there had never been such accessibility for larger groups to move so freely. Suddenly, travel was for leisure – to unwind, restore, and get away from the burdens of everyday life.

These new tour groups, however, caused serious tensions between the perceptions of upper class 'travelers' and middle class 'tourists'. It was easy to define middle class tourists as "herdlike, superficial gazers doggedly seeking amusement and guided by mass-produced guidebooks" (Baranowski and Furlough, 2001, p. 1) in relation to the older more intellectual pursuits of traveling. Considering tourists as separate from travelers was a way for people to distinguish between classes – where the lower classes were not considered to be as authentic as the elitist explorers seeking sublime landscapes and exotic cultures. Besides cultural superiority, there was also a negative response to the increasing number of women and families invading the spaces previously reserved for higher class men. Their exclusive world of exploration had rapidly become a world accessible to the common people, and change is seldom perceived as good when it is not in the interest of the upper class.

However, Thomas Cook understood the middle class, and he also understood its diversity. He appealed to a broad range of travelers with different ambitions of how far they wished to go. And yet even he had his shortcomings in being the voice of the working class. For example, his tours were highly related to empire. Even the fundamental history of Thomas Cook's tours "suggests relevance to the erection of the infrastructure of empire, the racial and class hierarchies upon which imperialism was based, and the forging of metropolitan and colonial identities" (Baranowski and Furlough, 2001, p. 21). Even if Thomas Cook brought the middle classes of the United Kingdom to Egypt, he only went there once it was under British control, and the agency became the largest employer of Egyptian labor.

By the end of the 20th century, the tourism industry had become one of the largest industries in the world[1]. With an estimated impact of 3.6 trillion USD, that equates to 10.6 percent of the gross global product. The World Travel and Tourism Council has projected that 1 in 10 jobs is related to tourism, and across the globe, 255 million people are employed in the industry (2020). These numbers, according to their future projections, are only increasing. As MacCannell already noted in the 1970s, "Tourism has developed at a rate much faster than have its support institutions," and in certain months of the year, "the whole world is booked" (1976, p. 166). Given such enormous figures, over the last several years 'mass tourism' and 'overtourism' have become buzzwords in news

[1] This has been disputed by some sources questioning such global economic dominance (see, for example, MacCannell, 1976; Lew, 2011).

stories all across the world. A simple search in *Google's* news section generates hundreds of articles discussing the dark side of an industry where inhabitants of certain heritage sites and cities have grown weary of a constant influx of tourists into the spaces of their daily lives – disrupting everything from their morning commutes to a rise in housing, rental, and food prices.

Some articles address mass tourism as a whole and attempt to diagnose the problem (see Kettle, 2017), while others illuminate different events that have occurred as a result of mass tourism issues; for example, limiting the number of domestic visitors to the Taj Mahal in India (see Jaiswall, 2018) or passing strict accommodation laws in Barcelona, Spain that address rising rent prices from disproportionate tourist accommodations (see Burgen, 2017). Elsewhere, residents of South Korea's Jeju island protested the construction of a larger airport that would bring even more tourists to their already overwhelmed home (see Min-ho, 2018), and other popular destinations consider imposing bans on mass tourist vessels (see Mack, 2012) in an attempt to alleviate the negative effects of thousands of people swarming threatened cities and landscapes.

Perhaps one of the most well-known examples of a city in distress is Venice. Even news articles employ more emphatic rhetoric about the threat of mass tourism including an article that questions if tourism is 'killing' Venice (Boelpaep, 2018). To counteract what is increasingly seen as the city's imminent downfall, the city of Venice developed a campaign called #EnjoyRespectVenice, which according to the city's official website is "designed to direct visitors towards the adoption of responsible and respectful behavior towards the environment, landscape, artistic beauties and identity of Venice and its inhabitants" (Comune di Venezia, 2016). This is perhaps the result of recent protests by residents who carried out a mock funeral for their city, arguing it had lost its integrity and become more akin to Disney than to the authentic Renaissance home of their memories (Mack, 2012).

The negative effects of mass tourism are now endemic in rural to urban settings, and the tourism industry is increasingly placed under critical scrutiny for acting more as a destructive force than a beneficial one. As Lowenthal noted, "Popularity tarnishes the feel as well as the fabric of the past … [and] modern mass tourism blights the aura of all notable relics" (2015, p. 425). Despite all the economic benefits for larger travel companies, attracting tourists en masse to certain sites puts a strain on local infrastructure and the residents themselves, and leaves few options for sustainable tourism development. This is particularly noticeable in

rural places with isolated attractions where "the concentration of tourists … can be ugly and dehumanizing" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 166). Similarly, through packaged travel experiences, attention is drawn away from local businesses, local craftsmanship, and local knowledge under the guise of providing a more comfortable experience for international travelers who have certain expectations.

In using the term 'mass tourism', I do admit to taking certain liberties in unifying a diverse world of pre-planned tourism experiences, and research in tourism studies has begun to vehemently deconstruct it. For example, some find it problematic due to the "value-laden and question-begging assumptions about uniformity of culture, manipulation of experience and sheep-like passivity of consumers that are visually associated with that phrase" (Walton, 2005, p. 4). Though not wanting to perpetuate this misunderstanding and in an effort to not generalize too much, I use mass tourism to describe tour bus, cruise ship, or other larger groups of tourists that have set itineraries, limited time in each place visited, and whose attention may be more distracted by tour guides and pre-determined site checklists to and from which they are (most often) transported all together. That being said, I try not to generalize behaviors or paint a negative picture of 'tourists' who choose certain types of vacations over others, but rather that more of an effort should be made to consider the potential for improvement of these experiences.

Instead of 'mass tourism', it is perhaps more helpful to use the term 'overtourism' – a term applied to situations where mass tourism becomes too massive or when the impact is double-sided: when both the "hosts or guests, locals or visitors, feel that there are too many visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably" (Goodwin, 2017, p. 1). In more scientific terms, this means that the number of visitors to any given place exceeds the site's perceived carrying capacity (Manning et al., 1999).

Of course, there is a delicate balance to be played. Just before this dissertation was submitted, the world experienced a pandemic caused by COVID-19. As nearly the entire world shut down, most flights were cancelled, all cruise ships were docked, borders were closed, and the fear of a global economic collapse slowly became a reality. The entire tourism industry was suddenly faced with the question of what was going to happen next. Given that I am currently writing during the world's lockdown, it is difficult to know yet what the consequences will be for tourism or if any drastic changes will be made. Locals in Venice, for example, have been quick to note the deserted streets and cleaner canals due to

less water traffic and the absence of large cruise ships making their way into the newly built harbor (Brunton, 2020). Some wonder if this is a turning point to develop a more sustainable tourism approach for a post-pandemic Venice (Latza Nadeau, 2020). However, there is also the realization that many of these popular tourist spots rely on the economic support offered from tourists, and a complete lack of tourists over a long period of time could also be catastrophic. That being said, as certain countries slowly come out of their lockdowns, there have been reports of large numbers of tourists flocking to re-opened tourism sites such as the Great Wall of China (Westcott and Culver, 2020). While many hope the aftermath of the pandemic will see a new world emerge, others have speculated things might be even worse after the lockdown measures are lifted because there will be a widespread rush to travel again and get back to 'normal' life. However, perhaps this global disaster has led some people to reconsider their travel choices and behaviors, which makes my next discussion even more relevant.

In the next section I discuss how a sense of disenchantment has made visitors less aware of the multi-sensory, affective dimensions of landscapes. Therefore, it is not necessarily the quantity of tourists I wish to problematize, but rather their ability to respectfully and meaningfully engage with the places they visit. Using the concept of mindfulness, I aim to put more responsibility and agency in the hands of the tourists themselves who ultimately hold one of the keys to bringing heritage landscapes back to life.

The Disenchanted Tourist

> The summer comes late and slowly on the high moors; it comes from two directions at once, out of the sky in the longer days and the shining brightness, and simultaneously creeping up from the valley, green and gold. In the spring there would be daffodils in full flower at the bottom of the dale while the same plants up at my house on the moor had hardly poked their first hard green spikes above the ground. … [The] gentle but inexorable movement of the seasons is yet another of the silent elemental forces that shape our lives and of which we remain oblivious.
> — Sara Maitland (2008, p. 116)

The notion of an increasingly disenchanted society is a side effect of postmodernity – where there is a fear that space is dissolving and identities become ever more fragmented (see Harvey, 1989). With highly mobile younger

generations growing evermore distant from the concept of home and losing a sense of belonging because of the inherent fast pace of the contemporary world, local and regional narratives and identities are slowly slipping away. The reaction, therefore, is a quest to "find roots in a rootless world" (Tresidder, 1999, p. 144) – finding something to connect and identify with or to at least feel rooted in something tangible that feels authentic even if it is in a brief, fleeting moment. Yet, in the postmodern world, many people's imaginations are less challenged and less capable of noticing these moments because they are increasingly controlled by outside forces that distract and numb them from things that make them truly happy. As sociologist Manuel Castells wrote, due to globalization "people all over the world resent the loss of control over their lives, over their environment, over their jobs, over their economies" (1997, p. 72).

As discussed before, the suppression of imagination and creativity and the dulling of perception is a side effect of an enlightened world. Already in 1944 the Frankfurt School's Adorno and Horkheimer's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* argued that instrumental reason led to the destruction of the 'good life,' and this seems invariably tied to the concept of happiness or a sense of fulfillment in finding moments of intensity that "transcend our contemporary everyday worlds" (Gumbrecht, 2004, p. 105). The good life is active, or as Tuan suggests, it is "life awake" (1986, p. 24). However, there can be too much of a good thing, which means people must find a balance in their lives between routine and revival. As Tuan argues, "[W]ithout the daily immersion in restorative oblivion, consciousness becomes sheer torture" (Ibid.). The good life is also not only achieved through direct experience, but rather drawn upon what Tuan calls a person's biography that includes "as much as what he has read, heard, and thought about as what he has done and where he has been" (Ibid., pp. 9–10).

When someone is unable to fully immerse themselves in moments of intensity that give them the impression of an authentic, lived life, they can experience disenchantment, detachment, and a deadening of the senses. To avoid this, the reaction is usually to seek out different sensations, tastes, sounds, smells, and perhaps most importantly, moods. Places are sought after that satisfy one's intellectual curiosity (see Harris, 2014) and the desire to *feel* something – whether this be happiness, sadness, horror, adventure, or other emotional dimensions that heighten the awareness of the present moment. This implies there is a certain amount of individual agency in how one chooses to live their life, and there is

perhaps no other industry today focused more on offering such experiences than the tourism industry. From dark tourism to adventure tourism to nature tourism to cultural tourism and beyond, there are endless avenues through which one might escape the routines of everyday life.

However, certain tourism experiences have led to the rise of the disenchanted tourist due to a lack of spontaneity, authenticity (in the sense of staged encounters), and sense of wonder. Before a visitor even arrives in certain places, with one click on the computer, they can find all the answers, all the pictures, all the maps, and all the recommendations. Their exploratory possibilities are slowly chopped away until there is nothing left for individual discovery. Once they arrive at a designated heritage site, for example, they are often met with endless signs telling them exactly what to do, where to look, how to behave, and how to feel. These experiences are often catered to tourists who would rather remain in what might be referred to as a 'tourism bubble' in which the deadening effects are most apparent. Within the bubble, tourists find familiar foods, safe and luxurious accommodation, free WiFi, etc. while still believing they are experiencing something authentic. This is very similar to the observation Montaigne made over 400 years ago regarding what 'authentic' travel should be like. The authenticity of tourism experiences is still one of the largest contributing factors in distinguishing travel from tourism because it is seemingly tied to experiencing the place like a local, going off the beaten track (see Buzard, 1993), and ensuring travelers make more sustainable and mindful decisions rather than the easy, all-inclusive option. The irony in this is that everyone wants a piece of the sublime or the beauty or the wonder so that they can take part in the experience, but exactly wanting to partake in the experience they've seen others have is exactly why there perhaps is never a truly authentic tourism experience – even in the most remote areas, there has almost always been someone who has come before. Furthermore, as I will discuss more in a later chapter, authenticity is multi-layered. The authenticity of a lived experience may be in a very 'inauthentic' landscape. For example, as demonstrated in Chhabra et al.'s study of the Scottish Highland games held in North Carolina in the United States (2003), even though the site was far removed from the original landscape and culture where the games were originally performed, this had little to do with whether it was perceived as authentic or not.

Nevertheless, the standardization of experiences and the creation of tourism bubbles undoubtedly deprives visitors of having more individualized, perceived authentic lived experiences. Related to my previous discussion, disenchanted tourists are often set apart from authentic travelers, and are blamed for choosing these inauthentic, uniform experiences, which ultimately leads to further standardization and deadening of tourism experiences. While the discourse on travelers and tourists continues to occupy research in tourism studies, many oppose the continued distinction between the two terms as it merely propagates further class tensions that emerged with Thomas Cook's tours aimed at middle class families. The distinction, Baranowski and Furlough argue, is used by "a long line of commentators, who have betrayed their social anxieties and based their own cultural superiority, in part, on their distance from and disdain for vulgar tourists" (2001, p. 2). Taking on an 'us' and 'them' argument creates a situation where some travelers take the moral high ground – looking down at certain practices and hoping to distance themselves from what they see as bad tourist behavior. Pointing fingers and shaking heads to avoid taking responsibility for negative effects of tourism also does not create positive change. However, not making the distinction allows for a rather misguided judgement of 'travelers' today because as I have noted previously there *are* serious issues arising from mass tourism and unified experiences, and there is a lack of awareness many tourists have regarding the impact their actions might have on the sites, the associated communities, and the landscapes they visit. Seeing that I wish to address certain tourist behaviors, I'm not sure how to avoid an elitist gaze of the 'authentic traveler', but I hope in recognizing the paradox of my argumentation, I might move on unscathed.

Perhaps instead of changing the discourse on tourists and travelers, more work should be placed on understanding the disenchanted tourist. However, studying different factors that lead to the sense of a 'good life' in tourism experiences is not an easy task. Tuan, for example, discusses the difficulty in understanding the value of experiences in places that receive a high number of visitors (2008). A large number of tourists, he argues, does not mean there is a deeper interest, connection, or engagement with the landscape. He discusses how tourists can travel hundreds of miles for just one picture off the main road. Tresidder makes a similar observation: "Many people wander no farther than two hundred metres from the car; buy an ice cream and then return to an urban home, yet feel though they have experienced and consumed something unique, something magical"

(1999, p. 137). Tourists are the consumers of heritage and are thereby just as much responsible for shaping their own meaningful encounters in landscapes as those responsible for developing the site experience. The trouble is, if tourists do not educate themselves about the places they visit, suddenly only the "act and means of tourism" are important (Relph, 1976, p. 83). The landscape becomes the stage, the tourists are the performers, and they often lose their sense of self and purpose in the process.

Arguably, few tourists actually reflect on the performances they conduct – perhaps because they do it subconsciously. As Wylie notes, "[It is] not just about *what* we see, but about *how we look*" (2007, p. 7). The problem is that tourism remains largely visually motivated – even tourists are often called 'sightseers' meaning they are often more distant observers than active participants. According to Edensor, the prioritization of sight has "consolidated the power of the visual by adopting authoritative techniques of representation that have become common-sense epistemological tools" (2006, pp. 26–27) (such as in the production of guidebooks, brochures, travel guides, and through different practices of tourism such as photography, social media, and blogging). Lefebvre was also quick to recognize the problems with dominant visuality even referring to it as a trap and saying, "People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself" (1991, pp. 75–76). This is an inherent problem, for example, in bus tourism because visitors are shuttled into places, given only enough time to take a few pictures, and this usually doesn't allow them to engage with their other senses. Laurajane Smith also notes this regarding the perception of passive tourists because a certain gaze has been decided by experts, which ultimately causes visitors to "uncritically consume [their] message of heritage" (2006, p. 31) while occluding alternative perceptions.

Yosemite National Park is a classic example where many tourists are dead-set on acquiring photos from all the most well-known vistas: extra points if you get the glowing sun on Yosemite Falls or a clear blue sky encompassing El Capitan. Through these collective behaviors, certain performances become well-established norms. Certain places are thereby distinguished as more valuable than others because they are recognized through these collective behaviors; for example, snapping a picture where your fingertip appears to rest on the Eiffel Tower or trying to keep the Leaning Tower of Pisa from collapsing. A constant influx of tourists coming to a place simply because they want to replicate these behaviors is certainly good for generating revenue, but this only contributes to the idea that

heritage is simply a commodity – something to be consumed – and likely, the meaning or importance of the site is overlooked. Guided tours, which are the norm in most significant heritage sites, are perhaps the most guilty in contributing to these behaviors because they have already decided what is worth seeing, and they most often focus on the "picturesque and monumental" (Relph, 1976, p. 85). With the accessibility of the internet and different social media platforms focused on visual experiences, there is an endless flow of images and shared collective behaviors that constantly shape how places of heritage are perceived, interpreted, presented, and experienced (Crang, 1997; della Dora, 2009).

This new perspective is deeply embedded in my landscape engagement model because it stresses how important the tourists themselves are in shaping their own experiences. Furthermore, with more meaningful engagements also comes a renewed sense of enchantment. As Catherine Palmer argues, in these moments tourists are challenged to "think and feel about what being in the world actually means, about who they are, about identity and belonging" (2009, p. 124). This is further supported by David Picard who discusses how visiting places far from home "weakens social norms and thus allows [tourists] to test the boundaries and foundations of their being in the world" (2012, p. 3). Laurajane Smith also argues that tourists who *feel* something become more critical of the visitor experience and are more open to considering alternative discourses of the past (2014). The responsibility, therefore, also falls on managers to understand that offering unified experiences is likely not satisfying the desires and motivations of a wide array of visitors seeking out experiences that make them feel something unique to their own interests.

Amidst all of the criticism of the tourism industry, however, it should also be noted that the benefits often outweigh the negative effects – for example, many countries and regions around the world are predominantly sustained by tourism revenues, local people rely on their income from tourism businesses, and exploring new cultures and places creates more curious and open-minded global citizens. The tourism industry has grown into its own self-sustaining system with endless possibilities to explore and visit endless places, and therefore the deadening effects of the tourism industry cannot be addressed by arguing for no tourism at all. Instead, my solution involves not only improving site engagement strategies, but also addressing the tourists themselves.

To change an industry – similar to the changes that occurred in the 19th century due to a rising concern to preserve historical sites, the attitude of the people also has to change. As Jost Krippendorf writes, "What we need in the first place are not different ways of travelling but different people. Only a new society and a new everyday situation can produce a new situation. … It is therefore pointless to chase this phantom of 'genuine' travel and imagine that people can be taught how to pursue such a myth" (1987, p. 105). This is supported by recent research that gives tourists much more agency in the decision-making process of tourism experiences than they have been given credit (see Urry, 2002; Smed, Dressler and Have, 2016). Therefore, the assumption is that the tourists themselves can be the architects of a new travel movement based on the idea that tourism is inherently tied to the pursuit of the 'good life'. At the same time, as noted before, responsibility does not solely lie in the hands of the tourists. As Smith (2006) argues, the perception of the passive tourist does not only come from mass tourism, but also emerged from the romanticized early conservation movement as well as the immaculate upkeep of ruins and other sites that appear seemingly untouched by humans. The process noted before of freezing the landscape also often involves keeping tourists at a distance to ensure the site remains unchanged for future generations. Therefore, even if all tourists develop the capacity to have more embodied experiences within the landscape, they may simply be kept away from having these encounters and forced to follow a standardized tour while being labeled as 'passive'. Nevertheless, in the following section I attempt to add a different twist to the tourist vs. traveler debate in arguing that regardless of the label one claims to fall under, in the end, they are all *visitors.* Therefore, along the lines of MacCannell's argument and based on the work of Gianna Moscardo, I emphasize the need for more mindful visitors. I use the concept of mindfulness to help bring the lived experience in landscapes back into the conversation, and crucial for one component of my model, this discussion emphasizes the power of presence in reviving both the landscape and the visitor experience.

The Mindful Visitor

> For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move; to feel the needs and hitches of our life more nearly; to come down off this feather-bed of civilization, and find the globe granite underfoot and strewn with cutting flints.
> — Robert Louis Stevenson, *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*, 1879

In arguing that there is some kind of 'perfect' landscape experience wherein aspects of the good life may be fulfilled, it is easy to sound elitist in thinking that those who follow the norm of exploring heritage landscapes have done something wrong and are missing out. This is not my perspective at all. In fact, as I will show with my landscape model, I hope to help those who develop and maintain the site to recognize other characteristics they may be missing that provide visitors a better chance to engage with what they are interested in rather than feeling like they are all given the same experience. This is also not meant to imply there is a right or wrong way to engage with a landscape; the argument is simply that instead of blaming tourists for having similar behaviors and seemingly dulled perceptions, it is important to look at how much they are actually able to act individualistically. Accessing and recognizing moments of intensity will be discussed more in detail in the chapter on *Presence*; however, what is most important here is best stated by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (2004, p. 126): "Our desire for presence will be best served if we try to pause for a moment before we begin to make sense".

Previous studies have explored visitor motivations and the different levels of visitor engagement in heritagescapes. Laurajane Smith (2014), for example, attempted to understand whether a deeper emotional engagement is the same as a critical (or in this case, mindful) tourist. Her work at different heritage sites reveals that engagement at all levels is equally significant, but that deeper emotional displays often either reinforce self-recognition (such as connections to personal experiences and memories) or dominant narratives such as patriotism or nationalism. Others have tried to more directly develop a system to categorize tourists – such as Bob McKercher's typology of cultural tourists (2002), which has been applied in different studies that identify different visitor engagement strategies that might be used for different types of visitors (see Kantanen and Tikkanen, 2006). Others such as Moscardo (1996) have noted the importance of offering a variety of experiences and personal choice for visitors and the need to challenge them. This research has revealed how direct active engagement creates more engaged visitors

than distant observation that might be encountered in static museum exhibitions or roped-off heritagescapes with specific paths to follow (see Mathiesen Hjemdahl, 2004). These studies reveal a shift in the perception of tourists as passive to active – involved in the performance, place-making, and meaning-making of their own experiences. This also links to my previous discussion on the different layers of authenticity and the different motivations of visitors to travel to tourist places beyond a simple search for authenticity. Edward Bruner (1994), for example, identifies different tourist motivations that contribute to tourists seeking a sense of identity, meaning, and attachment to heritage places including the desire to learn about their own pasts, time travel, nostalgia, appreciating modernity, and celebrating their common heritage (Burlingame, 2020). In this sense, the authenticity of the experience relates to whether or not the visitor feels as though they have personally connected to the place and have been actively involved in their encounter.

This shows there is work to be done on both sides to create more mindful visits and visitors: first, site managers need to be aware of visitors with varying levels of interests and perceptions; second, tourists need to be mindful of the sites they visit and understand that there may be unseen hidden meanings that might affect how they are able to interact with the place. Focus needs to be placed on how to create more critical visitors so that they are able to have a nice time while realizing that the feeling of the 'good life' is achieved by being more mindful and reflective of where and how they travel. As Krippendorf argued, "The key to the humanization of travel is the new, all-round individual. Not just a holiday-person but a human being, aware of himself (and of others) and of his travel motives and desires" (1987, p. 148).

The problem with tourism is that it is often too fast for visitors to consider the implications of their brief visits. Typically, the damage that visitors cause in the long-term is not revealed to them, so they remain blissfully ignorant to the ultimate degradation of the area. Lowenthal noted, "Many seriously impact the past with no intent of doing so. … Visitors who wear down the floor of Canterbury Cathedral seldom consider the cumulative impact of thousands of feet" (2015, p. 497). James Buzard also criticized early discussions of tourism that failed to hold visitors accountable for the negative impacts of their visits (1993). That being said, visitors do often express their worry of how the constant movement of people along certain paths might damage the land (see Park, 2018),

and they are often annoyed by those who seemingly only come to replicate a certain picture and disrupt the movements of others trying to enjoy being there.

Therefore, given that visitors have this reflective potential, I believe mindfulness provides an important avenue through which such behavior can be encouraged. Moscardo defines mindfulness as "an active state of cognition where attention is focussed on the immediate setting and developing new routines for behavior and is associated with a sense of control and positive affective outcomes" (2017, p. 113). Mindfulness also relates to developing an awareness for moments of awe, often called moments of intensity or peak-experiences through which the tourist wants to escape their sense of self and connect with something greater. Many have written about such existential moments (Maitland, 2008; Whittaker, 2012; Harris, 2014), and Picard notes that this feeling of awe and temporary loss of the self reveal "the profound contradiction of the human condition" where humankind attempts to tame nature, while also "being aware of their insignificance within the wider cosmos of space and time" (2012, p. 5). While awe-inspired moments are rare, it is still important to help visitors learn to become more mindful so they can be aware of a wider spectrum of sense impressions.

Within heritage sites, Gianna Moscardo argues it is crucial to create more mindful visitors because they are "more likely than mindless visitors to enjoy their visit", "be interested in discovering more about a topic or place", and "be more aware of the consequences of their behavior and more appreciative of the heritage site" (1996, p. 382). It is of course impossible to decipher all the different ways people might react to different landscapes as discussed before, based on much deeper cultural, social, and historical influences. However, it is essential to recognize and consider these differences. In some instances, for example, there can be a backlash from local groups who feel like tourists disrespect the locally significant and sometimes sacred places they visit. For example, at the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, tourists have always ignored a sign asking them to avoid climbing the colossal Ayers Rock because of its sacred value to local indigenous Anangu peoples. Tensions escalated to the point where a climbing ban was officially enforced in 2019. To those in the government who wished to keep the rock open to hikers, an Indigenous community representative said, "It's not their law that lies in this land" (in Williams, 2017). In defense of the ban, he said, "It is a very important place" and is "not a theme park like Disneyland" (Ibid.).

Within tourism sites, visitors are inherently connected to the landscape and the people living there, and this creates a bond where they might be inspired to protect the host area. In recent years there has been a rise in sustainable and eco-tourism – where jobs are created that do not dominate the local economy, the natural environment is protected from abuse, only the most necessary infrastructure is employed, and there is a benefit to many communities in the surrounding area (see Lane, 1991). These initiatives also aim at amplifying local voices with either community-led heritage projects or joint-ownership initiatives where local people play a significant role while acknowledging the value of professional expertise. This also ensures that not all tourist motivations can be declared as "entirely hedonistic" (MacCannell, 1976, p. xvi). However, Moscardo (1996) notes that few sustainable tourism efforts are actually aimed at changing the nature of tourist behavior, but rather at improving the nature of tourism.

In order to encourage mindfulness, Moscardo argues for better interpretation of heritage sites. She believes that a well-planned site is much more significant in helping visitors become more mindful than if visitors are given a standardized experience and criticized for being passive. She writes, "If interpretation at built heritage sites can be effective and create mindful visitors, then management and conservation of such places can be substantially improved" (1996, p. 392). She uses mindfulness as one of the methods to help properly interpret sites that "educates tourists about the nature of the host region and culture, informs them of the consequences of their actions, enhances their experience and encourages them to engage in sustainable behaviors" (1996, p. 378). This was already noted by Krippendorf who wrote that a "mature [or mindful] tourist resists the thoughtless exploitation and standardization that are part and parcel of the usual tourist business. He opposes the big machine by trying, at least in his personal behaviour, not to exploit but to assume responsibility" (1987, p. 132). Mindfulness, therefore, is a much more active processing and questioning of information in a certain setting that gives ultimate control over behavior.

As Tim Ingold argues, "Meaning is there to be discovered in the landscape, if only we know how to attend to it" (1993, p. 172). In developing heritage landscapes for tourism purposes, it is important to let landscapes speak to the visitors and to accept that it is okay if they are not open to its hidden messages. Rather, as Bunkše (2011) recommends, visitors should be allowed a certain level of intersubjectivity, wherein having a unique and unhindered encounter with the landscape, they

begin to see it as part of themselves – developing their own connections and affective engagements. Creating local narratives, for example by incorporating storytelling and other tools to spark visitors' imaginations also helps them "to experience the subtle, momentary, mysterious, possibly the mythical" (Bunkše, 2011, p. 26) aspects of the landscape not often communicated.

To help guide discussions around visitor engagement, Moscardo provides a 'Mindfulness Model' that distinguishes different factors influencing visitor behavior at tourism sites: 'Setting Factors' and 'Visitor Factors'. She defines 'Setting Factors' as "exhibits and displays, guided tours, signs, maps, guidebooks, brochures and walks" and 'Visitor Factors' as "familiarity with the place and with heritage sites in general, motivation for the visit and companions" (among others) (1996, p. 382). Rather than going into detail now about how she recommends using these factors to create more mindful visitors, I will revisit the subject in my chapter on *Locale*. However, she ultimately concludes with the following basic principles for interpreting heritage sites that will lead to more mindful visitors: "visitors should be given variety in their experiences[,] … visitors should be given control over their experiences[,] … interpretation needs to make connections to the personal experiences of visitors[,] … and … interpretation needs to *challenge* visitors, to question and encourage them to question" (1996, p. 392, my emphasis).

Given the potential in changing tourist behaviors through these different methods, I do not wish to shine such a negative light on the tourism industry. As MacCannell points out, it "is the only economically important large-scale complex of secular behaviors that is driven by a positive vision of the world, that searches the entire world for things that are worth seeing, doing, decrying, preserving, experiencing" (MacCannell, 1976, p. xvi). Deep down, the impulse to travel is still seemingly based on a curiosity and appreciation for things that make people feel good, fulfilled, and perhaps most importantly, alive. That being said, the rise in large numbers of people indulging in the same experiences in the same places leads to the slow standardization of the landscape experience and the disenchantment of the tourists themselves. This highlights the need for a new way to study heritagescapes to improve the quality of the visitor experience and to foster a greater respect for the landscapes themselves and the people who call them home. Therefore, the next chapter introduces a conceptual model to explore the material, symbolic, and affective dimensions of heritage landscapes.

PART II
The Triangle of Landscape Engagement

2.1 A New Landscape Model

While there have been numerous discussions in landscape studies questioning how to develop a more concrete methodology to analyze the many layers of different landscapes and how they are experienced, few scholars have actually attempted to create a methodology – with others arguing it is not even possible to do so (see Tilley, 1994). There are, however, several approaches worth noting.

An early example comes from J. G. Granö's landscape model in the 1920s that studied observable landscape features as well as sensations. Criticizing traditional scientific geography, he argued it was "too tied to material concepts, oversystematized and exaggerated" with needless detail that still produced hollow results (1997, p. 6). He described an exclusively scientific approach as examining the "individual keys, notes and strings of a musical instrument" (Ibid., p. 7), which does not help in the pursuit of making and hearing music. Instead, what an individual observes as well as what they sense becomes deeply intertwined with how they perceive the world around them, and over time this ends up shaping certain landscapes to fit or conform to certain perceptions. Granö's methodology therefore involved making detailed sense-impression maps including visual, olfactory, auditory, and tactile features. While containing both quantitative and qualitative elements, his layered maps were predominantly very personal and based on his lived experience in the landscape. He also aimed to develop a methodology that could be used in different places for other purposes, and crucially, as a tool for landscape assessment, his model could have a more practical outcome in landscape conservation initiatives (Mead, 2008).

Barbara Bender also attempted to see the different ways landscapes relate to our senses by studying them from three different perspectives: "landscape as *palimpsest*; landscape as *structure of feeling*; and landscape as *embodied*" (1998, p. 32, original emphasis). She was specifically interested in heritage landscapes and the possibilities for phenomenological work to be employed to better understand the nature of human experience. Harriet Hawkins also argued for a methodology

to help determine what is needed in the moment based on embodied encounters, and also the ability to creatively gather and interpret information from different sources to create a more representative depiction of landscape experience and sense of place (2015). In her fieldwork she explores the different sensory impressions she encounters from sitting in one place for long periods of time, and she finds that she is able to observe more of the smaller nuances that might normally be missed. Similarly, in her book *Where Land Meets Sea*, Anna Ryan developed "a methodology that accesses body knowledge, embodied emotion, that which is more-than-conscious and that which is more-than-visual" (2012, p. 128) using participatory photography and drawing.

The development of my model has also been influenced by Rachel and Stephen Kaplan's book called *The Experience of Nature* in which they discuss the need to develop a "solidly grounded theoretical framework" (1989, p. vii) and a new method to empirically study how and why nature matters to people. The goal of their method was to capture personal experiences to make more informed statements into the "larger experience of human experience" (Ibid., p. viii). However, they left out the discussion of culture and how, for example, landscapes with heritage values can be used to better understand how visitors learn to value, experience, connect with, respect, and ultimately protect certain places – or how the dominant narrative of experience has excluded or occluded others' experiences. This was demonstrated by geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly in her study on how immigrants experience the Lake District in the UK (2007). After walking with participants through the landscape and having them draw pictures of their experience afterward, she discovered that their perceptions were entirely contradictory to the West's romantic ideal. Rather than experiencing the joy of nature and peaceful solitude, most felt isolated and afraid.

Within heritage studies there have also been several attempts to provide more comprehensive guides on specific methods and tools in an effort to move beyond traditional epistemologies (Eriksen, 2014). However, the "trouble" with heritage studies is that it is an "in-between subject" (Carman and Sørensen, 2009, p. 23) with practitioners working across many different fields and disciplines in and out of academic. Given such a broad scope, methods and techniques are not often borrowed or shared between disciplines under the label of heritage research. However, Garden's 'heritagescape' method (2006, 2009) makes a good attempt at bringing together perspectives from different disciplines. She also criticizes

traditional methodologies in heritage landscape research that have been too rigid due to their clearly defined set of criteria through which sites are compared based on whether or not they contain certain key elements (what she calls a "laundry list approach") (2009, p. 272). If sites are developed based on a predefined template, she argues, we risk losing a site's individual qualities, or its "personality", as "we impose a veneer of 'sameness'" (Ibid.). She also criticizes the strong divide in heritage studies between research on the visitor experience and research on the study and analysis of material components. Given that research is not often communicated across different disciplines, there is a lack of approaches that consider both of these elements. Furthermore, especially in studies of the visitor experience, the role of the landscape is not often considered despite the fact that "all heritage sites are landscapes" (Ibid.).

In an attempt to bridge this divide, Garden's heritagescape method consists of three components: boundaries, cohesion, and visibility. The boundaries are determined through the acknowledgement that it is a specific landscape valued for its heritage and the subsequent physical demarcation that makes it a bounded place. The cohesion of a site refers to the elements that comprise the site and give it a sense of place through their interconnectedness. Garden notes that this is the most complex component as there are also unseen elements that contribute to a site's cohesion. The third component, visibility, refers to both physical and cultural factors. First, physical factors refer to the tangible, visible components of the site and secondly, the "cultural (in)visibility" refers to how those components may have a lesser or greater presence due to the shifting perceptions of the past through a contemporary lens, and this lens can manipulate a certain "line of sight" in perception and thereby experience (2006, p. 399).

While I find these different areas of assessment interesting, Garden emphasizes heritagescapes as social, interactive, and predominantly *visual* spaces rather than as multisensorial, *experiential* places. Because the heritagescape method focuses more on different visual perceptions in response to tangible (and some intangible) components, I will not use it as a specific method, but rather as a guiding concept. As mentioned previously, Garden notes that the heritagescape as a concept is a way of thinking about all the different components that make a landscape a heritage site (2006). More crucially she notes that this includes far more than just tangible features. For example, through her third component (visibility), Garden points out that previous methodologies have failed to consider the "empty spaces"

(2009, p. 272) between physical, tangible components. With this, she takes a step closer toward non-representational, or more-than-representational, approaches to heritage landscape analysis and opens the door for a potential new methodology in which such empty places play a much larger role in the visitor experience.

The Triangle of Landscape Engagement

In crafting the heritagescape concept, Garden noted that a heritage landscape methodology must be "replicable and transparent … and also able to capture a sense of heritage sites as both tangible and intangible spaces and also as places 'of the past'" (2009, p. 271). Furthermore, Garden argues that research must also consider the multiple functions of sites as both "interactive social spaces" as well as their "traditional roles of conserving, marking or preserving the past" (2009, p. 272). Therefore, in an effort to combine Garden's work with a deeper consideration of affective and emotional dimensions of landscape experience, I have developed a model called the *Triangle of Landscape Engagement* (hereafter, the TRIOLE model) (see Figure 1). Similar to Bender's and Garden's methodologies, the model is divided into three main components: *Locale, Story,* and *Presence* – broadly covering the material, symbolic, and affective dimensions of landscapes.

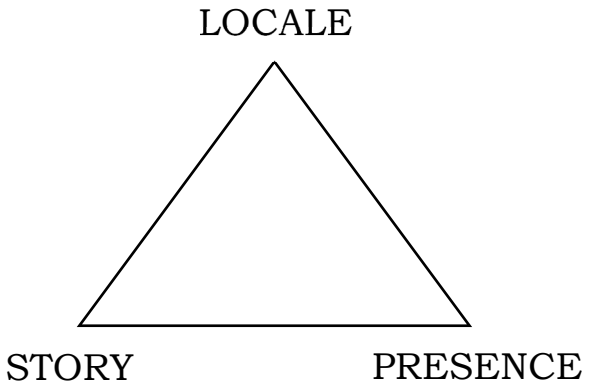

Figure 1: The Triangle of Landscape Engagement Model (the TRIOLE Model) covering the material, symbolic, and affective dimensions of heritagescapes. *Source: Author.*

Similar to Scott Campbell's triangle for sustainability in planning (1996), the model's simplicity makes it both "banal and accessible" (Campbell, 2016, p. 389) in that it can easily be adapted or modified based on the needs and goals of a specific site. New labels or dimensions can be used to fill in the different spaces of interaction or to denote tensions along the vertices. In its most basic form, a triangular model is used to bring together common concepts, and therefore it is meant as a guide rather than a source of straightforward answers. While *locale* and *story* are found in the traditional template of assessing the key elements of heritage sites, *presence* – the experiential dimension of the landscape noted before – is often overlooked. Therefore, as Campbell also argues, conceptual diagrams help to "change thinking (and eventually practice) when they assert a rival explanation that demonstratively makes the old view seem suddenly inadequate" (2016, p. 391).

As studies on methods of visitor monitoring have revealed (see Ankre, Fredman and Lindhagen, 2016), managers continue to resort to traditional methods of site analysis because they lack the proper training and outreach with those who have the scientific skills and knowledge to conduct more in-depth studies or who might suggest more creative methods to study the visitor experience. Therefore, I attempt to bridge the gap between scholarly research and practical work in heritage sites with a more accessible model that can be easily learned and adapted by different groups. Before elaborating on the theoretical and conceptual understandings of each component in the next chapters, I first wish to briefly introduce them in more simple terms – discussing how each component emerged, the questions they attempt to answer, and a basic outline of methods that might be employed.

Locale

Given the many discussions of space and place in landscapes, I was hesitant to use either of the terms for the *Locale* component as their meanings can be so contested. Instead, I opted for a term that would represent the tangible features of a landscape while situating it in a certain location within a wider landscape. Following Tilley's definition, *locales* are "places created and known through common experiences, symbols, and meanings" (1994, p. 18). Therefore, *Locale* studies how the landscape has been bounded and valued as a heritage site as well as its material dimensions covering natural geographic features, built fabric including

reconstructed historic buildings and tourist infrastructure, and different paths or ways of moving through the landscape. Furthermore, given that "space is produced and reproduced, and thus represents the site and the outcome of social, political, and economic struggle" (Keith and Pile, 1993, p. 24), *Locale* also studies how the landscape has been shaped over time by different groups.

A further objective of *Locale* is to observe visitor movements and interactions. Simple observation of how people move through the site is an excellent way of determining preference and to answer questions such as: what material elements are people drawn to or how can movement be more free and engaging? To empirically represent this, research should be more ethnographically-inspired especially with respect to performative actions such as talking, walking, photographing, interacting with re-enactors, touching, and playing. Visitors and others associated with the site should also be asked about their experiences and opinions of sites with varying levels of reconstruction and which landscapes they prefer more. This helps to reveal interesting preference perceptions and how built features of the landscape impact the visitor experience.

Story

It is easy to walk through monumental landscapes and already have a sense of their history because our visual senses are overwhelmed with the remnants of the past. However, in the absence of crumbled columns from a ruinous temple or the echoing walls of a gothic cathedral, how are non-monumental sites communicated to visitors? By engaging in the theme of *Story,* there is the possibility to discover more about the landscape than meets the eye – beyond the point in history in which it is frozen and for which it is valued. I considered terms like *history, previous knowledge,* and *collective memory*, but the term that best encompasses everything that occurred to a landscape over time is *Story* – just as we would ask someone we want to get to know better: What's your story?

As Diana Davis argues, stories can "provide a window on human-environment relations which are at the heart of geographical inquiry" (2011, p. 170). From a phenomenological perspective, a direct experience with a place, alive through its stories, helps us to feel the things that were once there (see Wylie, 2009). Investigating the intangible heritage of a landscape also can help expose the political, economic, and social factors that have shaped it over time (Davis, 2011;

Tuan, 2011). Investigating the history of the site might, for example, reveal a sanitized version of history – where unwanted aspects of the past have been concealed from visitors. Power structures and dynamics can also be present in the interpretation and presentation of history of sites as well as descriptions and representations of the site for tourism purposes. In this theme it is therefore most important to reveal the manipulation of the past and the ways in which storytelling is often controlled by privileged, expert knowledge.

Critically analyzing the many layers of storytelling in heritage sites is vital because upon arrival visitors go on an investigative quest for stories that help bring the landscape to life. Prompting visitors' imaginations is vital to help them consider how the landscape looked in the past and how people may have lived there over time (Davis, 2011). Of course, storytelling can be become highly disneyfied just as in an overzealous reconstruction of the site; yet, leaving out such intangible perspectives is exactly what is contributing to a rising sense of disenchantment.

Methods for this theme include historical and archival research using primary and secondary sources to understand the history of the landscape and a discourse analysis analyzing how the site is presented through different media (e.g. websites, guidebooks, brochures, on-site information, and museum exhibitions). There should also be an investigation to determine how the visitor experience might be affected by the presence of storytellers (e.g. re-enactors and guides) or live action events (e.g. demonstrations of craftsmanship and other elements attempting to convey 'real' life). Finally, research should also analyze whether or not a connection to a historical/archaeological landscape affects the visitor experience or sense of belonging for different visitors/locals/employees at the site – especially with respect to authenticity.

Presence

In my previous theoretical discussions, I have shown that phenomenology opens the door to study the many different layers of landscape experience and how the past inevitably affects the variability in what it is like to *be* in different landscapes. But what can it really mean to pay attention, and how can visitors learn the difference between being there and *being* there? Based on the immediate bodily presence necessary in phenomenology and inspired by Gumbrecht's *Production of*

Presence and Moscardo's *Mindful Visitors,* the *Presence* component addresses the previously overlooked *experiential* dimension of landscapes in site management.

Gumbrecht defines presence as something that is not temporal, but a "spatial relationship to the world and its objects" and something that is "tangible for human hands" that can have an immediate impact (2004, p. xiii). I take this a step forward in the phenomenological sense of lived experience that we can also feel things that we cannot see or tangibly touch. However, the power of the visual has been emphasized through tourism marketing, practices of photography, and different social media platforms. While addressing the problems of a less engaged audience, it is vital to understand the impact of sense impressions in landscapes, which will ultimately benefit the visitors as well as the sites.

That is not to say, however, that this is always a positive experience. For example, Edensor notes that a bad smell can ruin even the most beautiful place (2006). And on a more serious note, as seen in Tolia-Kelly's case study in the UK discussed before, the assumed affective qualities of the national park actually had a negative impact on certain visitors. Schama recalled a similar situation when he took his family into the Redwood Forest in California: "[It was] seriously cold, as stone-chill as any Gothic cathedral. The children were coaxed onward into the forest with promises of stupendous tree-wonders to come. But when they suddenly saw the redwoods, these seemed more like monsters than marvels" (1995, p. 242). Even though many consider the trees to be so beautiful, he said, "For very small children, their trunks were the torsos of dinosaurs and possibly of the devouring, rather than grazing, variety," and the children "wanted out of the reptilian tomb of pre-history" (Ibid.).

Inspired by what Tilley refers to as doing a 'phenomenology of the landscape' (1994), researching *Presence* requires all the senses. Research begins with the researcher simply walking through the landscape so that they first become familiar with the different sense impressions they encounter. This is then followed by writing detailed reflective field notes about these emotional and/or affective dimensions (see Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005; Feighery, 2006). By first considering their own lived experience in the landscape, the researcher is able to better represent and understand the landscape's affective qualities and the ways they may affect different visitors. Analyzing visitors' on-site experiences and interactions then involves non-participatory observations as well as an analysis of visitor movements. Participatory observation can also be used "to elicit an understanding

of people's response to their environment by accompanying them in normal activities within that landscape and recording their (ideally unprompted) comments, reactions, and responses in as much detail as possible" (Thompson, 2013, p. 35). Using a variety of methods also ensures that other voices are not misrepresented or assumed to be represented by authoritative discourses and narratives. Paintings, photographs, and other visual representations of landscapes are also simple ways of capturing sensuous engagements that explicitly show what people find significant (Crang, 1997, 2003).

2.2 Locale

> Spaces can be stabilised in such a way that they act like political utterances, guiding subjects to particular conclusions. But, as a counterpoint, the fabric of space is so multifarious that there are always holes and tears in which new forms of expression can come into being.
> — Nigel Thrift (2003, pp. 2022–3)

The first step in using the TRIOLE model is situating a site within its *Locale*. The term *locale* attempts to represent the tangible, materiality of the landscape that is encompassed within the experience of the site – including not just what is within the boundary of the heritage area, but also what can be viewed from the site that could affect experience and perception.

In human geography, many researchers have attempted to differentiate between place and space and how humans create, construct, dwell, inhabit, interact, and engage within these realms (Tuan, 1974, 1976, 1986; Tilley, 1994; Ingold, 1995; Renes, 2004; Urry, 2006; Thwaites and Simkins, 2007). However, the trouble with such discussions is the underlying assumption that their meaning is common knowledge (see Massey, 1994). They are so commonly used in everyday discourse that a more etymological exploration is often deemed unnecessary, and therefore, as Doreen Massey notes, a debate over the variety of meanings attached to them within contemporary geographical theory "never surfaces" (Ibid., p. 250). Analyzing the ancient Greek or Latin roots of the terms shows how their meanings have shifted over time, but does little to explain *why* or *how* these terms play out in different frameworks. This is far too large of a task for this chapter to bear, so I have used the conceptualization of the terms that I find provide the best foundation to help define and situate *Locale*.

Tim Cresswell, for example, offers three different approaches to places: the descriptive approach, the social constructionist approach, and the phenomenological approach (2015) – which somewhat align with the conception of my model analyzing the material, symbolic, and affective dimensions of

landscapes. I see his different approaches as a more useful way to differentiate between place and space. For example, the descriptive approach seems to define places as being "intrinsically locational in nature and that they are separated by a background of space which, itself, is not place" (Thwaites and Simkins, 2007, p. xv). This is also reflected by Tilley who argues that space has no "substantial essence in itself" (1994, p. 11). Rather, space is perhaps better defined under Cresswell's social constructionist approach depending on who is experiencing it and how. Similarly, because space is formed through embodied encounters, *movement* has been widely explored as one of the universal key terms in discussing place and space (Tuan, 1975; Thrift, 1997; Ingold, 2000; Lorimer and Spedding, 2002; Crouch and Parker, 2003; Basu, 2004; Massey, 2005; Urry, 2006; Malpas, 2012; Simonsen, 2013). Through movement, dwelling, interacting, and sensing, the body becomes a part of space, which is where Cresswell's phenomenological approach comes into play. As Simonsen writes, the body "is a *phenomenal, lived body,* a dynamic unity that changes through interacting with an environment to which it responds and that it actively structures" (2013, p. 16, original emphasis). While space is the realm of movement, places signify pausing within this realm. This movement, Urry notes, "is necessary to develop the capacity to be reflective about places" (2006, p. vii) that ultimately decides the meaning attached to them and differentiates *here* from *there*.

A sense of place can be developed in different ways – for example, through forming strong connections based on fond or difficult memories or the familiar places of one's childhood (see Storey, 2012). Therefore, places are not only material realities, but are also highly tethered to subjective constructions, and can sometimes be an integral component of self-identity (Muir, 1999). Since there are often such strong bonds associated with places, potential threats or changes to this place can create highly contested and emotionally-charged debates often resulting in a defensive desire to keep out perceived threats. Tilley notes, place is not "innocent and neutral," but charged with "age, gender, social position, and relationships with others" (1994, p. 11). Place-making is therefore *relational.* Just as space is constructed, place-making in itself is a highly subjective process because what is noticed by someone might be ignored by someone else (see Renes, 2004). Place is thereby formed in the way that it appears (visually, experientially, and/or sensually) in relation to others. Like Merleau-Ponty's understanding of the body as a 'thing amongst things', Malpas writes that such things "are never 'in' the

world in some indeterminate fashion but are always oriented and located in relation to the other things around them" (2012, p. 238).

Similar to Cresswell, John Agnew argues that places are made up of different components that make them meaningful – including location, locale, and sense of place (1987). Though locales have similarly constructed meanings to places in that they are "created and known through common experiences, symbols, and meanings" (Tilley, 1994, p. 18), locales are specifically places of *gathering* where people know the meaning and the function, and they are also places of *interaction* given that they usually serve a specific purpose. Places have continuity, which means we are always in some form of place experience (Thwaites and Simkins, 2007). Therefore, locales are also specific locations of *experience,* and an increased presence or pause in these places creates a stronger feeling of *being* there. As Malpas notes, "It is precisely the oriented and located character of any mode of being in the world that allows things to be in the world in the first place" (2012, p. 238). Figure 2 depicts *locales* as occupying specific locations within places that are themselves established within space.

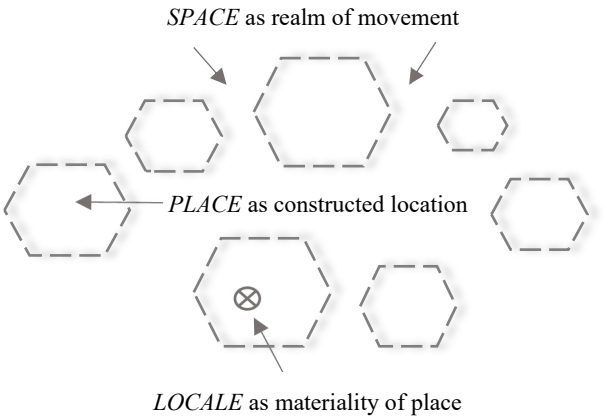

Figure 2: Distinguishing Space, Place, and Locale (after Thwaites and Simkins, 2007, p. xv). *Source: Author.*

Given that there is typically a certain scope and function, locales are not national or global. Instead, they are often small-scale and materially-defined such as localities, landscapes, and regions (see Tilley, 1994). However, despite the tangible physical components of locales, it is still important to note how

perceptions of these features are always subject to change based on projected meanings and associations. The word *locale* therefore connects tangible elements with the nature and variability of experience. There are of course other interpretations of locales as places where we live (Cresswell, 2015) or the institutions that contribute to place-making, identity, and activities with associated groups (Agnew, 1987). Cresswell, for example, remains rather ocular in his description of place and also continues to think in terms of dualisms. For example, despite arguing that place unifies the human and natural worlds, he still implies humans are not part of the *space* of the world. From a landscape perspective, I align my thoughts more with Tim Ingold in his arguing that "the movement of social life is itself a movement *in* (not *on*) a landscape, and its fixed reference points are physically marked localities or 'sites'" (2000, p. 54, original emphasis), which I define instead as *locales*. This is further supported by Tilley who writes that historical landscapes "acquire part of their mythic value and historical relevance if they are rooted in the concrete details of locales in the landscape, acquiring material reference points that can be visited, seen and touched" (1994, p. 33).

Boundedness is therefore an inherent part of place and locale discussions because boundaries are one of the means through which places of experiences and interaction are established in relation to others. However, there is a danger in considering locales as completely bounded spaces even if this is difficult to avoid in protected heritage landscapes. As Massey argues, bounding places "precisely distinguishes between an inside and an outside … [and] can so easily be yet another way of constructing a counterposition between 'us' and them'" (2005, p. 152). With static, fixed, concrete spatial forms, issues of politics and power and production and reproduction of spatiality are occluded (see Soja, 1989). Smith briefly mentions how this emphasis on tangible elements (on locales) "helps to obfuscate wider cultural and historical debates about the meaning of the past, and works to draw tight conceptual and knowledge boundaries around the meanings and values given to these locales" (2006, p. 29). Too much control, too much emphasis on boundaries, borders, and enclosures, limits the possibility of interaction and meaning making. It is vital to go beyond the tangible manifestations of locales to consider other perspectives and interpretations.

Locale therefore aims to discover the essence of place by identifying what makes it what it is (see Cresswell, 2015) based on human experience and more importantly,

interaction. As Simonsen argues, performative bodies "should not be mistaken for individualism" (Simonsen, 2013, p. 16). Rather, the style of existence "is about co-existence, about the position of the body within the order of things or within the unfolding of collective life" (Ibid.). David Crouch echoes this noting, "The body is rendered *involved* in the world in which it extends itself metaphorically, transforming the space, *flirting with space*" (2001, p. 62, original emphasis).

Given that locales can only be established through the interaction of people and their embodied movements through space (see de Certeau, 1984), the *Locale* component of the model brings together the material and constructed aspects of landscapes in order to get a better sense of their meaning and possibility as sites for *gathering, interacting,* and *experiencing*. *Locale* was developed in order to prevent distinct characterizations of places or different 'approaches', such as those laid out by Cresswell, that fail to consider how much each approach affects the other. Given that an investigation of locale begins with a landscape's materiality, I will first define how I position heritage landscapes as locales.

Heritage Landscapes as Locales

Perhaps some of the most distinguishable locales are heritage sites because they are place-bound and typically have very clear markers indicating their status. Furthermore, these landscapes are never stagnant because, as Urry argues, they are always being "toured, performed, and experienced" (2006, p. vii). Therefore, besides considering the geographic location of the locale, there are also tangible elements that contribute to the historical integrity or the tourist's perception of authenticity. Since non-monumental landscapes often contain few original tangible elements, reconstruction is frequently used to create a more 'authentic' atmosphere of how the site might have looked and what it might have been like to live there. Without these clues, as Lowenthal notes, "people would pass by most monuments unaware of their antiquity" (2015, p. 429). In researching *Locale*, it is therefore first necessary to consider potential issues of authenticity affecting the tourist's ability to develop a sense of place. It is then important to consider the materiality of the landscape and certain added elements that shape these perceptions.

Authenticity in Heritagescapes

From the start, the use of the word authenticity is already problematic and has long been contested in its various forms. As Ning Wang aptly noted, "Authenticity is not a matter of black or white, but rather involves a much wider spectrum, rich in ambiguous colors" (1999, p. 353). Predominantly starting with MacCannell's (1976) discussion of authenticity (and inauthenticity) in tourism, an increasing body of research particularly in the 1990s began to focus on what authenticity truly means and how it plays out in tourism. For example, John Urry began to question whether "the search for authenticity" was "too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism" (1991, p. 93). Through tourism, a heritage site becomes a cultural tool through which the performativity of constantly renegotiated "cultural and political values and narratives" takes place (Smith, 2014, p. 125). Since heritage itself therefore becomes "a performance intimately tied up with the legitimation of identity, belonging and sense of place" (Ibid.), the use of the word 'authentic' becomes problematic when directed toward the authenticity of experience, place, and the heritage itself.

Edward Bruner laid down four different meanings of authenticity with objects: historical reproduction, historically genuine, the original, and the authorized authenticity (1994). Beyond a simple search for authenticity, he argued that tourists are in search of a sense of "identity, meaning, and attachment" (1994, p. 398). Therefore, while some understandings of authenticity focus specifically on the tangible material, others explore the authenticity of the experience itself. Therefore, new meanings of authenticity include objective, constructive, postmodern, and existential approaches. Object-based approaches include objective authenticity and constructive authenticity where the former refers to artifacts or other tangible items that are deemed genuine by experts, and the latter recognizes the plurality and symbolic nature in such assessments where there can never be a true dichotomy between real/fake or true/false (Trilling, 1972; Bruner, 1994; DeLyser, 1999; Wang, 1999; Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). There are also postmodern approaches that attempt to deconstruct the entire concept of authenticity to give room for alternative tourism experiences (Wang, 1999) where tourists become more concerned with the impact of their visit on local communities. However, Wang argues that this helps justify the inauthenticity of the tourism space because there is less concern for the "authenticity of the original" (1999, p. 358) because postmodern tourists are happy with the inauthenticity mixed in with modern luxuries (Boorstin, 1964). Finally, there is

also existential authenticity, which can be summarized as an activity-based approach that is far more personal and intersubjective, emerging through interactions between people and places (Wang, 1999; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). In this approach, authenticity is not only found in 'others', but also in the actual experience and performativity as a tourist in pursuit of an authentic sense of self (Belhassen, Caton and Stewart, 2008; Buchmann, Moore and Fisher, 2010; Rickly-Boyd, 2013). Therefore, within any given heritage landscape, any of the previously stated approaches to authenticity may come into play. However, with respect to heritage sites as locales, I wish to dig deeper into the concept of expert authentication and the different processes that may impact how a landscape (specifically its built material) is developed for tourism purposes.

Reconstructing the Past

As discussed earlier, the deadening landscape effect of museumization involves the "preservation, reconstruction and idealization of history" (Relph, 1976, p. 101) where a certain paradox occurs when freezing something in time in order to keep it 'alive' for future generations. Through museumization, past buildings or even entire villages are reconstructed in empty landscapes to appease the "general demand for historical atmosphere" (Relph, 1976, p. 101), creating a "contrived presentation of sites/sights as if they are authentic" (Hannam and Halewood, 2006, p. 26). The process of freezing a landscape at some point in time also undermines the significance and history of a lived and worked landscape. This creates a new dimension questioning different layers of authenticity in tourism because visitors can "choose not where, but when in the plastic past [they] wish to go for holiday" (Ibid.). For example, Knudsen et al. argue that there is a certain collective understanding of a checklist of heritage that should be found in heritage sites (e.g. cobblestone streets are considered more historical or romantic rural landscapes without signs of modernity and give a sense of old world charm) (2013). Therefore, any added elements meant to improve the visitor experience should be carefully considered in order to not blur the lines too much between historical reconstruction and fantasy.

Questions of authenticity, restoration, and reconstruction are by no means a modern construct. For example, in 1888 Henry James wrote about touring France:

> I prefer in every case the ruined, however ruined, to the reconstructed, however splendid. What is left is more previous than what is added: the one is history, the other is fiction; and I like the former the better of the two – it is so much more romantic (in Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 17).

His argument, however, relates more to existing built heritage and maintaining the original structure in the state it is in. In this instance, it is preferred to only intervene to provide additional stability without affecting the physical integrity or authentic meaning. However, if there are no remaining structures, this debate becomes much more contested. Without any material traces, it is very difficult to convey the original function of the site. At the same time, too much restoration and perhaps the added component of re-enactors creates an entirely new landscape based on archaeological records and assumptions about the past. This again reignites the issue of freezing a landscape and not considering, as Maggie Roe argues, that "change is an inherent characteristic of … landscape[s], and understanding past landscape development and cultural values is important for the management of today's landscape" especially in the sense of how a future landscape might be "enhanced, restored, or created" (2012, p. 191).

The different ways historical landscapes might be developed vary dramatically in terms of authenticity. As an example of limited intervention, Halewood and Hannam discuss the museum at Bygdøy near Oslo in Norway, which is considered the "oldest purpose-built ship museum in Europe" (2001, p. 569). At the museum, authenticity is key to visitor experience, and "the objects are left to make their own statement" (Ibid.). They describe a 'pure' authenticity for tourists with respect to the archaeological material as well as all souvenirs in the shop that were specifically chosen to ensure a high quality of accuracy.

On the other end of the spectrum are reconstructed open-air or living museums, and beyond them are historical theme parks. In order to claim authenticity, Lars Konzack argues that these places must show the public that interpretations have been "based on factual archaeological findings and historical texts, combined with education arts and crafts methods of reproducing archaeological findings as a learning experience" (2017, p. 40). In general, he notes, such places "should be based on historical evidence – not fantasy" (Ibid.). However, even if these portrayals are guided by historical and archaeological research, there is always a certain amount of tension as the drama of popular culture manipulates the authenticity.

Within these different locales, it is ultimately up to the tourists themselves to determine the value of authenticity given that they are often faced with this challenge within the rhetoric of the tourism industry itself. As MacCannell points out:

> The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationships between tourists and what they see: this is a *typical* native house; this is the *very* place the leader fell; this is the *actual* pen used to sign the law; this is the *original* manuscripts; this is an *authentic* Tlingit fish club; this is a *real* piece of the *true* Crown of Thorns (1976, p. 14, original emphasis).

Given that tourists have somehow been subconsciously trained as to how to distinguish the real from the fake, they are often more aware of issues of authenticity than assumed. Referring to a 'post-modern' tourist, MacCannell notes that there is a rising ability to recognize supposed authentic reconstruction. Similar to the discussion relating to active vs. passive tourists, he argues that tourists are active because they attempt "to discover or reconstruct a cultural heritage or social identity" (1976, pp. 13–14). That quest, he argues, is a voyage for authenticity, and as tourists are increasingly bombarded with fake tourist objects and sites, they seek to discern for themselves what is real. However, the public also plays a large role in causing inauthenticity when it comes to toured objects. For example, according to Bodil Petersson and Lars Erik Narmo (2011, p. 72), the public "has a great influence on what is successful". Perhaps contrary to popular belief, they write, "it is not the most authentic items that sell best or the most authentic crafts or activities that are rewarded most" (Ibid.). With respect to reconstruction, they also argue that the uninformed visitor is often unable to tell the difference, which should again imply that visitors should not always be trusted for having a perceptive, or rather trained eye for authenticity. Of course, accessing the 'real' place is often not possible since tourists are sometimes kept away from the authentic place – for example, in Hershey, Pennsylvania, USA, visitors are not allowed into the actual chocolate factory, but are rather directed toward a "mocked-up display chocolate-factory-for-tourists" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 167). However, this argumentation seems rather outdated given postmodern approaches to authenticity that recognize that there really is no distinction between authentic or not. Visitors may be actively engaged in a simulation of a past life, but the authentic past would still have been entirely different. Therefore, *pure* authenticity is never within reach in accessing the past. We can only hold on

to the tattered threads and whispers of the past, which requires further analysis into the *Story* of a landscape.

Since tourism is a "place-based endeavor", it is impossible to ignore the role the materiality of the landscape plays on the visitor's experience (Belhassen, Caton and Stewart, 2008, p. 684). Therefore, any study aiming to improve the visitor experience must also recognize these interrelated approaches to authenticity that are ultimately grounded within and built up from the landscape itself. Because it stems both the "symbolic and material qualities of place" (Germann Molz, 2012, p. 40), the locale is the starting point representing the space through which visitors actively perform and engage with the past and present landscape while negotiating their own sense of self-discovery and authenticity of experience. However, given the limited possibilities in accessing the past and the limits in reconstructions of historical landscapes, the discussion of authenticity becomes further intertwined with elements of storytelling, myth, and the different communicative strategies employed to develop the narrative of a landscape, which brings us to *Story*.

2.3 Story

To begin with, landscapes do not have any inherent value. Even Stonehenge is "basically a collection of rocks in a field" (Smith, 2006, p. 3). Therefore, without the history, the *story*, and the valuation of certain aesthetic, historical, natural, and cultural characteristics, there would be no reason to care that at some point long ago these stones mattered and therefore continue to matter today. Tangible features and archaeological evidence create a connection to a historical past, but a well-researched and creatively communicated story of the landscape helps visitors engage with other layers of history including how humans have interacted with and within these landscapes over time. As Sara Maitland writes, all histories "are human histories, and they affect and entangle with each other and cannot be divided tidily" (2012, p. 65). From these histories, she argues, comes an imaginative history, something she describes as "a complex cultural narrative about how a place or particular type of landscape is perceived and pictured" (Ibid.). The process of understanding and interpreting these entangled histories encompasses the aim of *Story*.

In heritage landscapes, history, folklore, and other intangible elements must be properly communicated in order to develop a connection between the perceiver and the landscape. However, it is difficult to determine what exactly is important to communicate to visitors in order to spark their interest and curiosity in the first place. Therefore, creative, imaginative, and historical storytelling requires a deeper understanding of how profoundly intertwined the historical world and humans are. As Wilhelm Dilthey once wrote, "We are historical beings before being observers of history, and only because we are the former do we become the latter" (2010, p. 297). Furthermore, as argued by Gianna Moscardo, "the use of stories to organize and present information to tourists in various interpretive and heritage settings is more likely to support learning and changes in attitudes" (2017, p. 114) (see also Moscardo, 2008). She notes myriad ways that stories contribute to more positive experiences including helping to organize information in more persuasive

and effective ways, they make it easier for visitors to understand and remember information about the site, and they encourage mindfulness – for example, visitors play out different roles and become more engaged within the sites (2008, 2017). That being said, it is important to remain cautious in using stories that are meant to evoke certain memories, nostalgic feelings, or a sense of belonging in visitors. As Rippon writes, "Memory work is, by its nature, fragmented, friable, sometimes arbitrary, allusive or isolating. Occasionally it is bruising. Naturally enough, some stuff gets withheld. Or it comes out in the wash, much later in the day" (2013, p. 587). Similarly, too much interpretation of the past limits how individuals are able to engage with it through imagination and active play.

Based on this connection, there is a need to revive historical research in landscape studies (see Renes, 2011), which ultimately involves bringing to light the many benefits of storytelling. As Diana K. Davis argues, "Reading and taking seriously stories about landscapes over time, can provide a window on [the] human-environment relations … at the heart of geographical inquiry" (2011, p. 170). Perhaps most significantly, looking at how the landscape has changed over time is a good way to expose political, economic, and social influences – where there is often a systematic inclusion and exclusion of elements of history dictated by those in power.

"History is for all, heritage for us alone"

As discussed before, in 1985 David Lowenthal became a commonplace name in criticizing the contemporary use, sanitization, and editing of the past for present means through the defining phrase, 'The past is a foreign country'. However, Lowenthal admittedly nicked this phrase from L. P. Hartley's 1953 novel *The Go-Between*. Yet, with a simple further investigation, it turns out L. P. Hartley also did not come up with the phrase, but rather got the phrase from his friend Lord David Cecil who used it in his inaugural lecture as a professor in 1949. Perhaps Lowenthal meant to provoke such an investigation in order to prove his point because the constant re-use and re-interpretation of the phrase explicitly represents the inherent problem with the passage of time. Stories get reworked, history is made to be something that it was not, and unwanted or unpleasant pasts are often sanitized, scourged, and forgotten.

In the quote above ("History is for all, heritage for us alone"), Lowenthal (2015, p. 505) illuminates the relationship between history and heritage, where history is

a factual representation of past events and heritage is history through the eyes of the beholder. As Lowenthal later argues, "An intelligible past demands inventive retelling" (2015, p. 341). Therefore, a significant part of *Story* is the recognition of a past made for the present.

The presence of the past is an inescapable part of the everyday experience, and every moment that passes by adds another notch in the timeline of life bursting with memories and events and interactions that shape who we are and how we perceive and experience the world around us. "The past is everywhere," Lowenthal argues, and the "residues of bygone lives and locales ceaselessly enrich and inhibit our own" (2015, p. 1). As time goes by, however, some past events and circumstances are deemed obsolete or distasteful and thereby forgettable through the lens of present times. Lowenthal writes, "A corollary of conflating the past within the present is failure to realize that bygone people lived according to other codes, their modes of thought as well as *genres de vie* alien to our own" (2015, p. 22). Cornelius Holtorf reflects a similar sentiment when he argues that existing norms in the present determine how different accounts of the past are constructed and interpreted, and he poses two important questions: "Whose interests are served if the past is remembered in this way rather than another?" and "Who controls the past in the present?" (2017, p. 5). These are two fundamental questions I will use to guide my discussion.

Throughout history, different versions of events have been "promoted or adopted" (Holtorf, 2017, p. 6) because they serve a certain purpose. Based on the past's difference, the present is exalted and set apart as something improved, something better. Lowenthal writes, "[The] past is not simply foreign but utterly estranged, as if on some remote planet. Our exile from it seems total, lasting, irrevocable" (2015, p. 11). Therefore, the simple act of looking back in time carries with it myriad challenges in the pursuit of painting an accurate picture.

Perceiving the past through a contemporary lens is exactly what caused the past to become a foreign country because in looking back at moments in history it is easy to develop a hindsight awareness where a story gets pieced together that was never meant to be written in such a way. Because it is impossible to know what explicitly happened, history is interpreted in certain ways to make improvements or revisions, or try to rectify mistakes. As Lowenthal notes, "Everyone revises the past to make it *theirs*" (Ibid., p. 502) because "the past can only be securely our own if its lineaments are uniquely suited to us, hence alien and inaccessible to

others" (Ibid., p. 505). To look back at the past from the present allows for a new story to unfold, and therefore, not only is the individual often culpable in the retelling of past events, there are also much larger forces of power at play that twist the shape of history. Previously I referred to nationalistic ambition as a driving force behind landscape preservation and the need to create organic links to otherwise heterogenous landscapes. A vital component of this process is the creation of a legacy, of a national heritage through which history is rewritten.

During a lecture in 1882, French historian Ernest Renan (1823–1892) said, "Getting its history wrong is crucial for the creation of a nation" (in Lowenthal, 2015, p. 509). History is expunged of its repugnant events that might tarnish the reputation of a celebrated nation, and over time, it becomes easier to forget the darker side of the story. As Lowenthal writes, "The natural oblivion of time … liquidates much that shames" (Ibid., p. 546). The past becomes sanitized and glossed over in order to highlight events in which the country takes pride, and indiscretions are scrubbed out, washed away, and forgotten.

Lowenthal particularly illuminates how heritage sites become the means through which national histories continue to be perpetuated – often through popularized or standardized interpretations aimed at mass tourism. One problem with this is that heritage sites often become hostage to a wider narrative that aims to connect a broad spectrum of sites to an assumed shared past. Using the past as a possession is therefore deeply embedded with exclusionary practices and issues of class, gender, and other implicit traces of who does or does not belong. This also aligns with a rising concern of how future generations should inherit, and more importantly, perceive the past. Therefore, it is not only important to consider the uses of the past for the present, but also the uses of the past for the future.

While Lowenthal is connected with discussions of different uses of the past, Laurajane Smith is a leading voice regarding uses of heritage (also the name of her most well-known 2006 book). She recognizes the tensions involved in different power relations taking control of the past and writes, "At one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present" (2006, p. 4). Because heritage is open to constant renegotiation, it can therefore be used to "negotiate ways of being and expressing identity" (Ibid.), which allows for different powers to decide who belongs or does not belong within their particular version of history. Smith uses the term 'authorized heritage discourse'

(hereafter, AHD) to refer specifically to the way the Western world prioritizes tangible heritage, and therefore the discourse is "intrinsically embedded with a sense of the pastoral care of the material past" (2006, p. 17). More importantly, Smith notes, "The power relations underlying the discourse identify those people who have the ability or authority to 'speak' about or 'for' heritage … and those who do not" (Ibid., p.12). To put it simply, the AHD "defines who the legitimate spokespersons for the past are" (Ibid., p. 29) and places significant emphasis on tangible rather than intangible heritage, which would include, for example, storytelling. As I wrote in the previous chapter on *Locale*, Smith is very critical of purely focusing on locales because of how much it "obfuscate[s] the wider cultural and historical debates about the meaning of the past" (2006, p. 29) as well as creating strict boundaries as to what meanings or values might be associated with them. Therefore, one of the largest problems within the heritage and tourism industry is the ability of those in control of landscapes to decide what part of the history is the most significant, how it should be interpreted, how it should be presented to the public, and who has the right to decide.

In response to Smith's AHD, Iain Robertson developed the concept 'Heritage From Below' (hereafter, HFB) (2008) to reveal how heritage is "understood, practised, *and experienced* on the ground by the people themselves" (Muzaini and Minca, 2018, p. 1) beyond the parameters of the AHD. This aligns with postmodern ideas of "multiple layers of hybrid senses of belonging" where "fluidity, plurality, heterogeneity and multiple socially constructed identities and meanings" are celebrated (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, pp. 75–76). Inspired by landscape theory, specifically Cosgrove's view of landscape as representation (a cultural image) (see Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988), HFB also emerges from seeing landscape-as-text. Given that heritage landscapes emerge from different material and immaterial processes, HFB helps to study the different layers of meaning and the social and cultural forces that produced and shaped them over time, and it unveils the conflicting power structures at every level. As Robertson argues, "All heritage is permanently entangled [in a] spatial dance between authorized and 'from below' forms" (2018, p. 177).

Such selection, interpretation, and presentation of the past in heritage sites particularly manifests itself in how visitors are intended to experience and engage with the past. Lowenthal notes, "Less idiosyncratically encountered, the remade past is more monolithically seen, for its guides fit us all with the same distorting

lens" (2015, p. 575). As I have discussed before, however, it should not be assumed that visitors are unable to determine or consider alternative perspectives or recognize experiences that might not be entirely authentic. As Holtorf argues "both archaeologists and their audiences [need] the ability to ask critical questions and not take anything as self-evident" (2017, p. 6). Therefore, there is a pressing need to investigate how the past is presented in heritage sites, and whether or not visitors (and others interacting with the sites) are encouraged to question and challenge its differing manifestations. Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl seems to answer this noting, "We are witnessing a progressive process in which the Land of the Past is changing into the Land of the Different … to be experienced rather than understood" (2004, p. 106). Through this discussion, she explores the tensions between 'experience' heritage and the claimed 'authentic' heritage pursued by experts such as historians and archaeologists.

David Carr provides an excellent discussion of how the past is experienced in his 2014 book *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World*. He explores history as a phenomenon, asking questions such as: "How does history present itself to us, how does it enter our lives, and what are the forms of experience in which it does so?" (2014, p. 1). While in typical philosophical discussions historical research often encompasses memory and representation, Carr explores the missing link in both of these perspectives – noting that the connection between us and the past is more inextricably linked than either suggest. This is where he considers phenomenological research might have the largest contribution. Michel Foucault carried a similar sentiment in his discussion of how history is made by individuals into 'counter-memories' that ultimately sever our inherent connection to memory because counter-memories involve "a transformation of history into a totally different form of time" (1977, p. 160). At the same time, discussions of experience also often ground experience within the present, and a phenomenological approach to temporality, Carr writes, "shows there can be no experience in the present, and no presence as experienced, without its horizon or background of past – and future" (2014, p. 66).

Hjemdahl also uses a phenomenological approach "to establish further knowledge regarding the cultural processes associated with modernity's relationship with the past" (2004, p. 107). Her work investigates how school classes are increasingly more drawn to historical theme parks rather than to museums because students are far more engaged in the dynamic, lived experiences offered there. This shows

how important experiencing history is for visitors who prefer active engagement over traditional exhibitions. She writes, "Historical theme parks are places where creative imagination is being cultivated; it is the magic of make-believe that drives the time back and makes things happen" (2004, p. 116).

Given the increase in demand for more active sites, it is important to consider how the past is being brought to life in different ways through storytelling. Moscardo argues that "despite the widespread acceptance of stories as a core element of human experience very little research attention has been paid to stories within tourism research" (2020, p. 4). This is perhaps because traditional academic research has found stories to be trivial and unserious (see Polletta *et al.*, 2011; Burlingame, 2018). Therefore, Moscardo argues that more research is "needed into this intersection between stories, features of destination experiences and mindfulness" (2017, p. 117). This relates not only to how the site is branded, but also to how the story is communicated within the landscape itself to help visitors make more meaningful connections. The use of re-enactors, for example, offers a human connection to the past that provides a gateway for feelings of collective identity and belonging beyond what stagnant exhibits might offer. Since re-enactors play such a large role in co-creating the visitor experience, upholding elements of authenticity, and transmitting historical information, it is important to dig a bit deeper into the world of re-enactment and the tensions that arise when modern people become the storytellers of the past.

Historical Re-enactment and Storytelling

If visitors are able to recognize the conceit in reconstructed buildings and inauthentic heritage representations, the argument would be that they would be equally as displeased by re-enactors attempting to replicate a long-lost world. However, many argue that re-enactment is a powerful tool in engaging visitors, demonstrating experimental archaeological methods, and providing a more creative 'living' source of information (Daugbjerg, 2017; Holtorf, 2017; Samida, 2017). Given that re-enactors often play a large role in transporting visitors into more imaginative, narrative worlds that can affect "attention, emotions, beliefs, attitudes and judgement" in the present world (2017, p. 13), more attention must be given to the role of re-enactors in heritage sites. Though historical re-enactment is often "valued for how authentically it represents the historical epoch" (Konzack, 2017, p. 38), there are always lapses in authenticity because re-enactors are seldom experts and more often get caught up in a collective fantasy that is based on historical fact. As Elizabeth Carnegie and Scott McCabe note, "Re-enactment events have become susceptible to negative *stereo-troping* by the museums and heritage academe in particular which has downplayed attempts to recognize positive engagement and more experiential dimensions of such activities" (2008, p. 354, original emphasis). Therefore, a balance must be made where re-enactment is both playful and educational (Konzack, 2017).

Not to be confused with live action role-playing (or, LARPing) that includes more immersion and fantasy, historical re-enactment involves "living history museums, technical reconstructions, literature, photography, film, video games, television shows, pageants, parades and even internet groups devoted to online historical performance" (Konzack, 2017, pp. 37–38) (see Figure 3). Re-enactors often come from broad social, economic, and educational backgrounds, and they usually work part-time. It is difficult to determine a more general reason as to what motivates people to turn to re-enactment, but Hannam and Halewood introduce a possible explanation relating to existential authenticity, which as discussed earlier, is defined as "a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself, and acts as a counterdose to the loss of 'true self' in public roles and public spheres in modern Western society" (2006, p. 27). Once again, a feeling of disenchantment contributes to a need to ground oneself in the past and have more of a concrete, human connection to nature.

Figure 3: A battle re-enactment at the Foteviken Open-Air Museum, Sweden. *Source: Author.*

Most often driven by personal and not business interests, re-enactors therefore have "become central actors at tourism sites, being in direct contact with tourists and thereby interacting and potentially co-creating value in the process" (Smed, Dressler and Have, 2016, p. 95). Within this space of interaction, obtaining value is not only something gained by the visitors but also from the re-enactors because there are two different levels of experience: first, "being involved in the experience of performances, festivals and arts", and second, "directly experiencing a heritage site or monument" (Ibid., p. 96-97). Since the re-enactors have the specific role of transmitting historical information and demonstrating historical life, there is often a large concern for authenticity regarding how visitors experience the site.

However, according to Smed et al., it is generally agreed that the majority of re-enactors "are driven by personal and social interests in terms of historical scholarship and a search for authenticity as well as using heritage activities as leisure involving like-minded people" (2016, p. 97). In some cases, re-enactors also have verified or assumed ancestral links to the historical periods they are re-enacting, which forms the basis of feeling like the legacy is being continued or passed on.

As Mads Daugbjerg notes, however, there are many criticisms regarding re-enactors. For example, he argues that re-enactors are merely "costumed amateurs … often labelling themselves 'living historians'" (2017, p. 158), and they are far from scientific-based experimental archaeology, which is used more as a research tool. Petersson and Narmo are also very critical of 'actors' who are most often hobbyists rather than well-informed historical re-enactors (2017). With respect to Smith's AHD opinion of re-enactors, there is often a condemnation by the expert community (see Crang, 1996) because re-enactment is perceived as being "amateurish, unauthentic, sanitized, [and] escapist" (Smith, 2006, p. 31).

Perhaps the greatest concern in placing re-enactors within a site is the extent to which they are historically informed and held to certain authentic standards. This is especially relevant in instances where they are re-enacting crafts – something that has blurred the lines between experimentation and authentic re-enactment. A renewed focus on the value of experience in heritage sites seems to be ever intertwined with experimentation – especially when it comes to participatory involvement. Re-enactors are both experimenting and experiencing because they simply do not know what everyday life was like nor the lived experience of the people themselves. This has led to a humanistic turn in experimental archaeology, which investigates "questions of senses and emotions, relations and the meaning of life" (Petersson and Narmo, 2011, p. 28). This is echoed by Daugbjerg who argues that multi-sensory activities in live re-enactment have "the potential to provide historical insights non-derivable from traditional, academic historical or archaeological studies" (2017, p. 166).

Re-enactors therefore play a vital role in bringing numerous sensory and narrative characteristics of the site to life. This is especially important in archaeological landscapes with few reconstructed elements where visitors require more interactive and engaging representations of the past. As Holtorf argues, "Powerful stories well told not only bring the past and archaeological finds to life but also touch people

and benefit society so that, arguably, archaeology matters most when its meta-stories matter" (2017, p. 14). If every representation of the past is inherently skewed, Holtorf argues, then "why not use embodied experiences and the imagination to satisfy our historical curiosity?" (2017, p. 15).

Of course, one must have a critical eye regarding uses of the past in re-enactment. As Holtorf points out, creating a sense of time travel through re-enactment is always somewhat flawed because it can mislead visitors about what the past was actually like and further legitimizes the appropriation of history for present use (2017). However, if necessary precautions are taken, re-enactors can play a crucial role in the proper education and engagement of visitors creating a situation "in which learning occurs during interactions between people or between people and a narrative" (Ammert and Gustafsson, 2017, p. 114). Lowenthal, perhaps most critical of flagrant violations of past usage defines different levels of re-enactors, and notes that those who are 'third person' are the most beneficial for visitors because they "interpret[] dress and work in period style but do not pretend to be past people. Speaking with today's words and know-how, they stress the past's difference and distance" (2015, p. 479).

While re-enactors play a large role in interpreting and presenting the past, they also tend to develop a very strong sense of belonging and identity with the heritage and their role in maintaining it (see Carnegie and McCabe, 2008). A widening network of well-connected re-enactors also contributes to the sharing of handicraft knowledge, more critical discussions regarding authenticity, and the shared role and responsibility in communicating the past to visitors to bring the landscape to life.

Having laid the theoretical and conceptual groundwork for the first two components of the TRIOLE model, in the next chapter I introduce the final concept in reawakening landscapes through emotional and affective dimensions of *Presence*.

2.4 Presence

> As I gazed out at the surrounding hills, a feeling of peace came over me. It soon grew to a blissful stillness that silenced my thought. In an instant, the sense of being a separate self – an 'I' or 'me' – vanished. Everything was as it had been – the cloudless sky, sea, the pilgrims clutching their bottles of water – but I no longer felt separate from the scene, peering out at the world from behind my eyes. Only the world remained.
> — Sam Harris (2014, p. 81)

I was about 13 years old when I first visited Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, USA – the site of one of the deadliest battles of the American Civil War and where my three-times Great Grandfather was injured fighting for the Union Army (see Figure 4). I walked through the infamous battlefields with the basic level of engagement a young teen might have in what are now seemingly well-kept fields. I read the names on the monuments, I climbed through the boulders of Devil's Den where Confederate sharpshooters took cover killing countless unsuspecting Union soldiers, and I picked daisies in the endless fields not so long ago stained with the blood of men – young and old, brothers, sons, fathers, and husbands. My interaction with the past was superficial. I knew what had happened, but I couldn't *feel* it.

Perhaps my father, a well-read 'history-buff', recognized that my brother and I needed something more. Near the end of our self-guided tour, we drove to yet another open field with a few cannons placed close to the parking lot. After pretending to blast cannonballs into an imaginary battle so we understood the logistics of artillery fire, my father proceeded to tell us where we were. This was the battlefield of the infamous 'Pickett's Charge' – named after one of the generals who led the assault. On this fateful last day of the Battle of Gettysburg, nearly 13,000 Confederate soldiers were ordered to advance over open fields for nearly a mile (1.5 km) under heavy return artillery and rifle fire from the well-positioned Union army. While the Union army lost around 1,500 men, Confederate

casualties amounted to over 50% (see Trudeau, 2002). Suddenly I looked out into the landscape in front of me. I imagined the chaos, the noise, the fear, the death. My father placed a large stick in my hands and told me it was my rifle. He gave one to my brother and said it was a flag. He told me to affix my bayonet, and I felt a weird tremble in my hands as I pretended to attach the weapon used for combat. Before I could ask any questions and try to plunge back into reality, he was screaming "CHARGE!".

Figure 4: Gettysburg Battlefield. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, USA. *Source: Creative Commons, unknown photographer.*

We took off running across the field. It was hot and difficult to run holding a cumbersome 'weapon'. He yelled at us to dodge incoming artillery fire and to leap over men who had fallen before. He told us to protect our heads and shield our eyes from the shrapnel of explosions all around us. He told us there was no going back because deserters would be shot. Seconds turned into hours as the battlefield came to life around me. Finally, we stopped in the middle of the field, and the modern world slowly came back into focus. There was no authenticity to our game beyond following the steps of a brutally defeated military assault, but my

heart was pounding and my legs were aching, and just for a moment, I had a sublime sense of *being* there.

We slowly walked back to the car while my father went into more detail about the failures in leadership and how the Union's victory was such a major turning point for the remainder of the war, but the moment had passed. I had felt and experienced as much as I needed at that time in order to experience a new dimension of the past.

As we seek connections with the past in historical landscapes, we often forget to appreciate the present moment for what it is. Instead of discussing only the benefits of what might be learned from heritage sites, visitors should be encouraged to ask how they feel because "our desire for presence will be best served if we try to pause for a moment before we begin to make sense" (Gumbrecht, 2004, p. 126). Presence, therefore, can often stand for itself. Sometimes we don't need the story, sometimes we don't need the signs. Sometimes we can be moved and affected by the past before we understand what has happened there. Therefore, the final layer of the TRIOLE model takes a step back from all the distractions to consider how the interactions of a body, an individual, a person with a unique way of approaching and interacting with a place are deeply intertwined with the overall experience of a place.

Defining Presence

The concept of presence has been theorized in countless ways across different disciplines. In some instances, presence is attributed to the immediate experience. For example, presence has been discussed in terms of 'life awake' or moments of intensity (Tuan, 1986), as a state of mindfulness (Moscardo, 1996), or a certain atmosphere that can be encountered (McCormack, 2013). Others have mentioned presence as something being *there* or not in which an absence becomes present. The paradox of the absence of presence and the presence of absence has been explored by various authors (Wylie, 2009; Goulding, Saren and Pressey, 2018) where absence is experienced both corporeally, sensually, and emotionally (Frers, 2013).

In phenomenological thought, capturing moments of intensity and being present are exactly what Heidegger tried to represent in his term *Dasein*, or *being-in-the-world*. As Relph notes, *Dasein* expressed "a man's freedom and responsibility for

his own existence" (1976, p. 64) and that the possibilities of his life are his own. Inspired by Heidegger, in his book *Production of Presence* (2004), Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht argues that modern contemporary Western culture has abandoned and forgotten presence and that students are increasingly weary of theory and strict epistemological structures that limit the possibilities of studying immediate experience. Immediate experience, however, requires active engagement with the world and the objects within it that affect human bodies. This aligns with Jane Bennett's understanding of 'thing-power' where different objects exude an affective 'live presence' (Bennett, 2010). However, in somewhat of an early non-representational fashion, Merleau-Ponty recognized the difficulty in representing a world "which precedes knowledge, of which the knowledge always speaks" (1962, p. ix). Therefore, in the development and management of heritage landscapes, it is vital to not only consider tangible and historical aspects, but also how the sites make people feel depending on immediate experience as well as the social, cultural, political, and/or economic backpacks they carry with them.

Recognizing that the nature of experience can no longer purely be represented through the eyes of, for example, a knowing masculine subject, expert authorized knowledge, or an elitist, academic gaze, non-representational theory and phenomenology have illuminated the need for multi-vocal and multisensory perspectives in research. With regard to landscape research, Emma Waterton writes, "Affect and non-representational theories have started to animate new and creative approaches, triggering research responses that attempt to access, understand and communicate the ways in which people perform and embody the landscapes that surround them" (2013b, p. 69).

Tourism studies, however, has not yet seen such a vast engagement with the lived experience or the concept of presence, but it has been contextualized with discussions of existential authenticity. Similar to Heidegger's *Dasein*[2], existential authenticity emerged out of the multiple interpretations of authenticity and the contested discourses that ensued. As discussed before, with MacCannell's (1976) stance on authenticity (mainly, inauthenticity) in tourism, different understandings emerged of the nature of the term authenticity with respect to cultural goods and experiences. Existential authenticity addressed the experiential

[2] For an extensive analysis for the connection between Heidegger's *Dasein* with existential analysis, see Pearce and Moscardo (1986) and Steiner and Reisinger (2006).

dimension – emerging out of the desire to get away from everyday routines to feel closer to the authentic self.

Therefore, developing research around the variability of experience and the unpredictability of interests in visitors at heritage sites has come to the forefront of a more creative movement to engage visitors with different capacities to be affected. As heritage sites have already been deemed as significant, the assumption is often that visitors know how to interact with them and are already pleased by the fact that they are simply *there.* In phenomenological and non-representational research, however, the argument is that even if even if the visitor knows something is significant, this does not guarantee a strong connection or transformative experience. In fact, it is entirely subjective as to where and how they might attach their own significance. Especially in the tourism world, visitors are not only looking for experiences that lead to the feeling of the 'good life', but also for experiences that make them feel *something* from an adrenaline rush to feelings of bliss, sadness, fear, nostalgia etc. In Sam Harris' book *Waking Up,* he captures exactly the meaning of this search when he writes, "Most of us spend our time seeking happiness and security without acknowledging the underlying purpose of our search. Each of us is looking for a path back to the present: We are trying to find good enough reasons to be satisfied now" (2014, p. 3). We purposely seek out experiences that make us *feel* something outside the routines of everyday life. This means assuming that the site should speak for itself is not enough to guarantee visitor attention and interest. Visitors must be encouraged and challenged to pursue their own interests and explore and engage with sites based on their own impulses. Similarly, as Moscardo notes, "While visitors bring their own interests and experiences with them to any specific place, these do not remain constant throughout their visit" (1996, p. 385). Experience and engagement are unpredictable as is the capacity of a visitor to be affected at any given time.

Research, therefore, must focus on the different affective capacities of a site in order to allow for more dynamic, constantly changing, embodied experiences. In *Refrains for Moving Bodies* (2013), geographer Derek P. McCormack notes that the physical boundaries of bodies moving in space are less important than the capacity of the spaces to affect and be affected by other bodies. Understanding the possibility of spaces encourages new research techniques to experiment with the many layers of immediate experience. As McCormack argues, diagramming distinctive affective qualities will help managers of sites develop more creative

variations as to how present them. This also addresses the need to move away from the assumption that visitors to a site all will feel a sense of belonging based on the authorized interpretation and representation of the site. Therefore, moving away from an assumed common sense of belonging opens up the possibility for the *more,* the *other,* and the *in-between* to affect a variety of different visitors where a broader spectrum of emotions are considered and where "negative felt responses" are no longer neglected (Waterton, 2013a, p. 78).

In order to assess affective spaces, McCormack discusses the concept of 'atmosphere of spaces', which argues that certain spaces have a distinctive atmosphere and that a body in motion within the space "makes a qualitative difference to the intensity and feel of such atmosphere" (2013, p. 6). This means, of course, that the atmosphere is constantly changing, but McCormack does attempt to define what he believes are the three distinct types of affective spaces that might perhaps shape the atmosphere. The first affective space, relational, refers to relations between unstable bodies and other bodies or things. This coincides with Gumbrecht's definition of presence as something that is not temporal, but rather involves a "spatial relationship to the world and its objects" (2004, p. xiii). This relationship might be recognized by a feeling of awe – for example, walking into an enormous cathedral or standing on top of a mountain looking out at the vast surrounding landscape. In relation to other bodies, other things, we sense our own presence and embodied experience in the moment. The second affective space, processual, refers to variations sensed through attention, participation, and/or involvement. Heritage landscapes perhaps have the most potential to be processual affective spaces since visitors are able to interact and engage with so many different dimensions. The third affective space, nonrepresentational, aligns with non-representational theory by recognizing there are qualities that cannot necessarily be grasped through representational modes of thinking. For example, these might include ways of seeing, feeling or thinking, which are often difficult to capture in words let alone through more traditional empirical methods. Gumbrecht implies that these moments are nevertheless "tangible for human hands" (Ibid.) and capable of having an immediate impact. However, given this third type of affective space, Gumbrecht falls short in recognizing the affective capabilities of the spaces *in-between*. For example, intangible features in a landscape often help us feel things that were once there that we can no longer see or feel. Crang observes this when he says, "[T]he tourists seek to travel to be present at a place, but as we examine those places we find they

are shot through by absences where distant others, removed in space and time, haunt the sites" (2006, p. 49). This presents another trajectory of presence with regard to 'living history' or time travel movements where the past is brought to life through various forms including reconstruction and re-enactment.

The Presence of Pastness

There is a certain irony in applying the study of presence to historical landscapes. As Carr (2012) notes, multisensory encounters with history are often considered out of phenomenology's grasps because it is difficult to directly encounter the past. He discusses how different conceptions of experience all seem to "position experience in the present" (2014, p. 9) rather than considering how the past might be brought to life in the lived experience of the present. Similarly, already *being* somewhere implies a certain level of attention and conscious presence regardless of any historical underpinnings. Of course, there are many criticisms of researching 'moments of intensity' or moments of being present because they are arguably difficult to study due to their fleeting nature and the difficulty in representing them. Or, as Gumbrecht argues more scientifically, such moments of intensity are "probably not more than a specifically high level in the functioning of some of our general cognitive, emotional, and perhaps even physical faculties" (2004, p. 98). However, based on my previous discussion of disenchantment, there is a growing body of research focusing on transformative experiences and moments contributing to a feeling of the *good life*. Therefore, studying the world through the senses and recognizing the importance of presence for the lived experience have become legitimate epistemological explorations. The only question that remains, therefore, is *how* to study presence.

If one part of a phenomenological study is understanding presence, then it must be first explained that I assume presence is something that can also be produced or improved. Gumbrecht defined the production of presence as the conditions under which objects affect human bodies. Presence is then created when we attach meanings to the objects (or, as I argue, also spaces, places, landscapes, etc.) and how they impact us. Eelco Runia argues that the concept of presence has remained largely unexplored in both tourism studies and heritage management discourses. He writes, "Most makers of 'experience museums' grope in the dark as to the nature of presence" (2006b, p. 309) because it is difficult to grasp in more traditional understandings of site experience. Presence, he argues, is an active force

that we seek in fleeting moments and through a fascination with memory because "we *want* to be affected. We go to great lengths, and are willing to spend huge amounts of money, to *have* ourselves affected by the past" (2006b, p. 309, original emphasis). The "presence of the past", he writes, "makes me *feel* things, *think* things, and *do* things that are at odds with who I think I am – and so forces me to rewrite the story about myself" (2006b, p. 316, original emphasis). Connecting with existential authenticity, we may pursue 'inauthentic' experiences that may nevertheless lead us to a feeling of finding our authentic selves. Bringing the past to life and allowing visitors to actively engage with the past has been discussed in terms of open-air museums, reconstructions, and other immersive 'worlds' where life is presented 'as it was' through elements of storytelling, but there is a further dimension of creating a 'presence of pastness' often through elements of time travel.

Holtorf defines time travel as an "embodied experience and social practice in the present that brings to life a past or future reality" (2017, p. 1). Crucially to a discussion of presence, he notes that time travel allows "contemporary society to experience the presence of another time period" (Ibid.). This is an interesting interpretation of presence and the authenticity of a lived experience. If we are stepping into the presence of another time, can it be argued that we are still present in our time? Holtorf notes that even if the experience is mediated, it is still possible to have a sense of presence. He refers to this as a "perceived presence of pastness" (2017, p. 12) especially with regard to reconstructions or objects that appear to be old, but are contemporary re-creations. Though visitors are often aware of the reconstruction, it still contributes to a strong sense of *presence* and a deeper engagement with the landscape. Therefore, time travel deserves a brief discussion for the role it plays in authenticity, meaning-making, and the creation of presence.

The concept of time travel in the tourism and heritage industries has started to challenge the way history is interpreted and presented, and there are numerous new technologies or techniques aimed at bringing the past to life – for example, through virtual reality. As Holtorf argues, "It is these emerging realities that now need to be taken seriously and investigated in a variety of social sciences and humanities" (2017, p. 12). In a study about the Kivik Grave in Sweden, for example, Magali Ljungar-Chapelon discusses "how to link and combine different artistic, archaeological, and technological skills with research in order to explore new ways to engage audiences in a time travel experience" (2017, p. 47). In order

to create a sense of presence in ruined sites or landscapes, for example, she discusses the 'shared visions' that must be discussed between archaeologists and artists that are ultimately "grounded on a common existential questioning, a need to figure out what we human beings are and where we came from" (Ibid., p. 53). The common thread throughout these new approaches all seem to agree on the importance of "our imagination and embodied experience" (Holtorf, 2017, p. 6) in engaging with the past.

Rather than static museum exhibitions or bare archaeological landscapes that contain what Stefanie Samida refers to as 'mute' objects (2017, p. 135), time travel allows visitors to interact with their senses. Not only are visitors confronted with a palpable past, they are also given a sublime sense of *being there* through a 'period rush', something Daugbjerg defines as a "strong sense of temporal connection" (2017, p. 161). This sensation happens to both visitors and re-enactors, so there are both participatory and performative elements that are constantly at play in order to create and maintain such an atmosphere. Whether or not these experiences are considered entirely authentic also seems less important than the value of the experience and sense of the past. For example, Holtorf notes re-enactment events or reconstructions do not necessarily need to replicate something that 'really' happened, but rather should be something "credible as an authentic experience about a past that *could* have happened" (2017, p. 6, original emphasis).

Daugbjerg also encountered the power of re-enactment events for fostering a sense of presence during one of his interviews at an artillery re-enactment at the Dybbøl Battlefield Centre in southern Denmark. During the re-enactment, four historical cannons were fired for ten minutes at maximum frequency. His interviewee described the "physically felt thumps of the big guns … and the confusion and lack of orientation brought about by the thick cover of the resulting smoke" (2017, p. 166). Daugbjerg observed that visitors and skeptical 'museum academics' alike were all completely entranced as they were directly faced with the "horrible realities [of war] that are hard to communicate conventionally" (Ibid.). This harkens back to discussions of non-representational theory attempting to capture moments of presence. As Eelco Runia writes, it is possible to experience the presence of the past, "but you can't document it. It can move you, but you can only tell from its wake that it has been there" (2006a, p. 310). Recognizing

the value of re-enactment in creating a sense of presence helps the *more* creep in through immersive and multi-sensory encounters with the past.

Hjemdahl (2004) experienced something similar in her fieldwork first accompanying a school class to a reconstructed Bronze Age settlement and then to a place called 'Viking Land' in Norway. She discusses a rise in historical theme parks, which are often developed without the traditional institutions that normally delegate how history should be administered. She writes, "This disneyfication of the past obviously challenges the authorised definitions and the existing perceptions held at museums and within other value hierarchies" (2004, p. 106), but it has become a more common way in bringing the past to life in a more participatory way. As I have discussed previously, tensions can arise when the popular demand for past-time experiences conflicts with how historical places and traditions have normally been controlled and developed for tourism purposes. Hjemdahl therefore aims to show the "involvement, curiosity, and keenness" (2004, p. 110) displayed by the children in a more interactive 'living' Viking settlement that departs from traditional museum or archaeological site experiences. She writes, "Why is it so much more fun to be peeling carrots in the Bronze Age, or to be stacking wood in the Viking Age" (Ibid.) than visiting traditional museums? For example, museums tend to have more issues with accessibility – especially for children. Hjemdahl describes how in a typical museum display case, a pot might be labelled as "Grave find from the Roman Era (0-400 AC) from Risholt, estate no. 11, site no. 3 Øyestad" (Ibid.). Not only is there a barrier between us and the past, there is also a noticeable distinction regarding how objects of the past are organized and presented. Visitors are given exactly the same information as the archaeologists who excavated, labelled, and studied the object. There are no interpretations. There are no stories. For children, there is no fun. A trained eye is required to fully grasp the meaning of the pot in the display case, and most visitors are not, and likely will never be, so qualified. In a reconstructed settlement, however, Hjemdahl notes "the very act of reconstruction gives a completely different dimension to the experience for all those who have yet to be initiated. … The past … feels as if it is readily at hand and alive" (Ibid.). Through lived experience, the past can be accessed through both non-verbal and non-narrative ways.

While it is difficult to research the concept of presence because of its inherent unpredictability and subjectivity, recent approaches illuminate new creative

methods of grasping presence – including ways of helping visitors pay more attention, be more mindful, and take back control of what they do and how they interact with places of heritage. In the following chapters I demonstrate how the TRIOLE model can be used in heritage landscapes and the different methods that might be employed for each component.

PART III
Using the TRIOLE Model

3.1 Viking Heritagescapes

The heritage industry has long given preferential treatment to the monumental. It is, after all, often easier to emotionally engage with places of grandeur that boast ancient temples, towering cathedrals, and 'wild', 'untouched' nature than with landscapes some call 'ordinary' (Groth, 1997). Predominantly visual landscapes, however, typically contain limits on how visitors are able to move or interact within them, thereby restricting their ability to have unique encounters based on their own interests and impulses. While the TRIOLE model can be used to assess these landscapes, its potential impact might be narrowed given these factors. Therefore, in the following chapters I offer an example of how the TRIOLE model can be applied to non-monumental heritagescapes, where its use can be more broadly exemplified. While discussing practical heritage management techniques, I also show how the model can lead to a more phenomenologically-based understanding of landscape experience.

I have applied the TRIOLE model to Viking heritagescapes based on the increasing debates resulting from reawakening the Viking world. As discussed before, some believe reconstruction and the presence of re-enactors lead to disneyfication that distracts visitors from the tangible and intangible remains of a living archaeological landscape (see Petersson and Narmo, 2011; Lowenthal, 2015). Others argue that bringing the past to life in otherwise ordinary archaeological landscapes is an important facet of visitor engagement and the only way to get visitors to meaningfully connect with past realities. Therefore, studying Viking heritagescapes adds a particular dimension of considering both sides of this spectrum and investigating how site managers might weigh their options based on opposing expert and public opinions.

Similarly, the Viking Age in itself is a highly contested historical period. In archaeological terms, the 'Viking Age' is often presented as the golden age of Scandinavia used to broadly define the Scandinavian world between 800-1050 CE. It fills the gap between the Vendel Period (the German Iron Age) and the

Middle Ages of northern Europe; however, the term itself emerged with the rise of nationalistic agendas hoping to create a common heritage. As Svanberg notes, "The mythic character of this imagined era, and its location at the core of national identities of Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and Icelanders" (2003, p. 5) provides a more interesting backdrop in understanding how imagined identities and ideologies continue to play a large role in the development and growth of the Western tourism industry. For example, sites brand themselves with the word 'Viking' because Viking-related shows and movies in popular culture have created widespread interest in the Viking world. Given both the historical and popularized significance of the Viking Age and how these dimensions often intersect in developing sites for tourism purposes, I include a brief history of the Viking world to provide some context for the time period from which these sites emerged and/or that which they try to recreate. While the characterization of the Viking world as a distinctive historical period continues to be deconstructed, its rising popularity and the subsequent increase in sites associated with the 'Viking' world pose the question as to how and whether such landscapes with contested meanings should be brought back to life.

A Brief History of the Viking World

Due to the Gulf Stream, warm water is carried to Scandinavia creating a more temperate climate, which allows for normally uninhabitable latitudes to become inhabitable. Around 3000 BCE, Germanic tribes of an Indo-European linguistic origin arrived in Scandinavia, and shortly thereafter, bronze was introduced for weapons and jewelry – bringing forth the Scandinavian Bronze Age. By 2000 BCE, the establishment of fundamental components of farming in northern Europe contributed to an established pan-continental trade network; however, this was also a period of greater social inequality and more warfare as wealth became ever more controlled by fewer people. This system accelerated until 500 BCE when ore became widely available and iron slowly transitioned into the preferred metal for tools and equipment – shifting northern Europe into the Iron Age. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the spread of Germanic tribes in the Migration Period roughly between 300-800 CE in Europe allowed societies to grow in size and influence, and toward the end of the late German Iron Age, powerful political entities emerged through farming alliances and consolidation of resources (see Price, 2015).

Due to a warmer climate, calmer seas, and infrequent storms, Scandinavians of the late German Iron Age benefitted from good harvests and low famine. Northern Germany, Denmark, south and middle Sweden, and Norway were all occupied by a relatively homogenous group of farmers ruled by Kings that had previously been chiefs of larger polities during the Iron Age. There were different types of settlements including farmsteads, which were either single residences, part of small rural villages, associated with magnate estates, or in one of the few larger towns. Farmsteads typically consisted of a longhouse dwelling and the associated buildings for crafts, cooking, etc. There were also magnate estates, which were the residences of the noble class consisting most often of large halls and more valuable material associated with wealth (Ibid.).

Prosperous farms and plenty of laborers meant there were some who had their eyes set on expansion. Having secure settlements at home, over the next several hundred years, Scandinavian warriors and traders were able to raid, colonize, and explore other parts of Europe, the Middle East, northern Africa, and beyond – even going as far as North America. Some argue, however, that perhaps the reason for looking beyond Scandinavian borders for new resources and land was due to problems in the homeland. For example, they may have been encouraged to travel due to overpopulation, bad harvests, power struggles, and the escalated need to pursue new trading routes (see Brink, 2008). Regardless of the reason, however, the first notable conquest that sparked the beginning of the Viking Age was the attack on the Northumberland island monastery of Lindisfarne in 793 CE (documented in Anglo-Saxon chronicles), and the Viking Age is said to have ended with the defeat of the Norwegian King Harald III (Haraldr, *Harðráði*) by the English King Harold at the battle of Stamford Bridge near York in 1066 CE.

Made possible by a certain type of ship, "long-range exploration, stealthy raiding, and expensive trading" (Price, 2015, p. 324) became the signature pursuits of the Viking Age. Within 300 years, the Vikings ruled parts of England, Ireland, and France, and some even settled on Iceland and Greenland. Traces of Viking conquests are most notably found in the hundreds of Danish and Norwegian place names in England and Ireland. During this time there was active trade and many interactions between populations of northern Europe both before and after the well-known historical events used to signify the Viking Age. Therefore, the dates for the Viking Age are highly subjective and constantly up to debate by scholars who argue that declaring a Viking Age was less for historical purposes and more

for nationalistic ambitions. Even before the Viking Age began, for example, there were already thriving towns in England that drew Scandinavians to the south. However, the end of the Viking Age does coincide with the onset of Christianity and what might be seen as the 'Europeanization' of Scandinavia (Brink, 2008).

Archaeologically speaking, Scandinavia has a rich availability of resources, as Price argues, due to a "long history of research, extraordinary preservation, exceptional raw materials, and an abiding contemporary interest in the past" (2015, p. 24). Having a rich archaeological record both below and above ground is due to certain conditions including chalky soil in southern Scandinavia having a more neutral or basic character that allows for organic materials to stay intact much longer, and human action also contributed to preservation and availability of material due to, for example, burying objects in large earthen mounds or depositing artifacts and objects in bogs and wetlands. The archaeological material is vital since there was no written language until the period of Christianization after the Viking Age.

Recent research has also made an effort to shine a light on who the Vikings were beyond the stereotype of the killing, raping, and plundering peoples portrayed in popular culture. For example, what about those who were peaceful, inventive, and interested in widespread trade (see Brink, 2008)? The reputation and the generalization of Norse people as plundering Vikings is in part due to "the bogeyman image created by Christian monks" since they are the first to have written records of the Viking peoples (Pörtner, 1975, p. 3).

With the onset of the Middle Ages of Scandinavia (500 years after the rest of western and central Europe), Scandinavia consisted of unified kingdoms where paganism was slowly overpowered by Christianity. Since historical traditions were transmitted orally before written histories, it is very difficult to understand the pre-Christian past using Old Norse sources that were written in a Christian context hundreds of years later between the 12th and 14th centuries CE. Most accounts of raids were documented by the Vikings' Christian victims, who likely exaggerated the "impact and barbarity of the warrior pagans" attacking them (Williams, 2008, p. 193). Due to this large juxtaposition in time and the authenticity and reliability of sources, archaeologists have tried to understand more about the intangible heritage of the Viking Age by combining numerous sources with archaeological evidence. However, it is difficult and often misguided to interpret history from a contemporary perspective with limited remains of the

past, and this becomes apparent when analyzing how the Viking world is used for different means.

When a nation has a population assumed to share a national identity with organic, ancestral links to the land, troubles arise. Fredrik Svanberg, for example, argues the Viking Age in itself is "a colonialism of the past" (2003, p. 11), where the Scandinavian world was unified by the founding fathers of Scandinavian archaeology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He writes, "The systematized Viking Age created national monuments … [which] were of course also a crucial factor in the relation between the Viking Age and nationalistic ideology" (Ibid., p. 52). Furthermore, the Nordic Renaissance would later be adapted into Germany's notion of 'Blood and Soil' – connecting the German people to their natural roots and fueling the claim of legitimacy for the Nazi regime who used Viking heritage to measure who belonged to their 'pure' lineage and who did not.

Viking symbolism continues to be used in a variety of contexts, and it is often difficult to distinguish the connotation imbued in certain symbols. An article in the *New York Times*, for example, discussed the increased use and variability in interpretations of Viking heritage and symbolism (Martyn-Hemphill and Libell, 2018). The authors argue that symbols of the Viking world are often found in more simple representations in bars or restaurants or for sports teams like the Norwegian downhill ski team, but they also appear in more controversial contexts such as in neo-Nazi groups like the Nordic Resistance Movement. Pagan worshippers of the Viking gods (called Asatru) also occupy a large portion of the controversial Nordic Asa Community (NAC). The article notes how in a pagan ceremony the NAC worshippers yell out the Old Norse term *Hell*, which sounds almost too similar to the German *Heil*, but they insist they are not to be confused with neo-Nazi mentalities (Martyn-Hemphill and Libell, 2018). Though they claim to promote Nordic heritage and traditions, the group still often has strong nationalistic undertones and therefore attracts some members with questionable political ties. However, a spokesperson for NAC attributes rising membership to an increasingly chaotic world that inspires people to return to their roots. Whatever the case, uses of Viking heritage are undoubtedly on the rise, and this has had a large impact on how much the tourism industry works to distance itself from the more controversial interpretations of the Viking world because "the adoption of Viking symbols by fringe groups could toxify the meaning of a brand, a museum exhibition or an act of worship" (Martyn-Hemphill and Libell, 2018).

Viking Tourism

Despite debates questioning how historical Scandinavian landscapes were appropriated to fall into an imagined unified history or how contemporary uses of the term 'Viking' blur its historical significance, the archaeological landscapes and valued monuments of the Viking past are experiencing a surge of interest and attention from the tourism industry. Fueled by popular culture, tourists are curious about who these people were, how they lived, how they were able to make voyages to so many distant corners of the world, and how, despite the dissipation of their culture into the wider Christianized northern Europe, their heritage is a pervasive part of the Scandinavian and wider Baltic identity. While an enhanced interest in historical landscapes and Viking history certainly has its benefits for the heritage industry, there are obvious consequences of a rising number of tourists drawn to these sites with certain expectations fueled by inauthentic portrayals of Viking life.

Konzack defines references to Vikings in popular culture as 'fakelore' since comics, television shows, movies, etc. have taken many liberties in how they portray the diverse Norse peoples (2017). As there are fewer (if any) larger physical structures left behind from the Viking Age, archaeological landscapes are often 'ordinary' aesthetically, which leaves room for interpretation, reconstruction, and placing re-enactors to bring the site to life to help the visitors' imaginations. As Hannam and Halewood argue, "The current Viking themed tourism and leisure industry is now quite extensive being based upon various museums, heritage centres, theme parks, village reconstructions and seasonal festivals, trading fairs or markets supplemented by the activities of Viking re-enactment or 'living history' societies" (2006, p. 17). Recent documentaries have also attempted to bring to light historically and archaeologically-grounded representations of the Viking world, which help to better inform different layers of authenticity within Viking heritage sites. However, there are always different ways to interpret 'authentic' portrayals.

The variability in how history is interpreted and developed for tourism purposes also poses the problem of how to keep a connection to the wider living landscapes and associated communities of such sites. In their study of Viking heritage attractions in Newfoundland, for example, Craig Palmer et al. (2008) were very critical of how Viking narratives overshadowed indigenous connections to the landscape. They argue, "The lack of a real connection to any people currently living in the area allows blatantly inauthentic portrayals of this particular cultural

heritage without concern about offending current members of the cultural category" (2008, p. 225). Furthermore, they once again problematize the use of the word 'Viking' because it only really accurately describes the time when the Norse warriors raided the Atlantic coast of Europe rather than the Norse merchants, farmers, and sailors who travelled to North America with presumably different ambitions. Despite their observation that the 'Norse' term was sometimes used in travel brochures, more often than not, 'Viking' was used ubiquitously. For example, they observe a 'Norseman' shop that is in the 'Viking Mall' (2008, p. 226).

Hannam and Halewood also make a review of attitudes toward places using the 'Viking' brand to attract visitors. They studied various markets and festivals all across Europe using the Viking theme, and they found that there are at least 50 Viking festivals every year throughout Europe that last between three to four days with 200 transnational participants and 3000 visitors per day. At these markets/festivals, they observed that "the past is constructed and idealised by participants as an authentic way of life and that this is used as an expression of identity" (2006, p. 17). Even with between only 15-20 re-enactors on site, some sites receive over 15,000 visitors every day searching for the Vikings on their televisions. However, they point out that "organizers are highly concerned with the degree of authenticity that they convey" (Ibid.) perhaps in an effort to change visitors' minds about the true story behind the Viking world. However, it is clear that the term 'Viking' continues to be used as a way of branding a site or festival as something relating to the Viking Age and more broadly the Norse peoples to attract more visitors. However, some Viking markets, for example in Scotland or Spain, have arisen without any connection to a historical landscape and thereby have more of a 'disneyfied' affect. Similarly, markets held in cities have an entirely different atmosphere often built more around popularized goods and mythic representations. That being said, Hannam and Halewood note that most gatherings are built on or around existing infrastructure or attractions – for example, archaeological sites, museums, or heritage centers (Ibid.). Thus, the location provides a legitimacy to the sense of authenticity.

As Viking-related sites gain popularity, there is an increasing need to ensure that preserving authenticity and avoiding 'disneyfication' remain priorities in management and development practices of historically significant Viking landscapes. Historians, archaeologists, and others working in the heritage and

tourism industry also must continue to portray the Viking world as a past world – a world that is gone and not open for interpretation for odious contemporary purposes. However, such efforts become more difficult as sites incorporate more hands-on, active visitor experiences that blur the past and the present. Furthermore, these sites also often attract visitors or re-enactors whose intentions are in opposition to these goals, which makes it even more prudent to question *how* the past is portrayed and *who* decides or conveys this message. While the TRIOLE model focuses on these issues, it also ensures that the visitor experience is considered a priority. Ultimately, a successful implementation of the TRIOLE model helps to ensure visitors make a connection with the place (locale), engage with the past and present in both critical and imaginative ways (story), and recognize actually being in a landscape charged with an enduring historical significance (presence). Therefore, the following chapters show how the TRIOLE model was used and the different outcomes that emerged in four Viking heritagescapes.

3.2 Methodology

In this chapter I briefly summarize the overall methodological approach for my fieldwork including when and for how long fieldwork was conducted, sources of data, research methods employed, and how data was organized, coded, and analyzed. The purpose of the following chapters is not to create a concrete plan for employing the model (primarily because every site is different), but rather to develop an understanding of what each component of the TRIOLE model encompasses and how research might be conducted in order to collect the appropriate information to better inform the goals of new developments, management strategies, and engagement initiatives within different heritagescapes. The chapters are therefore very dense in terms of their methodological dimensions – including many of my own reflections within the research process and why certain methods or approaches failed or were successful based on the unique nature of my interactions and engagements within each site.

Selected Sites

Fieldwork was conducted in four different Viking heritagescapes with varying levels of reconstruction and engagement strategies. I have also strategically chosen non-monumental Viking sites because some of the more famous Viking landscapes (especially in Norway or Iceland) could be considered more 'monumental' due to their awe-inspiring natural backdrops or surviving monumental built material. The first site, Hedeby (German *Haithabu*) in Germany, was selected because I was part of the research team responsible for writing a UNESCO World Heritage site nomination. Given the potential impact of becoming a World Heritage site, it served as an interesting case study to work with over several years. I also had several contacts working directly with the landscape, which provided better access to different resources – including the archives at the nearby archaeological museum. Given that I was based in Sweden, I then selected the site of Birka since it had already been a World Heritage site for some time and, like Hedeby, it is also one of the earliest established towns of the

Viking Age valued as a significant trading center. Given that Birka and Hedeby are both rather well-known, well-visited, and historically significant sites, I then selected the open-air museum of Foteviken in southern Sweden, which is also very well-known, but less historically significant. Foteviken contains different reconstructed 'farms' and has popular events that draw hundreds of re-enactors and thousands of visitors each year, but it has no connection to an archaeological landscape and is therefore an experiential museum. Finally, given that the first three sites receive many visitors each year, I wanted to focus on a less visited, yet historically significant landscape with very few added elements (such as reconstructions or re-enactors) to understand how the landscape is used as well as any future ambitions for development. Therefore, the site of VikingaTider in southern Sweden was selected because it is currently used as more of an educational site for school classes, but has rather significant ambitions of how to develop the surrounding landscape for tourism purposes.

Summary of Site Visits

When possible, site visits were conducted both in high and low seasons to understand how the experience of the site changes during different times of the year. Hedeby is the only site open all year because of the museum. Birka, Foteviken, and VikingaTider are roughly open from May until September. For each site I tried to attend larger events where there would be a lot of visitors as well as days when there were no events to understand the regular flow of visitors and how the experience of the site differs when there are no activities or re-enactors present. Fieldwork was also conducted over multiple years, and every subsequent visit was either used to fill in the gaps of the previous visit, conduct formal interviews, or to research one of the themes of the model in more depth.

I first visited Hedeby in June 2015 as a visitor before I started any of my work with the site. There were no re-enactors and very few visitors so it provided an excellent opportunity to get explore the landscape and the reconstructed village. I then returned to Hedeby again in March 2018 for a weekend craft market that attracted several thousand people over the course of several days, and I visited a final time in October 2018 because I was invited to participate in the local community's celebration for Hedeby's new UNESCO World Heritage site status.

I conducted two extended site visits to Birka. The first was for a week in July 2018, but my trip was cut slightly short due to forest fires. The very hot weather

played a significant role in how visitors engaged with the site, so I had to rely on the re-enactors who were there to discuss visitor behavior during more pleasant weather conditions. I returned again for several days in June 2019 before the tourism season started. I required special permission from the National Property Board of Sweden to stay on the island in the employees' accommodation as well as from the tourism company Strömma who runs the boats from Stockholm and manages the museum and tours around the site. Therefore, it was difficult to gain access to the site for longer periods of time.

My first visit to Foteviken was as a tourist in July 2016 for the weekend Viking market. I then spent 10 days on-site in late June and July in 2018. The first week was during the 'craft week', which is dedicated to bringing together different craftsmen from all over the world. There were very few tourists on the site besides the occasional tour bus group. This allowed me to experience the site with a regular flow of tourists before the busy Viking market.

I made three site visits to VikingaTider – the first in August 2017 as a tourist when there were no events going on so there were not many visitors, the second in July 2018 to attend a weekend craft market that was filled with re-enactors and visitors, and the third in April 2019 when the site was closed to visitors to conduct an interview and make more observations of the site and surrounding landscape.

Summary of Data Collection

For each theme, data was collected using a wide range of secondary source material and qualitative research methods. Archives, books, online resources, guidebooks, brochures, and maps were used to collect the background information of each site. On-site research included non-participant and participant observations spanning over many hours in different areas of the site. Photographs were taken during observations and used later for reflective writing. In total, 31 unstructured interviews were conducted lasting 30 minutes on average – and in some cases these were more in focus group discussions as some joined and left the conversation. These interviews were held throughout the day when tourist numbers were low or when there were no tourists on site yet. Focus group discussions were often held over dinner or meal times as it was an efficient way of gathering more people together, but I found it was impossible to run more 'traditional' focus groups given the frequent spontaneous flow of people, so the structure was kept more open to allow for fluid, dynamic, and diverse comments from a wider range of people. This only includes conversations that lasted longer than 10 minutes and

does not include brief tourist comments and impressions gathered at each site. Given that most interviews happened on a spontaneous basis or through a snowballing technique, a voice recorder was not used so that the interview subjects were more comfortable. Detailed notes were taken and useful quotes were repeated back and verified for their accuracy. The largest amount of interview data comes from my site visits to Foteviken and Birka because I was able to visit those sites when the re-enactors were present, but there were very few visitors. Five semi-structured interviews were then conducted with managers from each site – with those in person lasting approximately one hour to an hour and a half. The interview with Foteviken's site manager included a walk-through of the site and we later sat together at one of the farms in front of a fire. Since we were inside the village, I did not use a voice recorder as he is also the 'King' of the village. The interview with VikingaTider's manager was first a walking interview and then a more formal interview that was recorded and transcribed. The interview with Birka's manager was conducted at the restaurant on the island. It was also recorded and transcribed. Multiple attempts were made during my trips to Hedeby to meet with the museum manager, but due to the UNESCO nomination, meeting in person was not possible. We therefore decided that it would be best if I sent my questions to her so she could answer them in more depth on her own time in German, which were later translated. These questions were then also sent to the director of planning so their responses could be compared.

In all of my interviews and discussions, the primary language used was English, with some exceptions of German and Swedish when completely necessary. Given that the re-enactors were from many different countries, they usually spoke to each other in English, so it was very easy to quickly assert myself into interesting conversations, which usually led to an unstructured interview or spontaneous focus group depending on the number of people involved.

While distributing questionnaires or conducting interviews with large numbers of tourists was not possible due to time constraints and the scope of this project, *Google Reviews* and *Tripadvisor Reviews* were collected for each site in order to connect fieldwork with more nuanced tourist impressions and experiences. While tourists were not the main focus of this project, as a method of validation it was important to understand if there was a clear connection between the results of the study and visitors' reflections. These online forums contained a total of 5,203 reviews for all four sites as of February 2020. Only reviews with comments were collected and then further cut down based on repetition or relevance. All

comments were translated to English using the on-site translators and then further revised for accuracy.

Summary of Data Analysis

After each period of fieldwork, the written notes were transcribed and coded based on similar phrases and impressions that connected to the experience of the landscape. While some researchers use data analysis software, the detailed and in-depth nature of my notes required a more hands-on approach. Ranging from photographs to unstructured and participant observations to unstructured and semi-structured focus groups and interviews, data was coded by circling words, underlying phrases, making additional notes and comments, looking for emerging patterns and repetitions or leaving out topics that seemed too abstract.

Even if there are more standardized practices, the process of analyzing and interpreting collected information is entirely unique to each person, and therefore my own role, experiences, and reflections were considered as an integral component in shaping how the information was interpreted. As Watson and Till argue, "Our embodied and emotional participation in various contexts and through our interactions requires more than getting the 'facts' right; it demands 'doing' it well, and with humility and empathy" (2010, p. 126). While I recognize the influence I hold over the research outcomes, I also employed as much data triangulation as possible to ensure validity and trustworthiness, and many components of the model were very collaborative with others working on the sites.

All data was coded based on the different components of the TRIOLE model to reveal similarities and differences between the different sites. The results of this analysis will be presented in the subsequent 'Researching *Locale*, *Story*, and *Presence*' chapters. The data was then further analyzed using thematic and content analysis to find significant ideas and themes that emerged, which are discussed in Part IV.

Delimitations

It should be noted that some sites were given more attention than others primarily due to location and seasonal limitations. Therefore, there may be longer descriptions of research in some sites while other sites are used more as comparative examples. For example, particularly for my visit to Birka, my time on the island was very intense and I was completely integrated into the site with

permission to ride on the tourist boat, participate in the guided tours, and join the staff for their group dinners in the evening. Therefore, I gained a much deeper insight in a shorter period of time by having to actually live on the island within the site. VikingaTider, on the other hand, is a very small site with limited opening hours and more local visitors than the other sites. There is therefore little historical background on the site, and there was not really much new information to gather after my first few visits. This was also a common pattern in the other sites where observations on multiple days over different seasons and different years quickly led to data saturation.

Another delimitation is the scope of the data collected with respect to the visitor experience. While there are numerous studies investigating tourist behavior and tourist impressions of the visitor experience (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; McKercher, 2002; Kantanen and Tikkanen, 2006; Smith, 2014), they have their limits based on the current visitor experience. While I did often collect brief impressions of visitors within the sites, I did not rely on questionnaires or surveys given that I was searching for new experiences for visitors that they would not necessarily be able to reflect on. Furthermore, one goal of the model is to not disturb the visitor too much in their interaction, and given the short time visitors spend at many of these sites, I decided it would be too invasive to try to distribute questionnaires. Another goal of the model is to not generalize behavior to create a standardized experience, but to create more dynamic and multisensory opportunities for visitors with different interests and capacities to be affected. Therefore, while survey data may have provided some answers about the current site experience, it would not necessarily help to investigate further engagement possibilities within the landscape.

Finally, it is important to note that the use of the TRIOLE model is very subjective and can offer different outcomes depending on the purpose for which it is used. Therefore, the following chapters are based on my own impressions and encounters carrying my own social, cultural, and educational backpack. However, as will be shown in the *Presence* chapter, a more collaborative approach in researching TRIOLE helps to corroborate different themes that emerged that can be employed in current and future site management strategies.

3.3 Researching *Locale*

Conducting fieldwork for *Locale* at multiple sites meant developing a strategic methodology that I could apply to each place in order to eventually determine similarities and differences. Research was therefore conducted in three different stages: first, through observations of the physical landscape; second, through walking the different possible paths through the site and recording observations and taking photographs; and third, through observations of visitor movements and interactions with the site's tangible features.

For the first stage, I analyzed the landscape's tangible features in a systematic way to ensure I had collected the same material for each site. Observations included information about the site's location, topographic/natural features, historical built features, and any added features including, for example, a museum, tourism facilities, and reconstructions. Research collection for this stage is predominantly visual in nature based on what can be seen within and from the site. Beyond determining the physical location of the site as well as distinctive tangible features, I also recorded other landscape features that might not necessarily be associated with the site itself. This is based on the assumption that experience and sense of authenticity of the site might be affected by features within view surrounding the site. Relating to the previous discussion of relationality shaping places, landscapes themselves are also often relational in that they must be understood within a wider context beyond the often ambiguous boundaries they have been assigned (Macpherson, 2016; Mitchell, 2017). In the event that it wasn't made clear at the site, I used secondary sources to see how the landscape has changed over time – for example, identifying if certain features had been removed for tourism purposes or when buildings/reconstructions were added using historical maps and more recent photographs.

Once the more tangible, visual features were recorded, I moved on to the more experiential analysis regarding visitor movement and interactions with tangible features. For this part of the analysis, I first set out with a notebook and a camera

rather than having a more set research structure. I was once again inspired by Thwaites' and Simkins' methodology in *Experiential Landscape.* For example, they argue that "the moral authority of professionals in planning and design situations should be thought of as conditional" (2007, p. 81) because they often see things differently from the perspective of the average site visitor. Therefore, in order to determine how visitors interact with the materiality of the site, they recommend touring the site through a series of pedestrian journeys (following different possible pre-existing paths) and recording observations along the way. This then should be supplemented by photos and graphical notes on a map of the site.

After personally experiencing the site, I employed non-participant observation recorded through notes and photographs. This "provides access to the cultural mechanisms of a place as well as the spatial relationship that the site users have with their surroundings" (Thwaites and Simkins, 2007, p. 86). However, it is difficult to make broader generalizations of how the site is experienced since, as discussed previously, experience is inherently subjective. Therefore, in order to provide more empirical evidence, Thwaites and Simkins (2007) recommend anthropological tracking, which involves looking for traces of frequent human interaction. For example, paths that have been formed off the main track show an interest in something that perhaps was not considered in the original design of the site. There might also be observations of where the main routes go and if they follow a certain order or if the paths seem random and disordered. Lastly, if there is still uncertainty regarding why people do what they do, the obvious final step is simply to casually ask people questions that try to determine why they sit in certain places or take certain paths.

Finding potential places in the surrounding landscape that are not necessarily emphasized as part of the visitor experience can provide excellent opportunities for improving the satisfaction of a visit because it is important for visitors to engage with a variety of activities or places that interest them. For example, I looked for nearby nature paths for visitors to go on after exploring the site or other areas of the site not included in the standard visitor experience. These techniques also keep the visitors at a place much longer, which ultimately helps them develop a better understanding and interest in the site and might encourage them to return. If visitor movement was more constrained, I studied how movement might be improved to be more free and engaging without compromising the integrity of the historical landscape.

Hedeby (German *Haithabu*)

Figure 5: Map of Hedeby (Haithabu) Viking Museum, Germany. *Source: Author.*

Hedeby in Germany sits across from the town of Schleswig on the Schlei fjord in the northern part of Schleswig-Holstein that borders with the Danish county Sønderjylland (Southern Jutland) (see Figure 5). The site sits 40 km (25 mi) inland at the head of the long, narrow fjord. The museum and reconstructed village are only accessible by infrequent regional busses or by car along small rural roads, which poses challenges for the municipality particularly on days with larger events when the streets are lined with cars.

At the museum's entrance by the road there is a new sign that says 'Welcome to the Hedeby-Danevirke World Heritage Site'. From the visitor parking lot there is a path that first leads to the museum. The museum sits on the lake's edge with large windows illuminating different exhibition rooms including one room that is designed to look like a Viking ship with wooden beams on the ceiling surrounding

one of the ships found in the harbor. There is also a restaurant in the museum serving local food with a Viking-inspired twist. The museum is surrounded by nature with local grazing sheep and cattle as well as abundant wildlife taking up residence in the waterways and nearby forests. The landscape is slightly hilly, and few buildings can be seen in the distance from the museum or reconstructed village. Near the museum there is an open-air stage where a local theatre group performs Viking-related plays.

From the museum the visitor walks down a path through the forest toward the original site of Hedeby. Past the forest, the cow pastures on either side of the path add to the sense of rurality and a living landscape through which the connection between humans and nature is still very strong. It is difficult to miss where the large Viking town once stood as it is still surrounded by a circular earthwork 600 meters in diameter. The visitor is able to walk up onto the rampart, at which point they encounter the first sign describing the landscape below and the layout of the town. The visitor then walks within the parameters of the border wall and approaches the reconstructed settlement following a fenced-in path to keep the local farm animals in their respective pastures. Up until this point, access to the walkways and surrounding landscape is completely free. Figure 6 shows an aerial overview of the museum's landscape.

Once the visitor reaches the reconstructed settlement, there is a ticket office to gain access if they haven't already purchased a ticket at the museum. Inside this area there are seven different buildings reconstructed on a small section of the archaeological field. The archaeological area remains largely unexcavated (only 5% of the settlement and 1% of the harbor), which means there are limits as to how much is allowed to be built. What has been built replicates findings from excavations showing the early settlement infrastructure at Hedeby. Rather than showing a Viking village, the museum's message is meant to show the early urbanization process. The director of planning noted that any additional reconstructions would likely have even more strict rules given the amount of damage increasingly caused by visitors to the landscape.

The area contains a garden, and in the busier months or during markets there is a small stall selling Viking-inspired food and drinks across from a pavilion where visitors can sit. There is also a small harbor with several small Viking ships that take visitors out on boat tours. The visitor is free to roam within this area, and can continue back to the rampart to find a nature trail leading around the lake

where it is possible to see the site from the opposite side. However, there are no signs indicating that there is a trail, and during my time there it seemed to mostly be used by the locals.

Figure 6: Aerial photograph of Hedeby showing the museum at the bottom of the picture and the reconstructed village surrounded by the semi-circular rampart at the top. *Source: Courtesy of Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloss Gottorf / Wikinger Museum Haithabu.*

Hedeby receives 160,000 visitors every year with numbers on the rise since the World Heritage inscription in 2018. Visitors mainly come from Germany with most international visitors from Denmark given that the site was once on Danish land.

During the spring market, the site was completely overrun with visitors, but there were very few people in the off-season. Approximately 13,000 visitors come for the spring market alone. During the market, there was a constant line of people moving toward the settlement, but few stopped to take pictures or observe the cultural landscape that they were walking through. Since there were no signs, there was no indication that there might be something worth looking at. This is perhaps one of the largest issues in communicating different features of the landscape to visitors whose eyes are not trained to notice subtle hints of the past. For example, in his description of the Danevirke border wall and Hedeby, J. Laurence Hare writes, "Where the former once bristled with warriors gathering for battle, the latter bustled with the commerce of the Baltic Sea. Today, they are little more than dilapidated mounds and empty fields, with only the occasional pile of brick and stone to signal their dwindling presence (2015, p. 3)".

Without any reference signs or visualizations along the way, the path to the reconstructed settlement tends to create a tunnel-vision effect because visitors use it as a way to get from point A to B. They have no way to know that they are already walking within the old city wall of Hedeby with archaeological material right under their feet. The path to the settlement is also very muddy when wet, which certainly causes accessibility issues. The museum's website notes that if visitors with disabilities notify them in advance, they can arrange transportation to the houses. However, numerous visitors still commented that the village was too far away from the museum, which made it difficult to get there for some people and also added a significant amount of time to their visit that they hadn't expected. Figure 7 shows the reconstructed village set within the middle of semi-circular rampart.

During the off-season, visitors spent more time within the museum especially at the restaurant before taking a leisurely walk out to the village. During these times, there are fewer distractions from other people and the need to follow the crowd, so visitors spent more time following their own interests and impulses within the landscape. During my October visit there were also almost no visitors, but the site

was filled with re-enactors. There was a large group there for an archery competition, so they were scattered throughout the landscape.

In general, the visitor is well-directed since the path between the museum and the settlement is lined by a fence, but there is freedom to roam and explore the wider landscape if they continue onto the natural trail. However, the settlement itself is also fenced in, so they have to go outside of the settlement and around to access the nature trail, and it is difficult to know this when there are no signs. Therefore, especially for tour groups and short-term visitors, they tend to stay within the parameters of the museum and settlement and then back again.

Figure 7: Aerial photograph of the reconstructed settlement at Hedeby showing the path to the museum in the middle of the picture and the path from the houses down to the water. The arc of trees marks the semi-circular rampart. *Source: Courtesy of Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloss Gottorf / Wikinger Museum Haithabu.*

There are certainly opportunities to improve incorporating more of the wider landscape beyond the tours that are provided. That being said, the museum manager noted that the location of the museum remains the most important attraction for visitors. She discussed how it is so inviting being tucked away in such an attractive natural setting with the museum, café, and natural landscape all playing a large role in the value of the visitor experience. One visitor also said that

he had pretty low expectations about the site before he came given its very rural location, but he was completely surprised once he arrived. The director of planning also said the hillfort and the southern cemetery and settlement could be better included in the site experience, but there are large parts of the site that are difficult to access and therefore difficult to develop.

Birka

Figure 8: Map of Birka Museum, Sweden. *Source: Author.*

The archaeological site of Birka can be found on the island of Björkö 30 km west of Stockholm on Lake Mälaren (see Figure 8). Björkö is only 4 km long x 1.5 km wide, and the historical landscape is concentrated on the northwestern side. Visitors arrive by boat and are immediately met with the Viking-inspired restaurant decorated like a great hall and several other more modern facilities for visitors to the island – particularly those who come by boat for the night at the

guest harbor. There are also buildings used by the re-enactors and staff who live on the island during the season. The visitor must walk past these buildings to get to the museum with a pavilion in the front. The museum is a small wooden building with two exhibition rooms, a theatre, and a gift shop. It does not yet contain any large exhibitions since most of the archaeological material is held by museums in Stockholm. Similar to the museum in Hedeby, there are large windows facing out onto the water.

A bit further beyond the museum the visitor comes across the reconstructed village (see Figure 9) that sits by the lake. At the entrance there is a modern fresh water tap, then a small garden, and further back the visitor can explore five reconstructed houses built in a small area in the woods. This can get very crowded when there are a lot of visitors at once. In the distance there are other islands visible with houses, but the location of the town again feels idyllic and tucked away in nature. There is also a small dock by the village with some reconstructed Viking ships with a sign that says 'Don't touch the boats'. There is also a small recycling area within the village with baskets labeled 'PANT' (recycling items that you can return for money) in Norse-style lettering, which is another nod to modern life within the village in addition to the other obvious water pump behind the houses.

Figure 9: The reconstructed village in Birka. *Source: Author.*

The visitor then leaves the museum area via a large gate that must be kept closed due to the local sheep having a fond interest in gaining access to the snacks available at the museum shop and restaurant. After the gate the visitor comes to a crossroads with a sign indicating which direction they should to get to the chapel or to the 'Black Earth'. It is interesting that they use this phrase to describe the archaeological landscape as few visitors would likely understand that this is a reference to the rich dark soil that archaeologists found during excavations due to the many centuries of burning fires.

If visitors do not take the guided tour, they are essentially free to roam the island as they wish. This leaves the possibility to visit the small farmsteads from the early 1900s remaining on the island and the small chapel built in 1930 – though most of the remaining houses have been taken over by the Swedish National Property Board (*Statens fastighetsverk*) to house archaeologists, visiting researchers, and others employees. There is still one active farm and several permanent residents on the island. If the visitor wishes, they can also take a much larger loop on the opposite end of the archaeological field and visit the cemetery field called *Hemlanden* consisting of thousands of Viking Age burial mounds.

None of the paths on the island are paved, and locals get around using four-wheelers with carts. The paths are usually lined by fences on each side because of the local livestock, but there are some locations where visitors can go into the landscape through the gates. However, there are no signs along this route except one sign at the first collection of houses along the route that indicates the distance to the chapel. Otherwise, as the visitors walk on the other side of the archaeological field bordering Hemlanden, there is no indication of what Hemlanden is or that visitors are allowed to enter that area. There are no clear paths, so an unsuspecting visitor would likely keep away. This was apparent during all of my observations where I never saw any visitors go into Hemlanden even if a few visitors took the longer walk around.

On the guided tour, visitors are taken the other direction at the crossroads up the hill to some burial mounds and further up through the landscape to the hillfort, which overlooks the archaeological field. There are no reconstructions here – it is just an open field (see Figure 10). The farmer is allowed to mow the field to collect the hay, but they are not permitted to farm or dig. Similar to Hedeby, very little of the site has been excavated, which means it is not possible to move the village to the original site of the town.

The terrain on the guided tour is very steep and rocky in some parts, which makes it difficult to navigate for certain visitors. Similarly, the tours I joined during the heatwave had several people turn back or have to seek shelter due to the heat of the sun and the difficulty of the walk. I also had to help one couple carry their stroller because they didn't believe it would be so bad. This is something that should perhaps be made more explicit in the information provided about visiting the site and the guided tour.

Figure 10: Aerial photograph of the archaeological landscape of Birka, the harbor and hillfort on the top left and the Hemlanden cemetery on the bottom right. *Source: Jan Norrman, 1987, courtesy of Riksantikvarieämbetet.*

As the guided tour moves up to the main hillfort, the visitors follow the same path due to the fences for the sheep and cattle. Once the tour reaches the top of the hillfort called *Borg*, the only tangible built elements are some of the remaining walls of the hillfort as well as a monument at the highest point of the island added in 1834 to commemorate Anskar – the Benedictine monk who first visited the island in 830 CE in an attempt to convert the unruly Vikings to his Christian beliefs. From this point there is a clear view of the archaeological landscape below,

the island of Adelsö in the distance with its white-washed church and the site of Hovgården – the alleged site of the old kings and chieftains of the region, which is part of the World Heritage site. The island's harbor can also be seen from this vantage point. Standing high above the island also helps the visitor to imagine why this site might have been chosen by the early Viking settlers. In the opposite direction on the island, the Chapel of Saint Anskar is visible.

A wider exploration of the island provides a better view into Björkö as a living, but ageing island (see Figure 11). There are decaying fence posts where the signs requesting visitors to close the gates have faded away, and there are no informational signs beyond the museum's boundaries. Crumbling, old buildings and a chapel in the middle of nowhere on the island seem out of place in what is advertised as a 'Viking city'. It is very easy to explore the wider landscape, but because visitors only have three hours on the island, they tend to stay within the confines of the guided tour. There is also again the question of access and how fences tend to deter people who might think they are trespassing by going through. For example, one visitor expressed the need for better orientation through the landscape and that she felt a bit lost. This gave her the impression that she missed a lot of important areas because there weren't any signs. There are of course also issues of accessibility given the rocky, steep path on the guided tour and that alternative paths are not advertised (for example, the flat gravel road that circles the archaeological from the other side). Another visitor commented that the visitor maps offered at the museum need to be improved so they include the wider landscape because they actually got lost when they walked out of the area shown on the map.

Figure 11: Aerial photograph of the village on Björkö, the hillfort on the top left, the archaeological landscape of Birka in the middle, and the Hemlanden cemetery on the top right. *Source: Jan Norrman, 1992, courtesy of Riksantikvarieämbetet.*

The most popular areas by far are the restaurant, the ice-cream available at the gift shop on hot days, the hillfort with the nice surrounding view for pictures, and the reconstructed village. There are some areas for kids to play, but these didn't seem very popular. Altogether, the site spreads across a very wide area, so it is difficult for visitors to find their way around in such a limited amount of time. Given that there is only one boat back to Stockholm every day, visitors also tend to be overly cautious with their time – with many already congregating by the boat a half hour before departure, further cutting down on the time they could spend on the island. A more long-term solution offered by one of the site managers would be to have guesthouses for visitors who wish to stay overnight. Since there are already buildings owned by the National Property Board, they could easily use these buildings as accommodation. There are also potential plans to include another boat that goes between Björkö and the nearby island Adelsö so visitors are able to visit where the royals of Birka once lived as well as the large burial mounds where they were buried. Adelsö is also connected by a ferry to the mainland, which opens up the possibilities for visitors to gain access to Birka from there.

In general, some visitors were disappointed when they arrived on the island due to the lack of reconstruction that they had expected. Some even went as far as saying it is a "tourist trap" because there is nothing left from the village, that the tourism company employees are "mighty thieves", and it is a total "scam" (*Tripadvisor,* accessed 29 January 2020). The main problem seems to be that the advertising exaggerates what is actually on the site. One person, for example, said they expected to encounter a real Viking village "to get the real feeling of that time" (Ibid.), but once they arrived there was nothing to see. Because of the lack of more tangible elements, many felt it was not worth their money.

The location was also discussed by visitors in terms of time. While many welcomed the boat ride, there was a lack of consensus whether there was too much or not enough time to explore the island. Some expressed their desire to spend more time exploring, whereas others said they ran out of things to do and ended up waiting for the boats to come. Many, however, enjoyed the beautiful natural setting of the island and the chance to escape for a day and have the chance to climb up on the hillfort and have the view looking out over the landscape and surrounding islands. It was also noted that the guided tour was an essential part of understanding the landscape. One person said they had almost gone off by themselves, but they ended up learning so much more from the guided tour about different features in the landscapes that they might have missed.

Foteviken

Figure 12: Map of Foteviken Museum, Sweden. *Source: Author.*

Located in the southernmost county of Sweden called Skåne (Scania) on the edge of the Baltic Sea, the open-air museum of Foteviken sits close to the town of Höllviken situated at the beginning of the Falsterbo peninsula (see Figure 12). While Foteviken has no direct historical connection to the landscape (i.e. there was no Viking Age settlement called Foteviken), it is still located in an archaeologically rich cultural landscape with evidence of occupation from the Stone Age (roughly 6000 years ago). The surrounding landscape boasts Bronze Age graves and burial mounds, and just north of Foteviken lies the largest Iron Age burial ground in the county. The museum sits on the presumed location of the Battle of Fotevik that occurred on June 4, 1134 between the forces of Erik Emune and King Niels of Denmark – providing the name for the museum.

The initial plan was to develop the site as a maritime museum focusing on the Viking Age due to the number of maritime wrecks discovered in the area

indicating the significant past trade and shipping operations that occurred around the Falsterbo peninsula. Therefore, the local municipality decided to give a plot of land for its development, and while the original plan changed to an open-air Viking museum, Foteviken remains at the same site today. Though Foteviken receives a large number of visitors each year, it still sits in a predominantly rural region that is only accessible by car or a regional bus journey that takes about 20 minutes from the nearby city of Malmö to Höllviken and then a 10-15-minute walk to the site itself.

As I sat on the bus approaching the village, I wrote:

> The landscape surrounding the village tells a more modern story – of industrial agriculture. But occasionally clues appear such as large grassy mounds in the middle of fields that attest to a much older history – one that seems slowly swallowed by new constructions and a changing landscape. But there is a certain charm about the Scanian landscape. The sprawling agricultural fields have at least prevented mass urban expansion, and many of the old farm houses remain (Field Diary, 21 June 2017).

The sense of being in a rural, lived, and worked landscape is particularly palpable as visitors taking the bus must walk by several farm fields to access the site. There is also always a view of the sea, so it's hard not to feel a sense of anticipation and curiosity with the reconstructed tower of the village visible from afar. Just in front of the site there is a large equestrian building, but because the site is situated within a semi-circular embankment, once inside, visitors are not able to see beyond the walls besides the view of the sea unless they climb the guard tower. In the surrounding landscape, there are a few residential houses, and the Falsterbo peninsula juts out on the eastern side of the site into the sea.

Near the site there is a large parking lot in an open field that is used during larger events. The visitor must first go through the main entrance building with a gift shop, restaurant, and great hall that can be rented for events. This is also where the offices and accommodation for re-enactors are found in a more modern building style. The visitor then exits on the opposite side where there is a small museum with a very limited exhibition about the archaeological findings in the surrounding landscape as well as how and why the museum was built. On the back side of these buildings there is a place for animals, which cannot be kept within the village due to regulations requiring certain modern equipment. Nearby

there is a large field leading up to the site with different Viking-related activities (mostly for children) depending on the season. On the path to the site the visitor passes a Viking runestone. The main entrance is marked by a passage through the circular embankment with a reconstructed fortification over top (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: The entrance to Foteviken. *Source: Author.*

It appears as though the visitor enters into the past at this point. Most of the year, the 60,000 m^2 open-air museum consists of 16 reconstructed houses and structures meant to represent different farms and crafts from the late Viking Age such as fishing, bead-making, blacksmithing, and weaving. There are paths between the houses, providing different yet limited options for how visitors can move through the site (see Figure 14). Most houses are surrounded by fences, which means when there are re-enactors present working on their crafts, visitors tend to observe from outside the fences. Beyond the houses there is a large field with several mounds. This area is usually not maintained besides a small path mowed through the vegetation, so visitors tend to not walk in this area due to the tall grass. However, at some points there are wooden posts sticking out of the ground with holes in them marked with different signs. When the visitor looks through the hole, it directs their vision to different historically significant places in the wider landscape described on

a sign attached to the post. During my last visit, however, the posts had fallen into disrepair, and it is unclear if these have been fixed.

Figure 14: View from the guard tower overlooking the Foteviken open-air museum. *Source: Author.*

During the craft week and subsequent Viking market, the wider landscape within the rampart is mowed to provide the place for all of the re-enactors' canvas tents and crafts (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Re-enactors' tents and craft area during the craft days and Viking market. *Source: Author.*

This provides an extension of the museum for visitors to walk through. At the back of the site, a large field is maintained during larger events because they perform a re-enactment of the Battle of Fotevik for visitors. Re-enactors without canvas tents must camp outside of the site near the parking lot field. Based on my observations at different times, the site is far more approachable when there are no tents or re-enactors. Visitors have more of a chance to look into and explore the houses, but as I will discuss later in more detail, because there are no signs within the site, they learn very little about what it is they are actually seeing. For example, one visitor described the site as boring and uninformative when they visited during the off-season, and similar to comments about Birka and Hedeby, they also complained that it wasn't worth the entrance fee. Others, however, seemed satisfied at the 'authentic' reconstructions, and did not feel the lack of re-enactors affected their experience especially because they were able to enjoy the natural surroundings and seaside views more when there were less people. Since there are so many buildings on site, visitors tend to stick to exploring all of the different buildings. There are guided tours available to lead visitors through the site, but many just independently walk around. However, there is little chance to get into the wider landscape as there are not really any elements to explore given that it is surrounded by residential houses and farms.

VikingaTider

Figure 16: Map of VikingaTider, Sweden. *Source: Author.*

VikingaTider takes a similar approach to Foteviken in that it is an open-air museum that attempts to show what daily life might have been on a Viking farm during a certain time period. The site is located close to the town of Löddeköppinge in southern Skåne (see Figure 16), which was once a large center of trade due to the presence of the Lödde river, and therefore was intensely settled over different centuries near the river bank. This creates a strong connection with a significant historical landscape. VikingaTider consists of different areas including a large field in the front for parking, which also serves as a car show lot every Tuesday in the summer. There is also now a large building meant to seat 120 people that one employee helping to build it referred to as a 'semi-cheat' Viking-style due to the fact that it is meant to be a building for events and therefore contains more modern conveniences to attract people who want some of the experience of being in a Viking-inspired building without all of the more

'authentic' elements. The building comes from Gotland and is being reassembled on-site, so one builder joked around that it is like "Viking IKEA" because they took it apart and are putting it back together piece by piece based on very carefully drawn plans. The entrance to the site is very modest with a small stand and gift shop for tickets and an area with dark black buildings selling food and also a small exhibition room about what has been found in the area. Entrance into the site takes the visitor to the first two small reconstructed houses. A longhouse was built in 2009, but it was burned down by vandals three months after it was finished. The managers decided to keep the charred remains of the house with a sign that shows how it burned down because it also provides an interesting example of how these houses might have burned. There are barriers around these first houses where the modern world is very present – for example a metal fence, garden hoses, trash cans, and water taps are all visible nearby.

To get to the main village the visitor walks beyond the first two small houses through a patch of forest and comes to a large clearing. Because the site sits on the edge of the town, there are only a few houses in the surrounding area including a windmill and a few farms in the distance. The reconstructed farm is fenced in and closed off to visitors in the off-season, but the surrounding landscape is open to the public all year. The area is frequently used by locals because there is an unmarked path leading around the site and down along the river. Similar to the other sites, it is very empty during the off-season with school classes as the most frequent visitors. Tour busses do not yet go to the site, so it remains open to those who come by car, local bus, or other means. During the Viking market or other events, re-enactors pitch their tents within and outside the parameters of the village.

Pigs are kept within the confines of the village during the summer months, but there is some modern equipment in the pen due to state regulations for keeping livestock. Similarly, during the incredibly hot summer, it was required to set up a fire station in the middle of the site with fire extinguishers and a water source in case a fire broke out, which would be devastating for the wooden houses. There is also a running water tap behind one of the houses and inside another because they have electricity and a refrigerator to help keep food fresh during different activities they offer – like teaching children how to make butter.

Given that the landscape has been excavated, there are no restrictions as to what can be built or where within the landscape. The village itself is meant to represent

a Christian farm from the year 1000 CE, and there are plans to build another earlier-dated farm nearby so that as the visitor moves through the landscape, they are able to see how life might have been like during different time periods. Some of the houses in the village were taken apart and brought from Gotland whereas others were built on-site. In total there are five houses serving different crafts and one large longhouse (see Figure 17).

Figure 17: VikingaTider, Sweden. *Source: Author.*

The visitor is free to roam within this area and have a look in the houses. However, just as in Hedeby, there are no signs outside of the village, so it is unclear to the unsuspecting visitor that there is a nice nature path to follow. The path was strategically planned to be broken and twisted so the visitor feels like they walk further and don't always know what might come around the corner. There are also plans to build a dock at the lake near the river to have a Viking-era boat. Right now, they only use about 20% of the available landscape, and the plan is to do much more, but given the lack of visitors and the rurality of the site, funding larger projects becomes quite difficult.

Summarizing Locale

Overall, the fieldwork for *Locale* was more time consuming than I realized, and was often very physically demanding. Because it was important to explore the

extended landscape, I spent a lot of time walking and observing different parts of the landscape. This part of the model entails making a very thorough scan of the landscape, so it is important to be aware of very small details that might normally be missed when simply strolling by. Therefore, I usually walked the same paths many times to ensure that I hadn't missed anything. It also took a lot of time to study the different possibilities of how to move through the site and the different impressions visitors might encounter by taking different paths. While detailed field notes were important, I found that my photographs were by far the most valuable data later on to help remember everything and verify my notes. It was also helpful to have aerial photographs to see the extent of the site from a different viewpoint to compare with how I studied and moved through the landscape.

In general, the most significant difficulty in all of the different landscapes is how visitors move within them. While there is often enough infrastructure at the entrance to sites, once visitors go out into the landscape, there are fewer clear paths and ways of walking, which can limit how far or to which areas of the landscape they visit. Visitors frequently expressed a desire for more information through maps or signs within the landscape to provide some sort of guide as to where they might walk. Another significant problem is the size of the landscapes and the amount of time the visitor has to spend within the site. Besides Foteviken, which is more limited in size, all of the other sites occupy a rather wide area. This not only creates a strain on how much a visitor can see during their visit, but also can limit who is able to encounter further areas of the landscape due to accessibility issues. Lastly, given the lack of signs, visitors remain hesitant to explore for themselves as there are often very different cultural understandings of access – for example, fences for livestock with unlabeled gates cause many visitors to avoid certain areas as they are unsure whether they are allowed to enter into these areas (perhaps also because fences in monumental sites are often there to keep humans out). While the tangible components of the site including any reconstructions were generally supported, there was an obvious gap in visitors who craved to know more, to explore more, and to be more involved in experiencing the past within the wider landscape. Given the clear disconnection in communication regarding the physical landscape both beyond and even within the main visitor areas, this already leads to several assumptions regarding the interpretation and communication about the site and how this might be improved in order to help visitors encounter the site in more guided, yet still individualized ways. These questions and more will be explored in *Story.*

3.4 Researching *Story*

The theme of *Story* determines how the history of the site has been interpreted and how it is then presented to visitors. The first step involves conducting a historical analysis using primary and secondary sources. A historical analysis is "a method of analyzing and interpreting what has happened using records and accounts" (Marshall and Rossman, 2016, p. 165), and this type of research is particularly useful for case studies and in qualitative studies "for establishing a baseline or background prior to participant observation or interviewing" (Ibid.). For each site I used a number of secondary sources to determine the history of the site regarding its original function and how it changed over time. In some of the references, accounts were included of what happened to the sites once they were unoccupied and later chosen for their historical value. Perhaps the largest issue in the review of sources was the difficulty in finding sources in English. Given that the most extensive accounts were written in either German or Swedish usually in difficult academic terms, I was limited in the range of sources available. That being said, the most significant part of researching *Story* is how the site is communicated to visitors, so the secondary sources to determine the historical background were used more to corroborate the overall narrative of the site. Therefore, most of the research on the contemporary development and use of the sites for tourism purposes came from primary sources – typically the archaeological or tourism organizations responsible for their management. Determining how the site was developed for tourism purposes helps to give a sense of why certain elements of the landscape's history are emphasized while others might be left out.

The historical analysis is also crucial in determining underlying political, economic, and socio-cultural factors that might influence how the site is managed. Similarly, with more rural sites, there are issues of accessibility and communication strategies since more work must be done in order to inform visitors about the value of the site to get them to come in the first place. Therefore, further analysis involved reviewing how the site is discussed online through the

main website or social media pages as well as through informational brochures both in electronic and paper formats. Special attention was paid to word choices – especially with respect to authenticity and heritage. Furthermore, oftentimes in rural sites, communication on-site is not provided in multiple languages, or the English translations only summarize the much longer explanation in the native language. Therefore, accessibility to a wider range of visitors was considered, especially if the site's online presence implies that they wish to attract more international visitors.

I also researched how different actors at the site play different roles in transmitting information to visitors – for example, museum guides, tour guides, and re-enactors. In some cases, this was conducted through participatory walking tours or semi-structured interviews. These interviews were all recorded through note-taking because it is often difficult to keep a very dynamic conversation using a voice recorder, and it also allowed for more movement and spontaneous discussion. Collecting such a broad range of data in different areas also offers insight into why certain aspects of the site are emphasized over others and how other elements of the story that have been overlooked might contribute to a clearer picture of how the history of the site has been interpreted and presented for tourism purposes.

Smed et al. (2016) conducted similar fieldwork at a Viking site called Fyrkat in northern Denmark, and they specifically studied the associated Viking group working at the site depicting everyday life in the past. Viking re-enactors were analyzed based on the two levels of heritage experiences: "(a) the experience of re-enacting and (b) the experience of heritage" (2016, p. 100). They used participant observations, secondary sources about the site, and a focus group interview. In their "adaptable interview guide" they had four general themes: "'the re-enactment group', 'motivations', 'co-creation' and 'outcome'" (Ibid., p. 101). This also inspired how I conducted my fieldwork questions, although I employed a much more free style of asking questions based on the direction of the conversation. I aimed to ask specific questions in the interviews that specifically related to the *Story* theme including their role in the site, their impressions of life in the Viking world, their ideas about authenticity and historical re-enactment, and the different ways they interact with visitors. Oftentimes, re-enactors also have a traditional craft they have learned, and especially within the realm of experimental archaeology, they attempt to replicate certain crafts or techniques

based on archaeological evidence, which carries an enormous burden of balancing authenticity with interpretation.

This unstructured interviewing strategy also relates to more-than-representational knowledge regarding the pitfalls of following a strict list of questions in that they diminish authentic and natural responses describing the lived experience. Therefore, these discussions were often very dynamic, and depending on the person I was talking to, the direction of the conversation completely varied. For example, some of the people I interviewed were working on their craft while we were talking, which meant they were much more conversational regarding the way they acquired the knowledge about their craft and how it is grounded in the archaeological and historical record. On other occasions, those without specific crafts offered more insight into what life was like living in the site and they described their interactions with other re-enactors and the visitors themselves. Particularly interesting for gaining insight into how the story is transmitted to the tourists were the tour guides who dress as Vikings, but are separate from those who do their crafts within the reconstructed villages.

As discussed before, the language use on the site is very significant in terms of how written information is transmitted as well as how re-enactors talk with visitors. In all of the sites with markets, the most commonly used language amongst them is English because there are so many people from different countries. However, for the volunteers working at the site nearly year-round, typically the language used was the native language of the country – for example, in Hedeby the re-enactors are predominantly German, while at the other sites the majority of 'village' people are Swedish – especially the guides for school children. However, most of the re-enactors do speak English, and are therefore able to actively engage with most tourists who do not speak the native language, but who understand English.

The final aspect in researching *Story* involved talking to the tourists themselves. Collecting tourist impressions is a valuable part of understanding the present value of the site experience. For example, if they had been first drawn in by popular culture etc., it is important to determine perceptions of authenticity and how much that affects experience. Furthermore, the hope is that they at least gain some knowledge about the real history of the Viking world once they are actually at the site. This also ties into discussions with organizers, managers, and re-enactors to see how much they try to portray authentic Viking life in the first place. For example, engaging visitors with experimental archaeology and having

knowledgeable re-enactors that offer 'fun facts' into Viking history are excellent examples of how to offer visitors a more historical experience within the site, but it is important to consider the level of authenticity these elements actually reflect.

Hedeby, Germany

Historical Background

Sometime in the late 6th or 7th centuries CE, an earthen boundary wall called the Danevirke was constructed at the southernmost part of Jutland connecting the Schlei fjord to the Danish west coast. The wall represented a linguistic and cultural border between the Danes to the north, the Frisians to the west along the North Sea coast, the Saxons to the south, and the Slavs to the southeast (Roesdahl, 2008). At the east end of the wall lies Hedeby (an old-Norse term meaning 'heath-settlement') that was initially settled around 770 CE. Motivated by the desire to establish his own trading center, in 808 CE the Danish King Godfred attacked a Slavic trading post near modern Wismar on the Baltic coast of Germany. From there he moved the merchants to Hedeby, and it quickly grew from a small settlement to a fortified town (Price, 2015).

Protected by its placement deep inside the fjord, Hedeby was also strategically located at the southernmost part of Scandinavia. The settlement is one of the four early Viking age towns all developed in the 8th or early 9th centuries including Birka in Sweden, Ribe in Denmark, and Kaupang in present-day Norway. Each of these towns were all either deserted or destroyed by the end of the Viking Age (Ribe around 850 CE, Kaupang 930 CE, Birka 970 CE, and Hedeby the latest in the 1060s). In most cases, like in Hedeby and Birka, the urban function moved elsewhere as shipping routes changed and population sizes increased. Hedeby's harbor was too shallow, and the growing ships needed a different port that was built in the deeper waters of the fjord in nearby Schleswig (Jørgensen, 2008).

Hedeby went through multiple phases of rulers including different conquests by Swedish kings, it fell briefly under German rule, and it was finally won back by the Danes (Pörtner, 1975). By the 10th century CE, the town was encircled by a semicircular wall that measured 9 m (30 ft) in height and 27 ha (67 acres) in area. The harbor contained massive piers that extended up to 60 m (200 ft) into the fjord. The city was organized by one of the first early grid plans with streets that ran parallel and perpendicular to the shoreline. A stream of fresh water ran

through the middle of the town. There was also a Christian church built by Ansgar in the mid-9th century (Price, 2015).

At its height, Hedeby contained a population of approximately 1000-1500 people, and was the most important and extensive trading post connecting Scandinavia to mainland Europe with evidence of craftsmen including bronze casters, blacksmiths, comb and bead makers, workers in bone, leather, and amber, jewelers, and potters (Price, 2015). A large amount of luxury goods has also been found in Hedeby that provide further evidence of an extensive trade network. An iron lock from a set of slave fetters found in the harbor also indicates the existence of a slave trade in Hedeby, which was discussed in early Christian observations of the town (Winroth, 2014).

Roughly 12,000 people were buried in Hedeby over different time periods in flat graves, burial mounds, chamber graves, cremations, and boat graves reserved for the wealthiest residents. Recent excavations revealed possible elite residences at the north side of the fjord for the rulers who controlled Hedeby – similar to those found in Kaupang in Norway and Birka in Sweden (Winroth, 2014; Price, 2015).

In 1050 Hedeby was sacked by King Harald Hardrada of Norway – who burned the town by sending fireships to the harbor that were found during underwater excavations. Shortly thereafter it was attacked by Slavs from the east in 1066, and the population gradually moved across the Schlei to the newly built town of Schleswig. The fact that the town was abandoned and never re-used means that the archaeological record is rich and undisturbed. The waterlogged land was too unsuitable for plowing, but this also made the soil perfect for preserving organic material (Price, 2015).

While Hedeby was never resettled, the history of the region plays a very interesting role in how the site is managed today. In 1232, Southern Jutland containing Hedeby became a separate principality, and throughout the Middle Ages it became more Germanized under the duchy of Sleswig – containing a culturally mixed population of Danes, Germans, and Frisians. After a brief civil war caused by disputes to preserve distinct traditional languages and cultures in the duchy, the London Protocol in 1852 decided Sleswig would remain part of the Danish Kingdom (Hare, 2015). However, disputes continued, and in 1864 the Treaty of Vienna formally incorporated Sleswig as a Prussian province into the newly formed German Empire (Thaler, 2009). After World War I and a small

stipulation in the Treaty of Versailles that allowed a portion of Sleswig to return to Denmark due to enduring linguistic and cultural ties, no more geographic divisions were made. Denmark renamed its southernmost county Sønderjylland (Southern Jutland), which signified it had finally given up on re-appropriating Sleswig into Danish territory – thereby also surrendering Hedeby.

However, archaeologically speaking, the site remains a valuable asset for both Germany and Denmark. As noted before, the region is filled with ancient remains due to the many unexplored bogs and marshes and the organic material preservative properties of the surrounding peat. J. Lawrence Hare perfectly summarizes the cultural heritage value of the region:

> There were no circuses or colosseums here, no ancient cities of stone with markets and forums, and no temples with columns and friezes. Ubiquitous but unassuming, the remains of antiquity in this region suggest themselves only gingerly. Yet their power over modern Europe is unmistakable. For generations, the ancient sites and artefacts of this region enchanted both Germans and Danes from nineteenth-century Romantics to twentieth-century Nazis and beyond. They evoked a mythical past while offering potent symbols for the present (2015, p.3).

Given the disputed nature of the region, over time neither Germany nor Denmark were able to ever fully claim these valuable elements of the past entirely as their own to buffer their own national identities. Recognizing the conflicting ownership of the region, an international scholarly community was developed in the early 19th century with frequent cooperation and collaboration between the networks of regional archaeologists within the borderlands. In September of 1903, a local newspaper called the *Kieler Zeitung* announced the visit of 16 leading Danish archaeologists to the new excavations at Hedeby. Excavations continued up until World War II and again in 1959 followed by intermittent, smaller, excavations (Hare, 2015).

To this day, internationally-led excavations are still ongoing at Hedeby. Extensive research has been done to solidify the connection of this massive trading hub of the Viking Age with its Scandinavian past and its significance as an international hub for travelers, traders, and skilled craftsmen. The archaeologists also continue to play a vital role in the formation of the regional identity as they were and continue to be pulled in two different directions: first, toward more nationalistic projects such as national historic property and cultural landscape listings; and

second, participating in transboundary projects that recognize and embrace a shared history. In September 2008, close to the site of Hedeby at Schloss Gottorf, the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA) was founded. According to its website, "it is the only non-university institute in the Federal Republic of Germany that concentrates specifically on archaeology Scandinavia, the North Atlantic and Baltic regions, and the former East Prussia" (ZBSA, 2020).

Due to its many periods of excavations, Hedeby has always attracted visitors, and the motivation to build the museum in 1985 was because of the connection to a historical landscape. According to the museum manager, the museum's construction brought in bus tours, and with an increasing number of visitors, it was decided to build the reconstructed settlement between 2005 and 2008. In 2018, the archaeological border complex of Hedeby and the Danevirke became a World Heritage site (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2020a).

Hedeby Online and Informational Brochures

The website is offered in three languages (German, Danish, and English), but offers very little information about the history of the site. The focus is on Hedeby as a trading center and gathering point for people all over the world as well as the rich archaeological remains left behind from this time period. There is a brief description of some of the main excavations and the findings that are displayed at the museum. The reconstructed settlement is presented as being modeled after original construction findings, and there is a description of each house. The website notes that this is where "visitors experience how the people of Haithabu lived" (Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein, 2020). The program of events offered is listed in German. At the museum itself it is possible to find an English brochure that notes the museum includes "innovative educational media [that takes] visitors on a journey into life as it was a thousand years ago in this early town".

The events and tours offered at the site are wide-ranging to help take visitors on a journey to the past. There are specific tours for school classes with a more interactive approach, a tour focused on how women lived in the early Middle Ages, and a tour focused on the transition to Christianity that emerged in Hedeby. There are also numerous tours in the historical landscape and the reconstructed settlement. For more unique tours, the visitor can go on the hike of the gods learning about sagas and myths in the Viking Age. There is also a garden tour showing the plants that would have been grown by the residents of Hedeby and

what they would have used for cooking and for medicinal purposes. Another tour is specific to the runestones found throughout the landscape while another discusses how it has changed since the Viking Age. Visitors can also take a tour on a Viking ship around the lake where they learn more about the Vikings as accomplished sailors, explorers, and conquerors. Finally, there are several excursions away from the site including to the Danevirke for a tour in the museum and along the part of the wall that is still visible and to Hollingstedt that lies further inland where larger vessels used to make port before reaching Hedeby. These tours are not advertised on the website.

Hedeby On-site

Most information at the museum is translated into Danish, but there are very few English translations. The director for planning noted that this was due to a lack of space under the different exhibitions and not wanting to have so much text. Therefore, there is an English or Danish audio guide available. Language was a frequent comment from visitors who desired more translations and descriptions of what they were seeing. Within the museum, the information provided only focuses on the Viking Age. There are several interesting displays that attracted visitors including a replica of the site lighting up to show how Hedeby changed over different periods of time. There is also a runestone that illuminates different letters with the translation projected onto the floor. Another room contains different names of cities in larger letters to emphasize how important and wide-reaching Hedeby was as a trading center. In the museum's gift shop, there are a number of historical texts and children's books relating to the Viking Age and Hedeby's history.

The large sign at the entrance to the reconstructed houses is only in German, which describes how the houses were built using traditional methods and tools and the limits of 'authentic' reconstruction. For example, sometimes they do not know exactly how to do different techniques, so more modern tools were used such as saws. There are no signs within the settlement, so during events when there are re-enactors, the story of everyday life at the site is able to come to life more than during the off-season. Some visitors expressed a desire for more signs during the off-season since there is no one there during those times to help explain the settlement. Along the nature trail there are informative signs and a map showing where different runestones were found.

During the markets, many of the craftsmen had books on display that showed their products in relation to archaeological finds. For example, one vendor had necklaces with handmade beads that were labeled with the excavation and specific grave finds that they were modelled after (see Figure 18). An event on *Facebook* for the spring market notes: "Many of the treasures to be admired in the displays are authentic replicas of the Viking Age finds and are a testament to a high level of craftsmanship". One woodworker noted that he prefers to come to Hedeby because of the historical and archaeological connection to the site. While he never studied history, he bases his designs on archaeological findings, and notes that his greatest interest is in the craft itself. During the spring market, there can be up to 300 exhibitors – many of whom make the circuit between markets over the summer.

Figure 18: Glass beads labelled with grave findings. *Source: Author.*

The museum manager was clear that whoever wants to participate in the markets needs to be familiar with recent research and be proficient in a craft. There are also very strict rules for attire because they are the first thing the visitors see about everyday life. Visitors to Hedeby who come in traditional attire are required to

wear a special sticker indicating that they are visiting and not working at the site. While historical knowledge is a prerequisite, many of the re-enactors I spoke to had never studied history, but only found their way in because of their interest in the craft, so it is unclear how historical knowledge is evaluated or what is considered to be sufficient historical knowledge (i.e. of the Viking Age or about a certain craft). Ultimately, it is up to the museum manager to send people home if they do not meet the criteria. There is also a strict policy regarding exhibiting any 'pseudo-Viking symbols' used by those with a far-right political ideology. However, as one interviewee noted, "this is also difficult when some objects like Thor's hammer are equally used by far-right followers as by Viking Age enthusiasts ignorant of the connection" (email correspondence, 31 January 2020).

In general, the discussion of authenticity was a slippery slope. When I used it in an interview, the museum director said it is a daring word that they don't use. At the same time, she then continued to note that "in Haithabu the historical authenticity is preserved to the highest degree because everything is based off of archaeological findings. There is no room for fantasy in our approach" (email correspondence, 9 October 2019). That being said, storytelling remains a large part of the visitor experience during markets and events when the re-enactors take the reins in not only communicating the history of the site, but interpreting and re-enacting what everyday life might have been like. At the same time, this seemed to be the preferred approach. We discussed plans to develop the site over time, and she said, "I do not deem a technical overkill in different formats particularly useful. There is an audio guide for those who want it." And while they may change from having an audio guide to a more interactive app, she noted that the most important thing is "to leave enough space for the visitor's own imagination, let them ask questions, and if possible, let them develop their own picture of what life was like 1000 years ago" (Ibid.). Similarly, many visitors choose not to take the audio guide – as noted by one visitor, you can "just wander around the displays taking in all the elements of daily life in a Viking Age town" (*Tripadvisor,* accessed 29 January 2020). So far, the museum intends to maintain the strategy of keeping information as brief and simple as possible so it is easier to understand and appeals to a wider range of visitors. However, the greatest challenge at the museum is providing activities and information that specifically appeals to younger people and children. The museum's approach perhaps slightly differs from the World Heritage management team, who noted that they are currently planning to develop more "digital applications to further explain and reconstruct parts of the

sites or display former excavations" (email correspondence, 31 January 2020). while keeping informational signs to a minimum. In general, the emphasis of the site remains on its Viking Age significance, and given that it was abandoned and untouched after its demise, there is not much room for alternative stories. However, there could be some information about the region's more recent history.

Birka

Historical Background

Birka was built around 750 CE right before Hedeby during the time when early Scandinavian urban living became possible due to better town planning and a more organized and secure trading network. Like Hedeby, Birka served as a significant trading settlement with a diverse population (see Price *et al.*, 2018). The residents of Birka would have had frequent contact with "Arabs, Khazars, Slavs, Volga Bulgars, Franks, Frisians, and Anglo Saxons" (Magnus and Gustin, 2012, p. 79) – whose influences can be seen in the details and styles of dress alongside the local Mälaren styles from burial findings. Prior to the mid-800s there is evidence of trade with southern and western Europe with primary goods including fur, antler, iron, and fish. The diversity in crafts was very similar to that at Hedeby (Magnus and Gustin, 2012).

Only a small part of the town has been excavated, so its full extent is not yet known. However, it is assumed that it grew in size over time from roughly 200-400 residents to roughly 1000-1500 residents at its height. Some of the rampart from the original town is still visible today as is the grave field Hemlanden containing roughly 1600 grave mounds (Magnus and Gustin, 2012).

The city was abandoned at the end of the 10th century. While it is not clear why, some speculate that residents left and resettled in nearby Sigtuna when the original southern sailing route with the Baltic sea into Lake Mälaren was closed due to land rise. Though the hillfort called Borg was burned, unlike Hedeby, the town was never burned or plundered, which also hints at a more organized and purposeful departure and relocation (Magnus and Gustin, 2012). While there are more records describing Hedeby, the only primary source of information about Birka comes from the Archbishop Anskar's biography. Though he never managed to Christianize the town, after his death in 865 CE his stories about Birka "became the stuff of myths and sagas that were told and retold for many generations to

come in places all around the Baltic Sea" (Magnus and Gustin, 2012, p. 25). In the 1060s, the Archbishop of Sigtuna, Adalvard the Younger came to Birka in search of the grave of Adam of Bremen who had visited Birka before it was abandoned. In his records, Adalvard noted that the town was abandoned, and locals had begun to farm on the site where the town once stood. Further secondary sources emerged mostly during the Medieval Period leaving Birka's history very fragmented.

In the 1680s, one of Sweden's earliest state antiquarians named Johan Hadorph made the first law to protect ancient monuments and conducted initial archaeological fieldwork at Birka. There he made detailed observations and collected artefacts in hopes that he had truly discovered the site of Birka. His initial observations were recorded in a map commissioned by Erik Dahlbergh and made by Carl Grimenhielm (see Figure 19).

Figure 19: 1600s map of the island of Björkö showing the site of Birka. *Source: Kungliga Biblioteket.*

Before there was a systematic approach to archaeological excavations, an amateur archaeologist from Scotland named Alexander Seton arrived at Birka in 1825 and started to excavate burial mounds in search of treasure. He likely would have continued his quest had he not died in the process. Sixty years later, Hjalmar Stolpe began the first legitimate excavations at Birka, and since then there have been many small excavations and larger excavations between 1969-1971 and 1990-1995. Due to restricted funding resources, excavations are limited.

Birka was a frequent location for day-trippers from the greater Stockholm region because of the national interest in the excavations (see Figure 20). In the early 1900s there was a steamboat that brought people from Stockholm on Sundays for an afternoon picnic. Visitors also increased again around the times of the first major excavations in the 1960s, 1970s, and most significantly in the 1990s.

Figure 20: Visitors to Birka in 1944. *Source: Folkrörelsearkivet för Uppsala län.*

In 1993 Birka and Hovgården became a UNESCO World Heritage site (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2020b). Due to the increasing number of visitors, a museum was constructed in 1996, which contains information about ongoing research and the excavations at Birka since the 1870s. Most of the original artefacts are kept in the National Historical Museum in Stockholm.

When visitation began to drop due to fewer excavations, the decision was made in 2006 to invite a group of professional carpenters, archaeologists, and students to begin construction on several reconstructed houses. They started with two common houses followed by a smithy and a bronze caster's home, which were meant to demonstrate different building techniques based on findings from previous excavations. The hope was that a reconstructed village would help to enliven the site and make its history more accessible to visitors of all ages. There are now approximately 50,000 visitors to the site every year, and the hope is to increase this number by providing more activities all year round.

Birka Online and Informational Brochures

The main website for Birka, run by the tourism company Strömma, is available in both English and Swedish. It already includes 'Viking city' in its heading and notes the significance of Birka as a Viking trading center. Visitors are told that they can go by boat, explore the cultural landscape, join a guided tour in the archaeological fields, and visit the museum and the reconstructed village all on one ticket. There is a link to a movie showing visitors encountering the site in the summertime with re-enactors. There is a long list of activities, and they make sure to note here that there are only re-enactors present at Birka during certain weeks in July. Guided tours are available in both English and Swedish, and visitors can also book a private tour at an extra cost. There is no discussion about accessibility. The historical information on the website is also very brief – first starting with a discussion about the site's World Heritage status and a brief history regarding the town's development and importance in trade. The website notes that further information is provided by the "skilled archaeologists and guides" that help "take you back to the Viking era" (Strömma Sweden, 2019). There are no links offered for further information.

Birka On-site

The journey to Birka starts with the boat ride from Stockholm during which the guide tells different stories including legends or significant archaeological findings in locations along the way. This helps create the impression of going on a historical journey of some kind. Upon arrival, the guide announces: "Welcome to the Viking Age." Right off the boat, there is a sign indicating that the site is a World Heritage site, and it discusses the different criteria for which it was selected and a basic background of the site.

As discussed before, the museum is very sparse, but there are longer historical explanations due to the lack of artefacts. There is also a movie shown at different times with English subtitles that gives a more extensive discussion of Birka's history with different visualizations of how the original town may have looked. The idea behind the museum is not to have a traditional museum, but rather it is meant to serve as a supplement to the "landscape and the historic surrounding visitors meet and experience on guided walking tours of the island" (Magnus and Gustin, 2012, p. 9). Rather than having informational signs throughout the landscape, the role of the experience is placed in the hands of the visitor because the museum provides them with the information they need to then explore the landscape on their own. Most of the information is in Swedish and in English – with the English descriptions often much shorter, and the quality of the English is quite poor. That being said, visitors took their time in the museum. A highlight is the small replica of Birka (see Figure 21).

Future ideas for the exhibition include having three different grave displays from different periods to show specific burial techniques from Birka. For example, the Birka warrior that turned out to be a woman is globally well-known, so they could make an exhibition that shows what the grave looked like when they found it.

Figure 21: A replica of Birka in the museum. *Source: Author.*

The guided tour begins near the museum at a meeting point. The guides warn visitors not to pick up or move anything along the way given that there are protective measures in place throughout the landscape. Visitors are also told that the path can be difficult, and that it is recommended to leave strollers behind and to be aware that those with walking difficulties may find it too challenging. The tour then moves up toward some of the first burial mounds on the hill closest to the museum, and the guide stops to provide some historical background about the Viking Age. The guide then usually asks the visitors to say the first thing they think about when they hear the word 'Viking'. Responses included: 'Minnesota', 'ships', 'horned helmets', 'pirates', 'HBO', and 'dragons'. After addressing common misconceptions, the guide clarified that "Viking is something you do more than what you are". Arriving above the main archaeological field, they discuss how many people lived there, what it might have looked like, and the different excavations that have occurred over time making sure to surprise visitors by telling them how little has actually been excavated. The tour lasts an hour and is very informative about the Viking Age and the different features in the landscape. Guides also stay after their tour ends on the hillfort to answer further questions from visitors.

The guides who give private tours note that it's nice to offer a more unique experience for the visitors. One guide had been working at Foteviken for 22 years giving the same tour over and over again, and he appreciated having more freedom in the private tours at Birka. He takes the visitors where they want to go and where their interests lie – sometimes into Hemlanden or other times more up close to the archaeological field and then "he tells visitors to close their eyes and imagine the clanging of metal from the smithy, to smell the smoke from the open fires, and to listen to the hum of daily life". Birka, he noted, is unique because "you really *feel* something when you *try*" (personal communication, 17 July 2018).

In order to really have an understanding of the historical site, it is imperative to join the guided tour. A site manager said they always try to encourage people to go on the guided tour because even if they think it will be boring, they notice that the visitors who don't go tend to be more disappointed in their experience than those who do because they don't understand the landscape. They are also very careful with the guides that they hire to make sure they are well-educated about Viking history, but that they are also comfortable speaking in front of people. Several visitors noted how great the guides were in storytelling, which helped bring the landscape to life and also helped them to understand "all the lumps and bumps" in the landscape that they never would have understood by themselves. For example, one wrote that their tour guide was very knowledgeable about the

Viking Age and had a "talent for storytelling," and "seeing the burial grounds while [she] explained the historical stories surrounding them was quite the experience!" (*Tripadvisor,* accessed 29 January 2020). Another complimented the style of storytelling by another guide saying, "He was telling us all kinds of stories about the Vikings in such a funny way that I can even remember now, usually I forget the stories after a while … We were captured by his stories" (Ibid.).

Many visitors, however, still expressed that due to the rather barren landscape, it affected their ability to imagine what it might have been like. For example, one visitor described Birka as a "countryside littered with animal poop and a lot of burial mounds with one cross at the top" that "does not give guides much to work with as they stop at one mound after another giving you a history of the Vikings". (Ibid.). While another found the guided tour very interesting, they noted that "you are shown where things used to be so basically a lot of fields and mounds of earth," and for their kids, they said this got boring very quickly (Ibid.). Others were quick to defend that Birka is an archaeological landscape, and visitors should be prepared to not encounter an amusement park and that "you need to take your fantasy with you in order to appreciate it fully" (Ibid.).

Many of these impressions from visitors also have to do with how the site is advertised online and the false expectations that this develops in the visitors. For example, one visitor said they visited Birka because they had seen "pictures of battles, blacksmith's shops, markets, etc. But when I got there, I saw none of that. Instead I spent a total of four hours on a round trip plus 3.5 hours at the place where you see a bunch of mounds, agro fields, etc.". However, this visitor also noted that the guided tour provides a "very engaging story as you walk the place and tell[s] you what you should be imagining" (Ibid.), which again emphasizes the importance of guides and re-enactors in communicating the history of the site.

For example, one re-enactor working in the village talked about how she tells stories to kids who come into the houses. She invites them to come in and sit with her while she is weaving and tells them some stories about the Viking Age. She said after she finishes her story, they always just sit there because they want to hear more. She thinks it also has to do with being inside the house that "gives them a feeling of being back in time" (personal communication, 17 July 2018). Of course, it was problematic for some visitors who noted that the re-enactors in the village did not seem as knowledgeable about the Viking Age as the guides, which impacted their sense of authenticity.

The site manager mentioned that instead of historically correct, they aim for "historically credible" (personal communication, 13 June 2019) because there is

so little that they know about who these people were or how they lived, which means everything is an interpretation. They make sure the visitors feel like they can go back in time without trying to make it seem like a fantasy world. In the museum there are lot of souvenirs that the tourists can buy, and the managers admittedly said that they can never know for sure if what they sell also would have been available in the Viking Age, and they also have a lot of modern things. After all, the visitors always want to have ice-cream, and they don't mind if that wasn't something the Vikings ate.

In the restaurant, visitors can try wild boar sausage, moose, smoked salmon, and a variety of local beers. The hope is to have everything locally made at some point and perhaps even lease some of the land from local farmers to grow some of their own food. In the future, it might be possible for the site managers to live on the island all year long, which could leave some possibility to include animals and bring in other potential ways of experiencing the landscape for visitors during the off-season or give different possibilities for visitors to explore on their own in the high season. The idea is to get visitors to stay longer because the largest issue at the moment regarding activities is the short duration of time visitors can actually spend on the island.

In order to perhaps address this problem, one site manager wanted to add an audio guide and some kind of virtual reality for those who prefer to explore the site on their own. The other manager, however, was quite adamant about being careful of having too much technology. Furthermore, there are many limitations regarding what they can actually do and how they interpret the landscape to visitors given the many different stakeholders involved in the site. The land is owned by Statens Fastighetsverk (Sweden's National Property Board) while the tourism is operated by Strömma. Strömma rents the museum and all of the associated buildings from the Property Board. The extended landscape is then also owned by private landowners, which is then regulated by Länsstyrelsen (the County Administrative Board). Therefore, any possible changes take a long time because all stakeholders have to agree on a course of action, and there are further limitations due to regulations under the World Heritage status. There is a strong desire to conduct more excavations, but it is not only funding that prevents progress. For example, work is often put on hold due to the hope that better technologies will be available later on.

There is also the impression that the type of visitors has changed, which also questions whether the visitor experience needs to be constantly re-evaluated. While there are still many families and groups of older people who come, there are now more young visitors who are Viking enthusiasts because of the popularity

of the TV series *Vikings* and *Game of Thrones.* One site manager noted that more and more visitors have hairstyles like the lead character in *Vikings*. They have beards and Viking tattoos, and they wear Thor hammers over their black t-shirts. A rising interest from a younger generation also means there are new opportunities to communicate the story of the site to visitors especially during the Viking weeks when visitors can do more hands-on activities with the re-enactors. For example, in the summer of 2019 they had a week for children at Birka where one of the activities was warrior school to teach children how to fight with shields and swords and learn about archery. There is also a day for the children to try out archaeology where there is a hole in the ground with some beads or other artifacts that the children have to find and then write what they think it is. Because the guided tour is for the adults, the managers say it is very important to have something for everyone. One jokes that when they have activities like archery, they are for everyone, but especially the 'grown-up kids'. There is no Viking market because it is impossible to bring so many people to the island all at once, and the visitors to a market don't want to already pay a large entrance fee. This means they have to be creative with what they offer visitors and how they attract them to the site in the first place.

Beyond the possible activities to experience the Viking world, one site manager mentioned that the history of the site in general is very important for Swedish people. In school, she argues, students learn about the history of the rest of the world, but not as much about their own country, which ultimately makes people feel rootless. And most importantly, she discussed that you have to know about your own culture in order to understand other cultures and be able to connect with others' experiences. With regard to the immense historical meaning attached to Birka, she argued that all historical landscapes are meaningful and that one is not more important than the other just because it receives more visitors. They all play an important role in communicating the history of Scandinavia and helping show what life was like in the past.

Foteviken

Historical Background

Foteviken offers a different perspective into open-air museums given that it does not have any connection to a historical Viking settlement. The site was established in 1995 between the County Council of Vellinge, the Swedish Viking Explorer Group (hereafter, SVEG), and the Falsterbo Museum. It is a registered cultural

institution with the aim "to increase historical interest in the history of past trade and shipping operations in the peninsula of Falsterbo" (Hannam and Halewood, 2006, p. 572). The initial idea for the museum was to feature the maritime shipwrecks discovered in the area, but this evolved into developing an open-air museum featuring re-enactors from SVEG, among others. They wanted to have a place where they could do experimental archaeology and also show living history to a wider audience (Fotevikens Museum, 2020b). According to the experimental archaeology organization EXARC (2008), an open-air museum is:

> a non-profit permanent institution with outdoor true to scale architectural reconstructions primarily based on archaeological sources. It holds collections of intangible heritage resources and provides an interpretation of how people lived and acted in the past; this is accomplished according to sound scientific methods for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment of its visitors.

While the site is open and occupied by resident 'villagers' from the late spring to the early fall, the craft week and Viking market are the largest events, and one of the largest Viking theme heritage festivals in Scandinavia with 12-15,000 visitors and 500 re-enactors from all over the world. There is also an archaeology day to show some experimental techniques and other smaller seasonal events such as a celebration of Walpurgis Night and the Swedish Midsummer.

Foteviken Online and Informational Brochures

The website contains extensive information about the site as well as further links regarding the surrounding landscape history as well as the history of the Viking Age. Most notably, the website claims that Foteviken provides visitors something uniquely different than other reconstructed villages in that it has "no glass display cases, no halls with marble floors, no descriptive signs and not even a traditional museum building" (Fotevikens Museum, 2020b). They claim it is as "historically correct as you can get" (Ibid.) because they base everything on archaeological findings. The basic narrative is that Foteviken is set in the 12th century CE and is a growing settlement in the early stages of developing into an early Medieval city. The reconstructed houses host different crafts.

The site is closed during the wintertime, and they are very clear when certain events are held and when re-enactors are present, but the emphasis is clearly on the Viking weeks when the town comes alive with re-enactors, youth volunteers, animals, and visitors. There are less strict rules regarding volunteers, though the

website contains a large amount of information for those who wish to participate. For example, the information for volunteers discusses how the museum is a full-scale Viking Age village "where time is frozen" (Fotevikens Museum, 2020a) and that it is very important for the staff to bring the site to life and answer questions because there are no signs.

The program of events is posted in both Swedish and English with exact dates and descriptions of everything visitors can do throughout the open season. Beyond the tours offered to school groups, there is the possibility to book separate guided tours for associations or tour bus groups. Similar to other sites there are extensive descriptions about the reconstructed houses. And in particular, the website emphasizes the role of the site in the local community and its wider connections to cultural projects across the world. There is also a section where news and updates about the site are posted, which adds a lot of transparency to the behind-the-scenes life of these landscapes. This is by far the most detailed website out of all the four sites studied, and leaves little to the imagination regarding the justification for the site's historical and educational value set within a wider significant cultural landscape rich in archaeological material.

A longer brochure about Foteviken available at the museum also discusses a stronger connection with the surrounding historical landscape – claiming that there was a Viking market on the site where Foteviken stands (the Halör market – perhaps the same as the alleged fish market, but this is unconfirmed), and that it was also a gathering place for worship and of course the site of the Battle of Fotevik. They also mention that there were five Viking ships discovered at the mouth of the Bay of Foteviken in the early 1980s – one of which has been recovered with some of the parts on display in the museum, and they also made a full-scale copy of the ship for sailing.

The brochure describes Foteviken as a "reconstructed Viking Age village in full scale where time is frozen at a couple of years after the battle". The brochure also mentions that there are two different seasons – one where visitors are able to explore the village themselves, and the other during summer when visitors can experience a recreation of what life was like in the Viking Age. Here they also note that while visitors are used to seeing signs, within the museum they do not wish to "break the illusion of a living Viking Age community", so visitors are encouraged to talk to the re-enactors instead. They also advertise their 'Ung i sommar' program, which invites younger people in the surrounding region to

work at Foteviken. There is then a longer description of the Battle of Fotevik and a description of the museum where re-enactors help to "make the Viking town environments come alive" – "providing visitors with a credible trip through time" by showing experimental archaeology and preservation techniques. There are also descriptions of all the houses, and that the runestone in the front of the museum was erected in 1997 to commemorate the Battle of Fotevik.

Foteviken On-site

While the site may look more like a Disney theme-park than Hedeby or Birka, there is still a clear dedication to historical accuracy. They claim to borrow the "skill at hiding modernities that improves the environments and reduces wear and tear and the need for maintenance" from Disney (Jakobsen and Barrow, 2015, p. 16). Upon further inspection of some of the Viking houses, for example, there is a plastic layer underneath the birch covering on the roofs to help with waterproofing.

The guided tour starts off at the very basic exhibition discussing the history of the site and the wider cultural landscape (particularly the maritime history) and continues with a short film. The tour then moves through the town to the different houses, and then people are left to explore by themselves. One tour guide notes that most people are interested in the warrior's outfits and want to try on different things. Visitors also always ask for pictures with the re-enactors. While current visitation numbers are high, the museum director says there are still difficulties with tour bus groups who come in for such short periods of time and tend to have a more superficial engagement with the site.

Again, in order to not ruin the sense of immersion, there are no signs at Foteviken. Even the craftsmen selling goods were not allowed to have signs on paper, so some of them improvised using leather or wood. It is therefore vital that visitors and staff communicate. And most importantly, as noted by the museum manager, the visitors must also touch, test, listen, and engage their senses in different ways. The primary crafts on display include ceramics, textiles, metallurgy, carpentry, leather working, and cooking, and visitors are often invited to test their hand at the different crafts. One year there was also Viking tattooing, which was mostly offered for other re-enactors as they were using a traditional technique (with modern equipment for hygienic reasons), and visitors seemed a bit taken aback by the prospect of a percussive needle-in-skin experience.

At Foteviken there is far more effort to create an immersion than at the other sites of study. The museum manager declares himself King of the "only reconstructed Viking city on earth" (in Larsson, 2010) and he claims that being a Viking is his full-time job aside from being the museum's director. In my own discussions with the 'King', he noted that they want to give a vivid impression of everyday life using a more active, hands-on approach. Because there are so many re-enactors during the Viking week, there were many impressions that verified this perspective. Everyone in the village carries a different responsibility, and different roles are given out to ensure a broad range of crafts. One re-enactor mentioned she only comes for the educational component and makes sure that they only use the products available to them locally. While it's easy to develop a fantasy world, she said that they need to be educated about the history and also have a well-developed story about their role in the village. While she noted that the storytelling component is very important for re-enactors because they can be anyone they want to be, they still have to be careful in how they interpret the past because the visitors look to them for answers. Her 'husband' at the farm came from the Czech Republic, so their farm language was English – something which applies in other areas as well. There was frequent emphasis on the 'come one, come all' perspective in the village for volunteers eager to learn different crafts.

While creating an immersive environment leads to a stronger sense of an authentic experience, it can also cause trouble when, for example, theatrical groups are allowed in who take their 'authenticity' too far. For example, in the summer of 2016, there were guards walking around the site from a group called the 'Nordic International Slave Trade' that travels around Europe to different markets. They look for 'slaves' to kidnap and then 'sell' – often filming it to later post to their *Facebook* group for their followers to comment on the 'goods'. At Foteviken, there was one unsuspecting visitor who suddenly had a net thrown over her head, an iron collar placed around her neck, and her hands tied behind her back. She was then 'sold' as a slave. The woman, however, said that she had not given any consent to participate nor have it then posted to social media, and she subsequently filed a police report (Karlsson, 2016). While the Viking group defended themselves claiming that the Viking Age was a time with different values, this then begs the question to what extent authenticity should be allowed if it so callously goes against the social and norms of the present day. Following the event, 200 women wrote an open letter about the continuing sexist and abusive behavior within the Viking re-enactment community (Landelius, 2016), which was followed by a debate article from four archaeologists who argue historically-recreated environments serve as shadow places to allow men to behave inappropriately. While "detention, repression, and sexual violence were part of

the Viking Age" (Berg *et al.*, 2016, my translation), they wonder why it is allowed to be part of open-air museums. Similarly, they note that in this particular case, a free woman would have never been captured and sold in a city's market during the Viking Age, so the theatrical group was not even following a historically accurate approach as they claimed. Instead of allowing fantasies of male violence to prevail based on "patriarchal beliefs about a man's right to take power over the female body" (Ibid.), they argue it is crucial to do re-enactment with "pedagogical skill and historical knowledge" (Ibid.) with educated participants.

This was an unfortunate situation for Foteviken because it was an external theatre group, and the villagers and managers were upset that their rules had been violated. According to Foteviken's independence law: "Nobody, either domestic or stranger, *Viking or not Viking*, man or woman … will be doomed for his or hers [sic] religion, background, sex or bodily defect" (Fotevikens Museum, 2020c, my emphasis). They also declare that Foteviken is and will always be a safe place for all people. With more young people having an interest in Viking heritage, many re-enactors discussed how important it is to set the right example and especially to show as true of a depiction as possible of how people lived in the Viking Age and to reject anything that manipulates or twists the discourse of the site outside of these parameters. One re-enactor family I spoke to, for example, has a very strong perspective on the re-enactment community saying that those who misuse Viking heritage are so "far from reality" (personal communication, 21 June 2017) and that anyone is welcome there. In the previous year, the father said there were 600 Vikings from 21 different countries with people from different religions and cultures represented. Similarly, there was a strong sense of defending re-enactment against role-playing. He says that they interact, they don't role-play, and while they can never get true authenticity, they are careful in how they portray the past because in re-enactment there is an emphasis on the educational component of what they do.

Other re-enactors I spoke to emphasized an interest in the history instead of specializing in a specific craft. Two men were enthusiasts about the Viking world and one of them had been a re-enactor for over 25 years. When we discussed the authenticity of the site, one laughed and said, "We are modern people". He then pulled back the reindeer fur on his bed to reveal an air mattress because he has a bad back. However, he said they are extremely careful with the modern things they bring along because it can destroy a good picture for someone. He also said that visitors often ask him who he is playing and he says he is just himself. The other then said they are there to educate people because of all of these misconceptions, but they also both noted that they like to be at the site when the

visitors are gone so they can just sit by the fire and tell stories between themselves. They also discussed having to break the stigma when they say they are re-enactors because people associate it with LARPing (live action role-playing). However, because of the rise in public interest in the Viking world, film crews have frequently come to the site that often feature the re-enactors working there, which helps shed more light on the meaning behind the work they do, and they have the impression they now gain more respect from these representations.

In bringing the history of the Viking world to visitors up-close, the museum manager discussed how everything is an interpretation in some way. However, he finds more benefit in having history up close and personal. In a museum, for example, there are signs that tell visitors not to touch anything, and he believes it hurts the visitors' understanding of the past and affects how much time they want to spend there. The inspiration for the different farms, for example, came from his visit to a large-scale display showing the different islands of Polynesia with re-enactors in Hawaii where the visitors were immersed in that world and could play an active role in learning about each region. He also recognizes the importance of the museum for local job creation and for fostering a wider European movement for live interpretation.

Within the village, the exchange of historical knowledge is also very important between the craftsmen themselves. The purpose of the craft week is not for the visitors, but for the exchange of craft knowledge from all over Europe. These events are also often funded by European organizations especially with regard to the protection of intangible heritage. Bringing in a wider variety of crafts also gives the visitors more to experience, and several of the craftsmen mentioned how important it is to show the benefits of traditional craftsmanship and that there are real craftspeople behind the crafts (see Figure 22). There is also knowledge sharing to the younger people working at the site who are seen as those who must take over the crafts and learn the techniques for the future. The basket weaver, for example, told me that he attends the market to make money as well as to educate people, and for him it is vital to emphasize the connection with the historical craft and to tell visitors what materials he uses and why based on historical findings because they like to invest in products that are more authentic. Two other craftsmen from France working on bead-making discussed the desire of tourists to have something authentic from the historical record because they crave having a story attached to what they buy. One of them noted that she also shows people where the beads she makes are inspired from because she notices the visitors are far more inclined to purchase something once there is a story attached to them.

Another craftsman showing "primitive living skills" finds it important to come to places like Foteviken to "make the past accessible to people" and she questions, "What's the point of doing all of this stuff if you don't share it?" (personal communication, 21 June 2017). She also thinks it is really important to show the complexity of the craft and just how intelligent the Vikings actually were. Similar to the craftsmen at Hedeby, many at Foteviken also had a display showing the historical sources that inspired their designs. One woman from Norway doing tablet weaving, for example, discussed how she found her design from a grave burial, but she lamented at how little we really know. She also commented that the Vikings were so much smarter than we think, and while she is only able to replicate what has been found, she knows there is so much more out there to be discovered. She was also adamant in saying "I'm not playing. That's not the right word" (personal communication, 30 June 2017).

Figure 22: Traditionally dyed fabrics and handmade clothing by a re-enactor from Peru. *Source: Author.*

This storytelling component of the craft is also a great way to get visitors involved. One craftsman has an entire book that shows her designs pictured next to original findings. I asked about her interest and background and she said she taught herself how to do this specific type of thin wire weaving for adorning clothing. She said no one knows exactly how the Vikings did it, so she developed free interpretations inspired by findings. She said that the craft just found her, and since then she always wears her traditional clothing.

Despite the reconstructions and presence of re-enactors, interpretation at an open-air museum continues to be difficult because of the lack of informational signs and the goal to let visitors wander and experience things for themselves without having any background knowledge. With the visitors, the museum director says it is "1+1=3" (personal communication, 21 June 2017). You have to get them to skip a step and imagine for themselves. Visitors reflected that sites like this help bring everything to life in showing what life was like. Many had seen the Vikings series and were inspired to come because of that. Others used the phrase that this site was 'real' and the experience was more authentic because of the reconstructions and re-enactors. However, one visitor noted that the "woman skinning the animal on the way in was a bit too real for me" (personal communication, 2 July 2017).

Similarly, for visitors who are exploring on their own, it can be difficult to seek out information from re-enactors. It is also a challenge if the re-enactors don't reach out to the visitors. Because there are so many volunteers, there tend to be groups of people meeting up after not seeing each other since the last year's markets. In these moments, it is perhaps easy to forget that their purpose is also to educate the visitors instead of only creating the illusion of a thriving Viking town in which their community interacts. In some cases, it was clear that the visitors did not ask questions or talk to people who seemed to be sitting in private circles carrying on conversations amongst themselves. Several visitors even noticed and commented on this behavior in that it had an impact on the quality of their experience. For example, one wrote that while the village itself is very interesting, the "Vikings" were "incredibly uninviting" (*Tripadvisor,* accessed 29 January 2020), and they felt like there was some secret club where they were intruding and the Vikings didn't want to share what they were doing. Another said that the "extras" seemed more interested in being a part of the village life instead of "being able to tell something of value" (Ibid.). Perhaps most unfortunately, one visitor

even said that they overheard the re-enactors talking badly about the visitors. Given that some of the re-enactors were unwelcoming, some visitors commented that they felt strange having to ask everything, and would have liked some informational signs because it was difficult to get the information elsewhere. Again, it was oftentimes unclear if the visitor was allowed to walk into houses that were occupied by re-enactors, and they tended to just look inside, see people, and immediately walk out again. Therefore, the question of putting up invisible barriers that visitors feel uncomfortable crossing was definitely present during the market week. There were then clear differences between the site when there were very few re-enactors in contrast to the Viking market when it was full.

That is not to say, however, that all the comments about re-enactors were negative, and it certainly was not the impression I had from the 'villagers' working there. That behavior was more common in those who came during the Viking market to sell their goods who were usually not doing any live crafts and therefore tended to be in more social gatherings. Those who were doing crafts were very interactive, and one visitor said it was the ultimate Viking experience for their whole family. They appreciated being able to see how different things were made in the past and the possibility for their children to try doing different crafts. People connected much more with the history when they felt like they were personally involved and invited to try things based on their own interests. The presence of re-enactors, therefore, often seemed to improve the sense of engagement with the past. For example, one visitor said that interacting with the re-enactors made the site more interesting — noting that the village by itself is not worth the visit.

During the Viking market, by far the most popular event was the Foteviken battle re-enactment (see Figure 23). There were perhaps 30 fighters participating, and it was clear from the beginning that the event is very staged, but visitors line the field on either side and were very attentive to the show. At the end, the re-enactors line up and run screaming straight at the visitors. Afterwards, the re-enactors were surrounded with people asking questions and children begging to hold their weapons and shields and try on their battle clothing.

Figure 23: A re-enactment of the Battle of Fotevik. *Source: Author.*

VikingaTider

Historical Background

Similar to Foteviken, the cultural landscape surrounding VikingaTider has been extensively settled over many centuries. Löddeköpinge, the area surrounding VikingaTider, was an extensive trading settlement during the Viking Age due its strategic location on the Lödde river running from the Oresund between Denmark and Sweden to the middle of the southern Swedish county of Skåne. During the Viking Age, settlements began to emerge in Skåne away from the coasts along rivers where marketplaces were often established. 'Köping' means trading place and aligns with other settlements with similar names in Skåne (e.g. Köpinge and Hököpinge found on the west coast) (Länsstyrelsen Skåne, 2020).

Fredrik Svanberg and Bengt Söderberg (2000) discuss that in 1965 someone noticed some black spots at a construction site in Löddeköpinge, and they decided to notify the antiquities authority. A former employee at VikingaTider told a different story that around the same time there was a farmer who worked on the fields around Löddeköpinge. While he was plowing, he would often uncover

archaeological material that he kept in a box in his house because he knew that if he notified the authorities, they would start excavations and he wouldn't be able to use his field. However, one day the farmer's dog came home carrying a piece of a human skull, and that's when he realized he couldn't hide it anymore. When the archaeological excavations took place, it was there that they then uncovered the early-Christian burials. In any case, both instances led to a series of excavations uncovering the extensive regional trading settlement and later uses of the landscape. While some have argued against the validity of claiming that it was as extensive of a trading settlement as that of either Hedeby or Birka, there is little doubt that the local farming communities were well-organized, and that the presence of a trading post carrying goods to many inland parts of Skåne was a contributing factor in the urbanization processes that began to occur in Skåne in the early Medieval period (Svanberg and Söderberg, 2000).

Archaeological excavations have uncovered areas where there was once a marketplace with a surrounding wall, different housing plots, an early-Christian cemetery and the remains of two churches from different periods (roughly 1020 CE and 1100 CE), a late-Viking Age ring castle, and a significant trading port at the mouth of the river. Beyond the marketplace, remains of Viking-era buildings have been uncovered including pit houses and burial mounds. Based on their findings, archaeologists suggest that the primary function of Löddeköpinge was the trade of local, predominantly household and agricultural goods, given the lack of evidence for more luxury goods. According to Svanberg and Söderberg, the significance of Löddeköppinge has been undervalued given that the archaeological material stands at the "intersection between prehistory and history – between prehistoric archaeology and medieval archaeology" (2000, pp. 9–10, my translation).

During the later Viking Age, it is suggested that the Danish King Harald Bluetooth constructed a circular rampart called a Trelleborgen with a fortress around 980 CE in Borgeby on the other side of the Lödde from the marketplace to protect the shipping route and create a more protected storage area for goods from the ships. In the early Medieval Ages, the function of the marketplace became increasingly obsolete as the large coastal trading ports developed to accommodate larger shipping vessels. As the settlement fell out of use, the wooden Borgeby fortress was burned. However, the site remained in use, and was gradually developed throughout the Medieval period first with a stone defense tower within the middle of the rampart followed by a larger brick castle during the 13th century (Svanberg and Söderberg, 2000) (see Figure 24).

Figure 24: 1818 painting by Ulrik Thersner depicting Borgeby castle, the Lödde river, and the archaeological landscape of present-day VikingaTider in the background. *Source: Lund University Library Archive.*

After excavations near the early-Christian cemetery and wooden church foundations, the land was bought by the municipality and then leased to a non-profit group. The group, made up of predominantly archaeologists, originally started a reconstructed village in the nearby village of Hög in the 1980s that started off as an archaeological experiment that then became more popular as a tourist site. That site was shut down in 1998, and a smaller group started the Viking Foundation and moved to VikingaTider where they created the reconstructed early-Christian farm and focused more on the educational side of historical landscapes.

VikingaTider Online

The website for VikingaTider is only in Swedish, so I have translated everything to English. It is described as an archaeological open-air museum that tries to recreate life as it once was in Löddeköpinge 1000 years ago – reminiscent of the same wording from Hedeby. Similar to Foteviken, they write that it is a place "where history comes to life" (VikingaTider, 2020), and they emphasize the importance of the wider landscape given that the geographical features such as the

presence of the river is one of the reasons the site developed where it did. They note they have 250,000 m^2 of land that they can use to bring the past to life. There is also a strong emphasis on weaving the past into the present – for example in educating school children about the past, using stories from the ancient world that are relevant today, and that it is a valuable site for both locals and visitors to use for its contemporary and historical meaning.

They emphasize the site's significance as a trading site as well as its importance in containing two early-Christian wooden churches and the cemetery. It is also noted that the reconstructed settlement is based on archaeological findings and visitors are met by an "authentic environment" especially due to the re-enactors who are "knowledgeable archaeologists and guides" (VikingaTider, 2020). There are also links to five *YouTube* videos in Swedish that give a much broader history of Löddeköpinge. They also have their own *YouTube* channel, but all of their videos are also only in Swedish.

Summer events include the 'Viking Summer' where there are re-enactors on-site after the Swedish Midsummer day with guides offered in English and Swedish. Visitors can try different crafts, help with daily chores, and learn more about Scandinavian history. The Viking market happens once a year, and is meant to recreate the bustling atmosphere of what the original trading place might have been like. There are summer camps for children and younger people to live like a Viking for multiple days and learn about daily life on the farm. For school classes, there are also special offerings during the off-season where the staff either come to the classroom to talk about the Viking Age with some hands-on activities and storytelling about Viking mythology or the students can come to the site and do more hands-on activities like learning how to grind flour and bake bread or churn butter, playing Viking-era games, using different weapons, casting Thor hammers, learning how to work the blacksmith's bellows, and carving runes. There is no information about the reconstructed houses.

Similar to the other sites, there is a place that discusses being a volunteer with two different documents about how to become a volunteer and the different policies they have regarding ensuring that all who are interested meet the criteria. The main document directs applicants to watch the informative videos linked from the website to learn more about the historical background of the region. There are also clear guidelines regarding clothing and modern accessories. While volunteers are not expected to have archaeological specialization, they are then not

permitted to offer guided tours or bring visitors around the village as that is reserved for a trained guide. It also notes that visitors should never feel excluded or ignored, so it is up to the volunteer to engage visitors in the craft that they are showing and answer any questions they may have or refer to an educated guide if they don't know the answer. Nowhere does it list when the site opens or that it closes for several months over the winter. Therefore, there is also once again the issues of communicating how and when visitors can access the site and who will actually be present at the site when they do visit.

VikingaTider On-site

The small exhibition when the visitor first walks in to the site shows findings from the more 'modern' landscape excavations, and there is a sign in English discussing the historical significance of the landscape upon which the site is built. The sign also claims that the marketplace was three times larger than Birka. While the landscape is large, the visitor only goes as far as the Viking village and perhaps to the river. There is no bridge or walkway to get to Borgeby castle, so at the moment, the connection to the wider historical landscape is still missing.

Before the first houses, visitors are met with a sign that shows plans for the future in developing a 'Fortress of Culture' that will be "one of Europe's most modern and secure exhibition halls" and that there will be more reconstructions of the historical landscape that will create a 'time axis' with a reconstruction of the church from 1020 CE, the 1000 CE farm, and an earlier 800 CE farm to demonstrate how life changed during the Christianization processes in the late Viking Age. So far, no new developments have happened nor is there any funding, so it is unclear how and when or even if these plans will come to fruition.

In my discussions with one of the site managers, he noted it is better to attract people to come without so many barriers of authenticity and strictness because most importantly it needs to be a fun experience. Once someone volunteers to be a re-enactor, for example, that is when they become more encouraged to learn more about Viking history and how to wear more traditional pieces. When we discussed how re-enactors behave towards the tourists, he also argued that there is no theatre in the landscape saying, "So I am not Thor. … I'm an archaeologist. I wear Viking clothes so I am able to show you, the tourist, how it works". Therefore, it is crucial to have the educational component by having visitors try things like handing them a hammer and saying, "Don't look at the blacksmith

working, do the blacksmithing" (personal communication, 26 April 2019). He thinks that "if it's too authentic, it's not accessible. If it's too accessible, it's Disney World" (Ibid). He therefore questioned whether they perhaps sacrifice authenticity by making it so hands-on and accessible, but he prefers having people learn for themselves what it might have been like to grind flour so that they can actually feel how tired their arms gets from making one loaf of bread. He also thinks the historical component in these places is important because it takes away the usual focus on the way kings and queens lived or how battles were fought and just gives an insight into everyday life in a very tangible way – the story is brought to life for the visitors.

Summarizing Story

Researching *Story* requires a broad exploration of different sources both on and off the site. The research can be difficult especially if the sources are limited or outdated. However, it is important to understand the historical meaning and function of the site and how it is being communicated to visitors in different ways. Throughout my fieldwork I struggled the most with my traditional understanding of historical interpretation. As a frequent visitor to heritage sites myself, I found that I typically looked for the information about the site where I usually would have gone as a visitor. Given that in most sites detailed information is usually limited to the museum, it was important to absorb as much as possible before then moving out into the landscape. I also tried to think like a visitor who might not understand certain archaeological terms or historical time periods to see if the information was communicated in a more accessible way. Beyond the museum, a greater challenge was to seek out alternative storytellers and spaces of learning and discussion where the history of the landscape and the people who have lived and worked in it over time is communicated more informally.

Based on the gaps identified in a study of *Locale,* it became clear that communication is key. It should not be assumed that visitors who have no prior knowledge of the Viking world should be able to show up in the landscape and fully understand what they are looking at without any informational signs. While there was often an emphasis placed on the visitor's own imaginations, storytelling was still identified as a key aspect in helping visitors understand and interact with the landscape. As many visitors noted, the rather ordinary landscapes with various mounds and lumps would be otherwise unidentifiable if not for a story attached

to them. Though in some sites the museums provided valuable information with which visitors could carry with them into the landscape, there was still a sense that guided tours and the presence of re-enactors were the most helpful in bringing the landscape to life. However, some visitors often felt like they were limited in how they could access information if they felt shy asking questions to re-enactors or if it seemed like they were not welcome in certain places.

While there was often an emphasis placed on visitors using their own imaginations, storytelling also seemed to be connected with getting visitors to learn in a more hands-on, experiential way. For example, they should take information from the museum and use it later to visualize the historical landscape in front of them by moving through different areas of the landscape and developing different sense impressions based on the information provided. Visitors were also often encouraged to ask questions alongside trying different things, and the educational value emerged from this performative process.

There was also a clear emergence of different discussions of authenticity where the historical accuracy was frequently emphasized with respect to reconstructions and traditional crafts, but at the same time, limits to authenticity were placed on different areas of accessibility – for example, in more interactive techniques that may have lapses in authenticity, but are still more educational ways of communicating the past to visitors. Given that storytelling was often placed in tandem with a more experiential aspect of the past, this then opens the door to explore how different visitors encounter the landscape and how previously overlooked or undervalued emotional and affective dimensions can be reassessed for their potential impact on the visitor experience.

3.5 Researching *Presence*

In order to conduct a phenomenological study of landscape, Tilley argues there are different dimensions to consider. For example, "[it] involves the intimacy of the body in all its senses. … [It's] synthetic, an affair of the whole body moving and sensing – a visionscape but also a soundscape, a touchscape, even a smellscape, a multi-sensory experience" (in Bender, 1998, p. 81). Walking around Stonehenge, Tilley says if he would study the landscape he would first look at everything in relation to the landscape and he would "try to build up an intimate knowledge of the landscape-setting through walking from one place to another, looking at views, the intervisibility between features, what things go out of sight, or come into sight at various points" (Ibid.). He would not take notes at first, but rather simply walk through the landscape to allow for a multisensory encounter. Afterwards he would take very detailed notes and pictures.

Though I have been inspired by Tilley, phenomenological landscape research has also been criticized for once again assuming a certain perspective where we are more often "*seeing in the world"* rather than *being in the world* (Edmonds, 2006, p. 171). Edmonds, for examples, questions whether we continue to perpetuate romantic notions of the rural, idyllic, countryside through ways of walking in the landscape. He wonders whether we are ever really able to experience the past or "past form of dwelling" (Ibid.) of certain landscapes simply through visiting and encountering them with our bodies. However, he does note that using a landscape perspective allows for the study of the intersections between "different spatial and temporal scales" (Ibid.). While such work reveals the complexity of landscape experience, he notes that one of the largest challenges in historic landscape management is allowing visitors "to find their own connections and their own ways in, and in this, it may be that our current basis for defining and promoting '*landscape value'* is part of the problem" given that it fosters a "nostalgia for a past that never really existed" and "it lends itself to pernicious origin myths which have no place in either present or past" (2006, p. 185, original emphasis). Here he calls

for a more multi-sensory approach to research where we involve other senses and open up to other voices because otherwise "the path simply takes us back to ourselves" (Ibid.). This perspective was also echoed by Lisa Hill who is skeptical of work that relies too much on the author's "thoughts, feelings, and memories" (2013, p. 382), and calls for landscape research that includes other voices (including multi-voices of the past), experiences, and the multi-sensual.

Therefore, taking into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches, I developed my own methodology to study presence in three stages: (1) embodied, (2) observational, and (3) collaborative, which I discuss more extensively in my article *Presence in Affective Heritagescapes: Connecting Theory to Practice* (Burlingame, 2019), but I will summarize them briefly here.

Embodied

Inspired by Tilley's phenomenology of the landscape approach, the *embodied* component begins with the researcher, and then expands outwardly in the next stages. The first stage requires walking through the landscape and developing different sense impressions – exploring different paths and allowing the body to follow different impulses in the moment based on anything that catches the researcher's attention. This should be done over multiple days and even during multiple visits to factor in changes in weather, the ambiance of the site at different times, or the variability in the day-to-day lived experience. The landscape walks should then be recorded through reflective writing. While emotional and affective encounters are often difficult to express, it is possible to describe the places the researcher visited where they felt *something*.

While we can never fully know the depth of how someone experiences a present moment, personal reflection is easier to represent. This technique is often called autoethnography, a qualitative method through which the self is attached to ethnography. The distant observer, objective researcher, and active participant all become intertwined. According to Watson and Till, "Ethnography is a research strategy used to understand how people create and experience their worlds through processes such as place making, inhabiting social spaces, forging local and transnational networks, and representing and decolonizing spatial imaginaries" (2010, p. 121). Based on the concerns that ethnographers often impose a certain gaze in these studies, autoethnography allows researchers to place the self within a certain social or cultural context in order to reflect on the nature of being there

through their own experiences. Autoethnography is also a useful method for researching presence because "it provides access to the affective qualities of place" (Butz, 2010, p. 152). However, reflexive and personal narratives are often considered troublesome because most academics are unable to create a text that uses the self to offer valuable insights to readers. Instead, their work becomes too inward-looking, and the "excessive self-referentiality" (Butz, 2010, p. 142) becomes detrimental to the value of a work because it is not applicable to anyone beyond themselves. Heewon Chang shares a similar opinion noting, "The irony of self-narratives is that they are of self but not self alone" (2008, p. 33). However, when done thoughtfully and in conjunction with other forms of knowledge, autoethnographic research "should be appealing to geographers because its emotionally invested, experiential perspective is grounded in place, saturated with local specificity, the ebb and flow of daily life and what is going on behind the scenes" (Butz, 2010, p. 151).

Therefore, I kept a careful reflective diary accompanied with photography to record interesting observations. Watson and Till (2010) recommend different forms of writing, photographing, and recording moments in the field to capture and make sense of lived experiences. Considering different ways I might collect information through different senses also helped me put into perspective how the general atmosphere of the day affected my research. For example, on one particular day at a Viking market, I was really hoping to do some participatory walking interviews with visitors. However, it was torrentially raining throughout the day, which meant not only were the few visitors there not really interested in talking, but I also was not feeling as engaged or lively in grasping the lived experience on a very cold, wet, and muddy day. Therefore, it is just as important to encounter a landscape on its bad days as much as its good days.

The most important outcome by the end of this stage is to have a thorough phenomenological analysis of the emotional and affective dimensions of the landscape, which can help guide the next stage to see how others experience the site.

Observational

Especially in the *Presence* theme, the issue of representing others' lived experiences is the most difficult. While non-representational, or more-than-representational, theories suggest other ways of capturing the lived experience including, for example, performativity or creative art pieces, a large part of understanding the

affective capacity of a site is relating one's own experiences to the ways others encounter the site. The observational stage therefore requires the researcher to make non-participant and participant observations — for example through recording how and where visitors go through the site and their interactions with different areas or as an active participant on a guided tour. These observations should note if there are areas where the visitors do not go as a way of better understanding how other elements of the landscape that are not yet in the visitor experience might be included at a later time. This is also why it is important to not solely rely on visitors' impressions when making a study of the quality of the site experience because visitors cannot reflect on where they have not been. Therefore, it is just as important to observe areas where visitors are not present.

Another element to pay attention to is whether the site provides certain features to help visitors become more present. Since in heritage sites the assumption is that visitors are looking for something real and for experiencing what it was like to be there, there is a search for something that makes visitors feel personally connected to the past. They want to smell, touch, taste, *experience* the past through our own bodies. This shift resonates in history's affective turn (see Agnew, 2007) – where there is a recognition that visitors are looking for something more than a traditional guided tour through an archaeological landscape or a slow, controlled, often audio-guided stroll through a museum full of stagnant glass exhibitions. This also implies there is a desire to get off the 'tourist path' (see Tilley, 1994) since these are routes typically already decided for the visitor. In order to assess how sites are controlling visitor movement as well as more interactive elements, I refer back to Gianna Moscardo's 'Setting Factors vs. Visitor Factors'.

With respect to 'Setting Factors', Moscardo's basic argument is that repetition and lack of variety of experiences are major factors decreasing visitor attention and causing mindlessness. It also matters what information is offered to the visitor since she argues content should be perceived as "personally relevant, vivid or affectively charged" as well as "novel, unexpected or surprising" (1996, p. 382). Ultimately, visitors should be challenged to participate in the information provided while also being given a certain amount of control through different interactive and participatory techniques.

Moscardo also reflects on the use of guides in certain instances, which she says helps with mindfulness because they "provide physical orientation, and, through their ability to answer questions, they can make the material presented personally

relevant for visitors" (Ibid.). However, it is important to note there is a difference between the traditional standardized lecture tour and a tour where the guide asks visitors questions and encourages them to participate. Another option might be to encourage self-guiding walks to help reduce congestion while also informing visitors about lesser-known sites or areas.

In terms of 'Visitor Factors', Moscardo notes that mindfulness is often determined by a high level of interest and alertness and therefore mindlessness can sometimes be caused by visitors with a low level of interest, but also visitors who are simply fatigued. Similarly, she notes that different motivations also affect mindfulness including educational vs. social goals, where those with social goals typically aren't as mindful as those with educational goals. Therefore, Moscardo suggests certain techniques to help with alertness including ensuring that there are adequate places to sit and making sure the general plan of the site is designed appropriately to give visitors breaks and time to process different spaces. Ultimately, in order to encourage mindfulness, visitors need variety, control, connections to personal experiences, and engagement with the site that challenges and encourages questions and reflective thinking. Therefore, these factors should be considered when researching a site by noting the different mechanisms aimed at improving the visitor experience that might encourage mindfulness or, conversely, cause fatigue and mindlessness.

To collect this information, I joined guided tours, made observations in the museum, followed different walking routes, and observed which areas of the site seemed to be the most visited. I particularly noted behaviors or activities that did not directly align with the function of the site – for example, when tourists picnicked in certain areas or wandered off in different ways that implied they had interests in something beyond the confines of the site. This could mean there are other possible ideas for developing a wider area around the site to provide visitors with more ways of interacting with not only the past, but the present landscape.

I only carried around a small notebook and pen – recording observations throughout the day and noting anything interesting with an extra reflection as to why this was interesting. I remained more open to what the field offered in spontaneous moments. For example, I usually simply wandered around the site just as a tourist would and allowed for conversations to naturally happen.

At this stage it should be more evident if there are areas of the landscape that are overlooked or if there are certain aspects of the visitor experience that can be improved. While some of the information gathered might help verify impressions from the *embodied* stage, this stage is far more concrete in identifying potential new affective or emotional dimensions of the site experience that might help create a stronger sense of presence from the landscape itself and also encouraging mindfulness and a deeper connection and awareness from the visitor. At this point, it is then possible to move on to the final stage of researching presence, which involves collaborative work with those responsible for the visitor experience. The main goal is to transform abstract interpretations of the landscape and visitor experience into practical strategies that can be implemented to address what was uncovered in the first two stages.

Collaborative

Although the collaborative stage should start from the very beginning to help those responsible with the site experience develop their own new encounters with the site, this stage is particularly important in bringing together information gathered from the first two stages and working together to figure out if there is a clear potential for implementing changes. The collaborative stage requires the researcher to establish a strong rapport with those responsible for the site including the tour guides, the re-enactors, and the site managers. My approach was to always make them aware of what I was doing and that I was available for them to share something about their roles and experiences at the site spontaneously throughout the day. Otherwise, there were also often opportunities to hold focus groups and semi-structured interviews to have more dynamic and direct discussions.

In my conversations with re-enactors throughout the day, I would start by asking them to explain what they were doing if they were working on some craft or other project, and once they seemed to be comfortable, I would explain that I was doing research about visitor experience (among other things) and asked if it was okay to ask them a few questions about their experiences volunteering at the Viking site. Usually they were very willing to talk with me and seemed keen on sharing their stories and their impressions of life in a Viking village. Conversations were typically very dynamic as many brought me to their favorite parts of the site or led me to other people they thought I should talk to. There was an enormous interest in the work I was doing, and I realized that the re-enactors were some of the best sources of information about tourist engagement and experience because

they are the ones observing long-term changes as well as having more insight into site experiences that might not be emphasized.

During each spontaneous interview or conversation, I decided not to use a voice recorder. Within the first few encounters with different interviewees I noticed the conversation flowed more easily when I just sat with them and took some notes and made sure that if they said something really powerful that I would repeat back what they said to make sure I had written it down correctly. This process of collecting specific quotes in the moment also allows for more distinctive words to stand out. Especially when there is a formal interview, subjects tend to develop scripted answers or at least have an idea of what they want to say in order to fulfill what they think we as researchers are looking for. In my opinion, and what Marshall and Rossman argue, this technique misses out on the "complex narratives of personal experience" (2016, p. 101). Therefore, by taking very detailed notes with cross-checked direct quotes, the conversation flowed more naturally. Most of the re-enactors continued doing their craft while we were talking and I tried to just sit by them and act as 'casual' as possible so they felt at ease and not so scrutinized. Another element to consider was that some of the re-enactors participate in these sites because they wish to live differently, which could affect their interest or willingness in being recorded for an interview. For example, one re-enactor that I got to know quite well at different sites over several years is a fantastic storyteller, but he tells them on his own time during spontaneous encounters. Sometimes he would make a coffee and we could sit and talk for a bit while I took some notes and with one turn of the head he might be gone. Or sometimes I would be writing a reflection and someone would come sit next to me to share a story. In these sites, the rhythm is different and the rules of research are irrelevant.

The informal way of approaching the collaborative stage is also due to the nature of holding reflective focus groups. This was oftentimes done over the dinner hour when we all sat together or around a campfire or while several people were working on their crafts. Once I discussed my research and the impressions I had developed so far, we would usually then enter into a phase of sharing different stories – where they explained how they encounter the site and where they find meaning in it as well as what they think might be improved over time. Given that this final stage is collaborative, the goal is to develop ideas together and ensure that everyone feels like they can be involved and add their own input. As ideas emerged, it was then possible to start discussing the potential of coming up with

practical ways to actually implement these ideas on-site ranging from short-term to long-term plans. This is also a vital part of conducting research where the research that we do is communicated clearly and is also collaborative in nature so that it can serve a more applicable purpose. This was apparent in my discussions with site managers who expressed their interest in analyzing the site in different ways, but that they do not have the time themselves to think in a more abstract way because of the pressures from more traditional heritage management processes that do not often leave room for more creative evaluations of the landscape and the visitor experience.

Hedeby

During my first visit to Hedeby in June 2015 I was just a tourist. Therefore, the impressions that I developed from that first visit were invaluable to my overall understanding of the site experience. During the low season, there are no re-enactors in the village except people in one tent selling some wool products and necklaces. I found the museum to be very interactive and informative, and I particularly enjoyed the room where they have a case filled with all of the artifacts found at Hedeby that came from all over the world. The boat display is also really interesting because they incorporate different elements to make it more immersive such as having sounds playing to mimic a bustling harbor, the water, and a video demonstrating everyday life at the harbor. This is also reflected in the room's architecture that is meant to feel like being inside a Viking ship. The larger windows facing the lake welcome a lot of light into the room, and due to the natural surroundings, it feels very secluded (see Figure 25).

Figure 25: View from inside the museum facing the lake. *Source: Author.*

When the weather is nice, visitors can sit outside at the restaurant, which I did while eating wild boar sausage. The surrounding nature also feels so dynamic – there are many birds around and the sheep calmly graze within the landscape. It can feel very serene when there are few visitors. Since this was my first ever visit to an open-air museum, I was completely enthralled by the village. I enjoyed making the effort to get there because I felt like a visitor to the old city of Hedeby as others would have arrived walking through the surrounding landscape. The village quickly comes into view with animals grazing in the field nearby. Due to the lack of re-enactors and visitors, I was able to go inside all of the houses and explore their different components in more detail. For each house there are different furnishings and household items that give clues to what the houses were used for in the absence of informational signs. They appear as though the re-enactors had just left for the day.

Because I paid such close attention to detail with the built fabric of the site, I noticed that after the village there was a path leading up around the site, and as a nature lover, I instinctively decided to follow it given that I also had no time restriction to my visit. It ended up being a beautiful trail that wound around the

other side of the lake. At some points, the trail became very dense with foliage, so I felt very immersed in nature. The few people who passed by were locals with their dogs or runners. As I moved along the trail, I started to think of how the people of the past might have felt as they took a stroll in the forest near the village. Along the way there were also several runestones (fortunately with informational signs), which added to the feeling of having stepped back into the past. At one point, the trail goes higher, and there is a nice view over the lake and Hedeby below on the other side. I remember feeling very connected to the landscape at that moment as I was surrounded by history and nature. The birds chirping above and the locals walking by on the path were also a palpable reminder that the landscape is a living landscape, and it was nice to see that it plays a large role for local community recreation.

This first visit was purely based on what I took away from the museum and brought with me to the village and beyond. I left feeling like I had stepped back into the past, and this was primarily due to the fact that I didn't really encounter anyone else (see Figure 26). Having the site to myself allowed me to develop my own impressions and ways of walking through the site, and because I found the nature trail, I also engaged with the wider landscape and could connect more with the surrounding area and reflect on why the original settlers decided to build Hedeby where they did. While I did not experience any 'hands-on' engagement, I still felt like I had spent an afternoon in the Viking Age following my own impulses, which felt very active in its own right.

Figure 26: One of the reconstructed houses in an empty Hedeby. *Source: Author.*

During my second visit in March 2018 for the spring market, I arrived to an extraordinary long line of cars parked alongside the road outside of the site for as far as the eye could see. I had left early to beat the crowds, but I still ended up in a line of cars trying to park. I couldn't believe there were so many people there compared to my previous visit, and I immediately knew that I was going to encounter a different site. The weather was also completely different. It was nowhere near what one might imagine for a spring market as there was still a bit of snow and a well-below freezing temperature with a bitter windchill. I realized that my experience of the site would have an entirely different dynamic mostly due to the fact that I couldn't take notes or pictures as it was just too cold. The museum was closed due to renovations, so all the visitors walked down the muddy path toward the reconstructed village where the market took place (see Figure 27).

According to the event description, there were 300 craftsmen with tents set up all over the field over the site selling their goods. You really couldn't go against the crowd of people in some places because there was at least 1,000 people inside at any given time throughout the day (see Figure 28). At the different stands people asked questions and touched the different crafts (see Figure 29).

Figure 27: Visitors leaving Hedeby's spring market. *Source: Author.*

Figure 28: Visitors at Hedeby's spring market. *Source: Author.*

Figure 29: A younger visitor reaching for handmade knives. *Source: Author.*

The market was very commercially oriented, and many of the craftsmen were not making anything on the spot, but rather selling what they had made over the winter months for the markets. While children were running around the site (many playing on the large woodpile), they were more limited when it came to the craft stands. Some of the crafts take a lot of time and are more expensive, so children were often told not to touch or there were explicit signs stating not to touch anything. In these instances, there was less of an opportunity for visitors to try things because it was less about the experience and more about purchasing traditional goods. There were some activities available, but they cost extra money. These included 'Viking-style dishwashing for children', shooting a bow and arrow, and making your own Thor's hammer.

The crowd was predominantly German – indicating that the market is more of a local event. Many visitors were also dressed as Vikings or had longer hair, beards, piercings, and tattoos inspired by Viking styles. That being said, the fact that visitors who come in non-modern clothing must wear stickers to differentiate themselves with the actual volunteers at the site continues to show the attention to detail paid at Hedeby to maintain as much control over the historical authenticity as possible. This is a clear message that while visitors are welcome to come dressed as they please, they are not welcome to make the Viking world something that it was not.

The historical authenticity of the site is also a large motivation that attracts re-enactors. When I asked some of the re-enactors why they come to Hedeby, some said it has to do with the historical significance and the stronger attachment they feel to the place because of the archaeological value. One woodworker, for example, said he prefers to come to Hedeby than Foteviken, for example, because of the stronger historical and archaeological connection to the site. He also said he loves going to Norway because there is such a deeper feeling of history there because of the more epic landscapes. The lack of a more 'epic' landscape at Hedeby also influenced how visitors behaved at the site especially during markets when visitors rarely went beyond the parameters of the site. Some people took pictures by the lake, but the focus was on the event. This also indicates the importance of visitor engagement in the wider landscape instead of just assuming the landscape will speak for itself.

The nature of the events offered can also influence tourist behaviors and how they move through the site. For example, during the spring market, there were significantly fewer possibilities to explore because there were so many people walking in and out that visitors felt pressured by the crowd to move quickly through the site rather than being able to linger in certain places and take their

time. There were also some people with strollers and others in wheelchairs that were struggling to deal with the muddy conditions. The weather also made for a more uncomfortable experience as several visitors were warming their hands over re-enactors' fires. This did add a bit to the traditional feeling, however, when I came back from working at the site all day and it was impossible to get the smoky smell out of my hair for several days thereafter.

On my final visit in October of 2018, it was very misty and quiet, which gave the landscape a very eerie, sleepy feeling. There were only re-enactors walking along the road, so this time the Vikings were home. There was no market going on, so I was able to see the site in a whole new dynamic. Given that there were people working in the houses and often sitting inside in groups, I had the immediate impression that I was intruding, and I often said 'sorry' without realizing it if I poked my head in and there were people inside. I felt a bit like I suddenly didn't belong in this world because there were very few other visitors, and my modern clothes were out of place in this now very active village filled with working 'Vikings'. It was also filled with different sounds from all the crafts and smells from the fires and food cooking, and the natural setting was again emphasized by some animals walking around the site and the cattle grazing just on the other side of the fence (see Figures 30 and 31).

Figure 30: A fire burns as a re-enactor prepares lunch in the longhouse. *Source: Author.*

During that visit I spent significantly less time on the site because it was also the day of the World Heritage nomination festival, and I wanted to talk to some of the locals to understand their impressions. The celebration was held near the Danevirke museum and the remaining large sections of the wall. There were several hundred people who came for the celebration – although most of them were more senior members of the local community. In general, the local community seems very happy about the nomination, and the event was sponsored by many different local businesses. There was an excitement in the air of what the nomination will do in terms of bringing more visitors not just to Hedeby, but to the surrounding landscape as well. Some locals see some potential in bringing more people to local restaurants, cafés, and accommodations. One couple, for example, said they were very excited about the nomination because they're convinced it will bring more tourists and they can finally open up a bed and breakfast. They also want to provide bicycles for rent so visitors can go along the wall and explore the landscape more easily between the Danevirke and Hedeby.

Figure 31: The local guardians of Hedeby. *Source: Author.*

Overall, the experience of Hedeby is multi-dimensional depending on the time of year and the events that are going on. Based on visits during different seasons, visitors had conflicting impressions of the site experience. There was a clear difference in how visitors ranked the site in their reviews depending on whether it was the high or low season. Similar to Birka, there is the impression that the site does not meet people's expectations if they visit during the low season when there are no re-enactors or when the reconstructed village is closed. With respect to the museum, one person noted that it is not a very "imaginative place, and the museum is very restrictive with signs that say don't touch anything and please be quiet, which is not welcoming for children". Other visitors also expressed that they didn't find the museum to be very child friendly because there was a lack of interactive elements.

The higher ratings were given by visitors who described being able to "see", "observe", and "experience" how people lived: "You can feel like a Viking at the village – you can experience the history up close. … You can spend a few hours there in a little 'time travel' with the Vikings." Several others also used the phrase "time travel" where they were able to touch different things and "feel the spirit" of the past. Comments about the markets primarily relate to experiencing how life was like in the Viking Age, but that it was often crowded and difficult to move around to different places. Those who went to the site outside of events then noted that they were happy they were able to explore more, but felt like they missed out on the re-enactors and the impression of daily life. Perhaps the most interesting aspect to the site experience is that no visitor suggested to include more technology, and instead preferred engaging in a more hands-on way.

Engagement at the site also depends on the visitors themselves. As the museum director pointed out, there are many different visitors who crave a range of activities and ways into understanding the landscape. For example, school classes require a far more dynamic site experience whereas other visitors come during the off-season because they want to experience the site in peace. However, among all visitors, she says, "there are always people who dive more deeply into the past" and have a curiosity about the site. These visitors usually also want to have someone who can answer questions and help them navigate the site beyond its materiality. Therefore, given the rurality of the landscape, the director of planning noted that the main motivation for the reconstructed settlement was "to make the actual site more interesting and appealing" given that "many visitors were

disappointed coming to the site virtually seeing nothing apart from the ramparts". The markets are then a way to add even more historical ambiance to the site to show what the hustle and bustle might have been like during a Viking Age market 1000 years ago. Communicating the past in such a vivid way in relation to the present is also large component of their educational responsibility as a museum, the director noted, and it is also one of the most important parts of helping visitors develop a sense of place in the landscape. Therefore, the presence of the site is distributed through different means depending on the visitor, and there are clear barriers when certain visitors should or should not come depending on what they want out of the site.

As noted before, the site struggles with getting younger people interested, and the pressure from the World Heritage nomination also carries certain expectations for improvement. While the wider landscape is important, and there are a lot of tours that take people out into the landscape, they also want to attract more international visitors and improve communication about the site perhaps through an updated audio guide or an app. However, visitor numbers have increased almost three-fold after the World Heritage nomination, so there is also less to be concerned about at the moment. Given the variety of tours, the nature trail, the museum, and reconstructed houses sitting further apart that forces the visitor to encounter more of the landscape, collaborative discussions with different employees indicated that there is no pressing need for improvement at the moment, but more long-term changes might be re-considered in the future. For the time being, the focus is on the educational value of the site and the possibility of cross-border collaborations with other Viking heritage organizations and sites.

For now, to get the full experience, the visitor needs to be active and involved with Hedeby, be curious to see what's around different corners, and have a love for nature and taking long walks. The clues are in the landscape with the massive rampart, the flowing waters of the fjord that once carried common and precious goods throughout Scandinavia and beyond, and the small settlement at the water's edge where life in Hedeby once began. All it takes is a little imagination and an open afternoon.

Birka

Upon arrival during my first visit in July 2018 I felt lost as a visitor. Questions started whirling in my head that usually would have been clearly communicated at a more traditional monumental site like 'where do I go?' or 'what am I supposed to see?' or 'what am I supposed to do?'. Given that the only way to get to the island is by boat, there is a certain sense of solitude. There are no roads or cars, the old buildings are in need of new paint, and the lack of full-time residents on the island adds to a sense of disconnection to the modern world. The tour guide that I spent the most time with on my first visit told me that the reason people come here is because of the isolation and the intrigue. Several visitors noted that they decided to come because it was a chance to "get out of the city and into nature".

From the very beginning, it is clear that the guided tour is a necessary part of getting to know the island. Otherwise, without any prior knowledge, the visitor is left with too blank of a canvas to understand the history that surrounds them. At the same time, however, the guided tour is meant as a set of tools to help the visitor go off and explore on their own. That being said, as one tour guide pointed out, most people still tend to stay in the tourist area while only a few from each group venture further to the grave field or the chapel.

The mood of the island also switches depending on whether the tourists are there or not. Given that 350 people can fit on the boat from Stockholm, and there are multiple boats from other ports that arrive during the high season, between around 12:00-15:00 the site is bustling. However, this is a very limited window of high activity. In the mornings and late afternoons, the island is devoid of visitors, and those who come with their own boats and stay overnight can have the site completely to themselves. While the museum opens only slightly outside of the hours when the tourist boats arrive and depart, the rest of the site is completely public and accessible.

During my first visit, I made sure to do everything on the main tourist track. I explored the museum first, which I found to be rather empty and rustic. There is no technology except the film that screens periodically, so the visitor must do a lot of reading. According to Magnus and Gustin (2012, pp. 8–9), the purpose of the museum is "to create images of a distant past which visitors can remember while exploring the historical landscape of Björkö" given that first time visitors

would otherwise "find it difficult to imagine what a Viking Age market town looked like and how it functioned". While the small replica of the city helps to give an impression of the scale, there are no clear visualizations showing the landscape as it was now and how it is today to help visitors imagine these changes once they actually go to the archaeological field.

I then joined the English guided tour each day. Visitors follow in a scattered line heading to the main archaeological field with several stops along the way. Given the rather quick pace of the tour, there are few chances to stop to take pictures. Once at the archaeological field, the guide says (with different variations): "There it is! You're looking at it. That's right. It's just a farm field now", and there would usually be an audible "oh…" of disappointment from the visitors. Of course, the appeal of the landscape was very dependent on the season. When it was scorched by the sun in July, the brown monotony induced yawning (see Figure 32).

However, during my second visit in June the next year, there was very rainy and cold weather. As we approached the top of the hillfort, the sun suddenly peaked out. As the tour guide announced, "Here it is – the Viking metropolis", one of the visitors commented how beautiful it was (see Figure 33). When I asked why she said that, she replied that it just looks pretty with all of the green and lush scenery and the lake in the background. There were also very few visitors during this second trip, with less than 20 on the boats each day due to the rough weather circumstances, so the guided tours felt more private than they did in the summer with so many visitors joining all at once.

Figure 32: View of Birka's archaeological landscape in July 2018. *Source: Author.*

Figure 33: View of Birka's archaeological landscape in June 2019. *Source: Author.*

Online it says when you visit Birka "you can almost touch history" (Strömma Sweden, 2020). By following the tourist path, I never had this feeling myself. However, I was able to get a more immersive engagement with the past when I set out by myself each morning and evening before the tourists arrived. By following the main tourist track each day, I didn't feel like I was able to follow my impulses, so I set off to find other routes around the site and other potentially interesting places to see. One area I encountered with a particularly strong presence was the grave field of Hemlanden adjacent to the main archaeological field. It is the largest Viking Age cemetery in Scandinavia, but it is not included in the visitor experience. There are no signs to indicate where it is nor any informational signs about what it is – leaving the entrance unclear or seemingly off limits to the visitor because the area is fenced in due to the local livestock (see Figure 34).

Figure 34: Entrance into Hemlanden. *Source: Author.*

I decided to go to Hemlanden early in the morning before the heat of the sun kicked in, and I was met with a very unexpected experience. While the longer version of the story can be found in my article on researching presence (Burlingame, 2019), the moral of the story is that I found myself alone among the burial mounds, and the past suddenly became very present. I was awestruck how being in a landscape of the dead made me painfully aware of every *thing*, sound, and smell around me. I wrote:

> I couldn't shake the feeling of knowing I was alone, but somehow not alone. I thought if I listened closely enough, I could faintly hear whispers of the past – of the people inside the mounds. Who were they? What was their life like in Birka? How did they die? How many were buried here? I looked around in vain for an informational sign or something to give me some answers, and I was reminded of a quote from Crang: 'The tourists seek to travel to be present at a place, but as we examine those places we find they are shot through by absences where distant others, removed in space and time, haunt the sites' (2006, p. 49). At a very visceral level, I now understood what he meant. A cracking sound from the forest sent a chill down my spine. Suddenly I was overcome with the feeling of being swallowed in this landscape of the dead, and with the open page of my field notebook still blank I quickly scurried back down the hill away from the clutches of the primordial tomb.

After running out of the thicker forest area where I felt swallowed by the history of the place, I sat on a large rock under a cherry tree looking out over the archaeological field. I had been warned by one of the guides that it was a bit of an eerie place, but I didn't really understand what they meant until I went there myself. I only ever felt its magnitude when I was actually around its past residents with their voices ringing loud and clear in my head. I wondered how others would react to this experience, but with no discernible paths or signs, visitors would likely be more inclined to look in the direction of the archaeological field rather than the hilly area where sheep and cows have taken up residence. I wondered how deep back into the forest I could have gone had I not been afraid and opened myself up to the landscape more. I thought of how powerful a guided tour could be here both in the 'ghosts of the past' version, but also for the beautiful serenity of a landscape laid to rest weaving between the burial mounds of the people whose lives were spent in the bustling town that once lay in the field below. Here the landscape actually speaks for itself because you are surrounded by the sounds of nature, and all you have to do is sit and listen and your imagination does the rest.

I remember thinking about presence and how I could better describe my interpretation of the term. When the early morning breeze shifted the leaves below my feet and goosebumps raised on my arms, that's when I realized presence isn't something you can describe, it is only really something you can *feel*.

Out of all the visitor interviews and reviews, only one person mentioned going to the grave field in detail, and they experienced something very similar:

> This place is other-worldly. I don't mean the village or the café or the museum, which are all fine, but take a long walk out to the burial mounds. It is worth it. Each pile of stones is a Viking grave, and under that huge grey sky and among all the silence, just transporting [sic] to 1000 years ago. Just beautiful. Birch trees and green grass and wildflowers.

In my exploration of the landscape I also walked out to the chapel and let the acoustics ring around me. I then walked up to the Ansgar monument on top of the hillfort. From there one morning I saw the first tourist boat rolling in, and I could see the people starting to trickle out onto the island. The whole dynamic shifted as I knew for the next three hours there would be a mad rush of people trying to get something out of this place. There were many international visitors, but also many Swedish families. Some days I sat at the restaurant right by the harbor to see how people react when they disembark. The visitors seemed rather misguided when they first got off the boat because there is no official entrance. They simply arrive on the island and then have open access to everything because the ticket covers everything. Especially during the hotter months, the shaded picnic tables and possibility to purchase an ice-cream in the museum were very popular, so many visitors who perhaps would have gone exploring before the guided tour, seemed more inclined to seek shelter.

For some visitors, however, there was little time to waste, and they raced up the hill towards the museum right as they got off the boat, which often created a line of followers who perhaps thought those people knew where they were going. This seemed to encourage people to look at their phones or maps as they followed behind as if they hadn't quite yet made it to any place worth looking at past the initial more modern buildings on the island. Others went straight into the restaurant or some stayed on the boat to eat. This was a great time to listen to what people were saying. Some were perplexed by the food – for example, one visitor said they were happy there was a burger and fries on the menu because they

had no idea about "all that other stuff". Others were a bit braver, but cautious saying, "Let's see what yours looks like, and we'll see if I'll be brave". One child also started to complain about the food options, and they were quickly reprimanded by a parent who told them that it wouldn't be like the food they are used to and that they were told on the boat that the restaurant serves Viking-inspired food. The child, however, seemed less than thrilled with the prospects of Viking food, but compromised for a wild boar sausage with the promise of ice-cream afterwards.

In general, all of the tour guides I spoke with discussed the difficulties in how to present the site to visitors. One of the most experienced guides said it is very difficult to get visitors to actually feel something if there is nothing for them to tangibly experience. During the summer months there are usually a few different things to try – for example, visitors can pay to test their archery abilities, but other activities are rather limited depending on what the re-enactors decide to show or let the visitors participate in.

In the village there were a few games children could play (horseshoes and a swing), but parents tended to be overly cautious. For example, two children were playing by one of the houses and their father yelled out, "Kids, get back. These are peoples' houses". While the children were happy to use the swing, they also seemed reluctant as to how much they were allowed to explore. One child, for example, went up to one of the re-enactor's tents and asked if she was allowed to go in, but the parents said no because it was closed. I also noticed that there is a bench near one of the houses and sometimes visitors would sit there and be on their phones. I wondered if this was due to lack of interest or passing the time until the boat came, but decided not to ask.

The constant roar of the crowd celebrating another successful shot at the bow and arrow station during the high season was a reminder of where people gathered. During the day, I made observations in the village over half hour intervals when the guided tour wasn't going on. It was never crowded, and the largest number of people in the village at any given time was around 15. While the village is very small and difficult to walk through, it is a place to observe – not participate. There was only one re-enactor who had warrior gear that visitors could put on and pose with, which proved to be quite popular. Otherwise, visitors moved quickly through the houses, but didn't touch anything. The pattern tended to be that they would touch the wall outside of the houses before walking in, but they would

never really walk in. They held themselves outside of the door while looking in, and then walked away again. One visitor noted that she thought it was a bit "underwhelming" and felt misguided at the possibilities of what she could do or try in Birka. She wanted to have more examples of actual things like "here are the swords they would use. … See if you can pick it up – see how heavy it is".

My observations conflicted slightly with the site manager's ideas about the village as a place of active participation. She noted that one of the highlights at Birka is when people can actually make something with their own hands. She said people don't understand anymore how long it takes to make something like a shirt because everything is readily accessible. But in the Viking village, the visitor can learn about what it is like to have a sheep, get the wool, clean the wool, make a thread, make the fabric, dye it with flowers or another organic color, and then actually make the garment. However, from what I observed, there was little time for visitors to actually participate, and they usually just watched and listened as the re-enactors demonstrated different crafts. She did mention there is room for improvement, and they want to offer a variety of courses in traditional craftsmanship that use the abundant natural resources from the island. For example, she hopes visitors can one day learn about mushroom picking, fishing, picking wildflowers, and birdwatching.

The visitors I spoke to reflected that they wished their senses had been more engaged. However, they still enjoyed the feeling of getting away from the city and being in nature. Others expressed similar thoughts that the place needs to be "made more interesting than going to see the meadow where Birka lay," but others were happy to have been able to escape from the "hustle and bustle of Stockholm into the Swedish wilderness" or the possibility to explore on their own because it is "so alive with life, particularly birds and insects … you can practically hear the island humming".

The re-enactors I spoke to also indicate that there is something unique about the location and historical significance of Birka that gives it a stronger sense of presence. For example, the re-enactor in charge of the garden in the reconstructed village said the there is something special about doing handicrafts on Birka "because it's magic". Similar to some of the re-enactors in Hedeby, she also discussed the importance of the connection with a historical landscape in producing an authentic historic atmosphere, and she questioned the authenticity of places built up on their own just for tourism purposes. Another re-enactor in

the village said she had started out with 'LARPing' (live action role-playing), but was "drawn to the historical side of things" and decided to become a re-enactor. She also likes to come to Birka because of the nature and being a part of the historical and cultural landscape by "doing here what was done before". She mentioned the importance of developing a connection with the past by "working with your hands. No phone, nothing – just being here".

During the times when the tourists were gone, I felt myself getting lost in that world. I envied the access to a calm, slow way of life, the craftsmanship, the connection to nature, and the total disconnection with the outside world. However, I felt a strange intersection between being a researcher and wanting to embrace the 'slow-life' of the island off-hours. It was easy to sit quietly in the forest and give in to the peaceful evening breeze. One of the tour guides also reflected how easy it is to fall into this rhythm. He said everything is slow there – it is slow to get around the site, slow in the mornings and evenings, and slow to get things like food that you otherwise take for granted. One of the leather workers I interviewed one evening also reflected on the idea of being more present in these places – he said it is like "you get snapped into focus" because "this is as real as it gets". The historical value of the place inspires him to learn more about his craft and make a better-quality product. Given that he relies on his craft for full-time work, he is adamant about keeping the tradition alive, and sees the importance in places like Birka in bringing craftsmanship to the forefront of the visitor's experience. He also said his business is quite successful because there are many older people who still appreciate well-made leather products (e.g. he makes a lot of bags and axe and knife cases), but he also does a lot of custom work for other re-enactors and 'Larpers', so they tend to support each other in their crafts. Similar to so many other re-enactors I spoke with, he expressed a desire to escape from the modern world.

While the re-enactors emphasized the educational aspect of their work, they also alluded to the difficulty in 'living' in front of other people. During an evening focus group, one noted that earlier in the day a boy came out of one of the reconstructed houses and asked him why there was a toothbrush in his wooden chest. He then asked the boy, "Did you get in my chest? What if I come to your house and look through your drawers?", and at that point, the boy started to cry. This shows the difficulty in establishing boundaries when these villages are meant to show life as it was. Visitors feel like they have the complete freedom to touch

and explore, while other visitors are afraid to do anything because they don't want to intrude in someone else's home. We discussed if this is just a part of the nature of being a re-enactor and if there is actually such a thing as personal space when your life is an exhibition. This was perhaps also the reason that many of the re-enactors I spoke to were also happy when the visitors were gone and they could be more alone on the island. For many re-enactors, it isn't just a tourist site, and their motivation for being there goes well beyond the historical values.

While everyone working on the island had a very powerful connection with the past and a strong sense of place, I wondered if the visitors could ever possibly develop such an understanding in such a short visit. Was this sort of deeper sense of presence possible in visitors that come for three hours whose time is already quite controlled by the guided tour, having to eat something, see everything on the site, and make it back to the boat on time? The current system seems to stand in opposition to a more mindful, engaged visit unless the visitor already has the awareness to explore the site in their own way. As one re-enactor pointed out, there is "ancient knowledge … forgotten knowledge" with "history sleeping underneath my feet". The island seemingly has so much more to tell, and only a small part of its story has been uncovered. There is an air of mystery of what happened here because so little is known, but it adds to a sense of suspended history because it lies just below the surface, and this isn't conveyed enough to the visitors.

In my discussions with the site managers, there were two perspectives offered. One wanted an audio guide and to have virtual reality experiences for visitors to see a visualization of the landscape when they go out to the archaeological field. The other site manager reflected on this situation and that it is really difficult to get a visitor to have a meaningful visit in three hours, and this is perhaps not helped if you just put a screen in front of their face. This means there are a lot of debates with the different responsible bodies for the site on what to do in the future. We discussed that there are two ways these sites can go: either high tech or high touch. The main site manager's opinion stands strongly with high touch given that in the future, high tech will be everywhere. Therefore, offering a high-touch experience in a high-tech world will be something exclusive, and also then something that people will seek out. People will want to come, sit around the campfire, and escape from the chaos of the modern world. There are also more opportunities in developing the site for longer visits with new infrastructure for

people to stay on the island overnight, at which point they can offer more activities. The main manager seems to think the sky is the limit in how they can use the landscape for different engagement opportunities in bringing the past to life without technology. For example, she thinks about Viking mound meditations connected to the older tradition of Vikings who would sit on the burial mounds and talk to their ancestors about their problems. Another idea, for example, is that she and her family may move to the island full-time so they can have different kinds of animals to show the tourists the kind of livestock that would have been around or they can expand the Viking village.

Foteviken

Similar to Birka, Foteviken is meant to be a place "far removed from the stress of modern life" (Fotevikens Museum, 2020b) and is said to be a living Viking museum where the Viking world comes alive and where visitors can take a trip through time. As soon as I walked under the entranceway into the village during my first visit, it was completely bustling with people, and I really did have the sense like I had passed through a gateway in time. At one point, King Björn of the village paraded around with musicians and villagers following him. The tourists went to the side and watched them go by, and seemed rather confused as to what was happening. I later found out that this is his way of making sure everything around the site is going well and that everyone is doing what they are supposed to be doing.

The market felt more like a place to buy things rather than *try* things. Visitors moved from place to place interacting with the re-enactors, but they also touched a lot of the goods and scrutinized them while asking questions, so the barriers were slightly taken down. Because there are so many houses and places to visit, it is easy to feel a bit lost in the village, but in a bit of a good way because it creates a sense of immersion in that world. There are small paths and tucked-away areas of the village that inspire a feeling of familiarity and comfort. There are also people working on crafts everywhere, and my experience was that they were very friendly and willing to explain their craft.

For example, during my second visit, one re-enactor working at the fish hut told me that the museum is not just about education, but about "the community, the crafts – it's very holistic", and instead of just putting on a show, they make

experiences for people. She also discussed why being a re-enactor is so important for people who are dissatisfied with the modern world. She said, "We need a different life," and she noted there is something very natural about being outside in the fresh air. She said, "I believe in nature and the forces you can't see", and being a Viking provides such a different perspective. For her, these sites have a certain spirit, and it is important to try to communicate that to the visitors. This is partly due to having a certain amount of freedom in these sites where there are no distractions, and she says this allows people to really start paying attention to the things in front of them. In her interactions with tourists, she recognizes that they really want to be involved, but that they are shy and tend to stay outside of the fence and watch, so she has to tell them to " be curious" and to "step into our lives".

Other re-enactors who stay at Foteviken for several weeks at a time say it is an escape for them because they work really difficult, technical jobs so they like to come and "recharge their batteries". When I asked them about what gives them this feeling, they discussed having a respect for nature, and one said how he likes to sit by the seashore and he can "feel the calm coming in". I asked if they go to any other Viking Age sites, and one says he likes to go Norway because of all of the nature and the historical meaning behind the sites. They also like the slow pace of different crafts, and showed me the clothes they have made and how they realized for themselves that you can really only learn something by doing it yourself. A nearby woodworker said that he agrees working with your hands is the way to go and smiled as he chipped away at his latest project. There was a teenager sitting near him, and he said that his hands got too blistered from doing that job. There were many teenagers (between 16-18) from the local region working at the site, and the idea is that they should have a chance to put their phones away and learn how to do traditional crafts. Everyone that I spoke to said that they really enjoyed the experience, but that at the beginning they really could have never imagined what was in store.

At the fabric dyeing house, the re-enactor originally came from Peru. She said she loves working with her hands and feeling the material. For her, these sites have many different layers of meaning because "people are searching more and more for their identity" in a "consumerist and industrialist society" where they want to return to nature. She also said that they are always in search of finding a feeling of home, and she recognizes this in the visitor's curiosity to touch, feel, and smell,

and in their desire to experience living history. This was also noted by another re-enactor selling furs that the visitors want to do something in the "now" because everyone is always so distracted and our minds are crammed full of details all the time that we crave places where we can let go for a day.

The chef of the village also reflected on the importance of learning traditional techniques – something she would have never learned in chef school, and in these sites, she feels that there is an appreciation for imagination and the opportunity to get closer to the Earth. She loves having freshly-baked bread and hand-churned butter for the visitors to try, and they can also come into the kitchen and grind the flour and see how the bread is made (see Figure 35).

Figure 35: Freshly-baked bread and hand-churned butter for visitors to try. *Source: Author.*

There was no clear direction visitors followed, and it seemed more influenced by what they wanted to do. Children touched everything in sight. For example, one child ran toward a reindeer fur, and looked around to see if anyone was watching him before he buried both of his hands deep into the fur. When the re-enactor looked in his direction, he quickly took his hands away and started to run back

toward his family, but she said it was okay and then had him come and feel the bear hide that she was working on. It was definitely a more interactive space, and people seemed very comfortable asking questions. The majority of visitors were families. The battle re-enactment was also very well-attended each time, and visitors were fixated on the show rather than on their phones. This was especially evident when the re-enactors ran straight toward the audience screaming with their weapons up at the end of the show. It serves a strong reminder that they are just as present and involved in the enlivening of the past as the re-enactors themselves.

Visitors were quick to discuss how the site helps to bring everything to life by showing what life was like. However, some were also hesitant to accept the level of authenticity. For example, one visitor said, "the woman skinning an animal on the way in was a bit too real for me". Another noted how much she loved seeing the re-enactors and wanted pictures with all of them, but others noted that because there were so many people doing different things, it felt a bit "uncontrolled and difficult to know what's going on". While some visitors said they could have been involved more, others were quick to appreciate the interactive elements like getting to do archery, spear-throwing, and sword fights. Others also appreciated that it was such a great place for children and families because of all the activities and that they can try almost everything. For example, one said, "They have deliberately chosen playfulness and accessibility over a perhaps more authentic Viking period, due to more focus on the actual experience". Another noted that it is easy to "get lost in the experience" and that you get " a little preview what it was like to live back then". The importance of the interactive quality was also highlighted by one visitor who said that they were impressed at how much freedom the visitor has, and that "no one get their paws beaten [and] everything can be touched". Others also discussed the sense of immersion and time travel and getting lost within the different paths of the village and being able to see the beauty of the landscape and the sea. Those who did not go during a market said they appreciated being able to talk to re-enactors in more depth because it is too busy during markets to ask a lot of questions. Those who then went during the market said they wished they had experienced it during a non-market day and added "it might be an even more authentic experience" because they noticed some lapses in authenticity of a lot of the 'Viking' vendors who came in just to sell their goods – especially those that were mass-produced. In general, the fact that it is a

hands-on museum where you can touch everything seemed to be the biggest appeal and favorite aspect for visitors.

In my discussions with the site manager sitting in the village by a campfire, he was adamant in the significance of open-air museums because in a traditional museum there are signs that say "don't touch" everywhere, and this hurts the visitor experience. He said visitors should not be controlled so much because it hurts the experience to tell people how to act and behave. Also, not allowing visitors to engage with multiple senses also hurts their understanding of the past and affects how much time they want to spend somewhere. Therefore, he says the atmosphere of Foteviken is very important with the smells, the sounds of the crafts, the conversations, and absolutely no sounds of machinery or the modern world that they can avoid. He wants visitors to come for four hours at least, and he is very against tour busses because he thinks this kind of tourism also harms the experience because they are so scheduled and time-pressured to see everything in 1½ hours. For a meaningful experience, he said it is important to get visitors to imagine and experience the place for themselves and follow their own impulses to go to what they're interested in. He thinks the freedom also encourages more of a feeling of time travel because you are not restricted by any barriers or signs. Again, he emphasized that the village is "not play", and the atmosphere extends across the landscape. He said you can just sit by the water and listen. It is clear that the purpose of this place is to play, interact, experience, and *feel* something – and that it is up to the visitor to decide what they want to do and how much they want out of the experience. At the moment, the site is serving its purpose and receives a large number of visitors every year who seem very satisfied with their experience. Future plans may be to have more hands-on activities and to expand the village, but so far, the landscape is being used as much as possible, and the success of the site lies in the continued focus on active participation and engagement.

VikingaTider

Similar to the other sites, VikingaTider sits back in a rural field that gives the impression of walking into the past. Here there is also the opportunity to walk into the wider landscape, but very few did. However, during the market, visitors were very engaged. There was live music in the first set of houses closer to the entrance with a woman working on dyeing some fabrics nearby. Out in the wider landscape there were many different activities going on with re-enactors riding

around on horses that the visitors could touch, and different stations where the visitor could try different activities like archery or spear-throwing. This was all included in the entrance price. The market was much smaller than Foteviken, but it still felt as lively and welcoming. It was also more focused on the local people as there were almost no international visitors. The animals were a very popular spot for the children, and they are even allowed to go in with the pigs and touch them. On my first visit, there were children work on grinding their own grain, making their own nails at the smithy (see Figure 36), and learning to shoot a bow and arrow. When there was no market, the village was otherwise quite empty, and there were just a few re-enactors walking around. Yet they were still keen to get people of all ages involved.

Figure 36: A young visitor trying out blacksmithing making her own nail. *Source: Author, with parental permission.*

One of the main re-enactors who gave tours and demonstrated crafts noted that over the years of working with different school classes and children, he realized how some students are very shy and lack the confidence to try certain things.

However, when he encourages them and they actually do try, they are completely enamored with the experience and are "not weak anymore".

As I walked through the landscape, I was taken aback by how beautiful it is. Nearby farms are far out of view, so there is a more expansive view of the wider landscape and the lush environment that grows around the lake and the river's edge. The path goes all along the river and back to the site. This is a common place for locals to go walking, so it is an important area to keep well-maintained because it is so appreciated by the community.

Perhaps the appearance of the entranceway of the site can be rather off-putting, but the site manager also said that it's almost better that way. He said if the people have low expectations from the beginning because the site isn't very well-marked and the welcome buildings look like military barracks, they tend to be surprised once they actually get into the site (see Figure 37). He said he prefers a feeling of excitement and surprise to a feeling of disappointment if they try to oversell the site from what it actually is. People tend to just want to come and pop by and see what it's all about, and then they end up staying all day because of the surrounding landscape and the sense of seclusion the site offers. While this isn't the most economically beneficial approach since the only cost is the entrance fee, with respect to the experience, it is the best outcome. People come for picnics with their families, and it becomes more of a site for leisure as well as experiencing the past. In a smaller site, he said, you can modify a lot more and "be really flexible with what the client and visitor want".

Figure 37: One of the entrance buildings selling food at VikingaTider. *Source: Author.*

At the same time, however, he had a similar reflection about guided tours as the manager at Foteviken. He reflected that sometimes the nature of the experience is just "jump off the bus, 40-minute walk, jump back on the bus, go away". The site is also not intended to be a place for large gatherings or where there is the biggest market. He said so many studies have shown that when visitors have been asked what the most important part of a visit to a tourist site is, they always answer spending time with family and friends. It's not the exhibition or the history. It's the social element of spending time with other people. Therefore, while future plans might allude to a large-scale expansion, in the meantime it remains a more local gathering place for school children to have more hands-on experiences with the past and for local people to have a nice place to go for a picnic with their families and a stroll through the landscape. Given that the reconstructed village is so small and the landscape is so large, there are many opportunities for improvement to get people to explore more, but there is also something in letting the visitor explore for themselves. That being said, given the rich archaeological findings, there could be far more information about the significance of the landscape and perhaps even signs in the different areas of the landscape where the different excavations took place.

Summarizing Presence

In general, there seems to be two different ways the presence of a site can differ, which relates to the high and low season rhythms. Crucially, most visitors seem to crave both of these dynamics, which implies there is an interest for visitors to return to the site during different times of the year. The slow pace and empty landscapes encountered during the low season, for example, allows visitors to take their time and more critically reflect on the various sense impressions experienced throughout site and the wider landscape. During the high season, on the other hand, the bustling marketplaces and presence of re-enactors leads to more active participation and a deeper sense of immersion, but there is often less of an interaction with the wider landscape. The presence of re-enactors working on different crafts also made the visitor more of an observer than an active participant and often limited their access to the reconstructed areas.

There is also an obvious trend in emphasizing active engagement over the use of technology given that apps or audio guides can contribute to more mindless behaviors if the experience becomes more limited to certain senses. The desire for

active participation relates to opening up more possibilities for visitors of all ages to engage in certain playful interactions. The possibility to shoot a bow and arrow, churn butter, or pet a coarse-haired pig were all activities enjoyed by both children and adults, and this shows how often more traditional sites forget to think about the element of *play*. While the re-enactors in all sites emphasized that what they do is neither theater nor play, visitors, on the other hand, are meant to dive into the immersion and use their imaginations to put themselves into the past realities. This was clear in the poor reviews of sites with less interactive elements even with strong archaeological significance because visitors need *more* in order to make unique connections and to actively participate in the revival of the past.

Finally, especially in sites with larger landscapes, there was a clear uncertainty in how to get visitors outside of the museum or reconstructed village area. Given the lack of informational signs to help guide visitors, however, it is no wonder that there are many areas of these landscapes that remain unused or undervalued. The experiential dimension of heritagescapes, therefore, continues to be associated with the museum, reconstructions, and re-enactments, and the affective and emotional dimensions of the wider landscape remain largely underexplored, which makes this component of the model even more pertinent for site managers in tandem with the analysis from *Locale* and *Story*. Therefore, in the following chapter I identify some of the main outcomes that emerged from bringing together the different components of the model.

PART IV
Results and Conclusion

4.1 A Landscape Awakening

In Part III I presented the application and in-depth analysis of each component of the model. While this analysis can stand on its own and lay the groundwork for new developments and management strategies, to work most effectively, the three components need to be seen in relation to each other in order to develop a more holistic understanding of how landscapes are experienced and communicated, how visitors interact with different elements, whether there are areas of the landscape that are not being utilized, and any affective and emotional characteristics that have not yet been identified or included in the visitor experience. Therefore, based on the results of my fieldwork, in this chapter I show how using the TRIOLE model can help illuminate different themes and unseen or undervalued elements in the landscape that can play a larger role in how it is experienced by different actors. These themes also highlight different strategies heritage managers might employ in order to improve the visitor experience and help bring their landscapes back to life beyond the standardized tourist path. Within heritage and landscape studies, a more in-depth analysis of the model's results reveals the interwoven nature of different landscape layers and emphasizes the need to study landscapes as a whole.

A thematic and content analysis revealed themes from different data sources including photographs, participant and non-participant observations, field notes, interview and focus group transcripts, archival material, and reflective writings. While a wide range of themes emerged from the analysis of each component, I selected those that occurred the most often across the four different sites and connected the different components together. The six themes identified include: hands-on engagement and learning by doing, storytelling and time travel, an 'escape' to reconnect with nature and each other, authenticity and/or accessibility, the limitations of site development in a historical landscape, and high-tech and/or high-touch. This chapter therefore presents how each theme emerged and how it can be employed in future site developments.

Hands-on engagement and learning by doing

One of the most common themes that emerged from applying the TRIOLE model was the importance of hands-on encounters and having the visitors play a more active role in their learning about the past. Traditionally, re-enactment has been more for spectacle based on creating a display rather than an experience of the past. In these instances, visitors are distanced from the past, which makes it more difficult to develop personal connections. While there are still many ‘pectacle-oriented engagements with the past such as movies, TV shows, traditional museum exhibitions, live shows, battle re-enactments, and craft demonstrations, there is a growing trend in making archaeology and history more accessible through living history spaces, time travel experiences, and open-air museums. Instead of passive encounters, visitors want to “actively participate in reliving history” (Petersson in Jakobsen and Barrow, 2015, p. 22).

During markets and events, there were many examples where the visitor was merely a spectator especially in watching people work – perhaps because they were too shy or unsure if it was appropriate to disturb the re-enactors. Or, in some cases, the re-enactors did exclude the visitors and created an unwelcome space where the visitors felt like they were invading their privacy especially if the re-enactors were seated in closed groups and seemed disinterested in interacting with visitors. However, there were also far more opportunities for visitors to touch different things, ask questions, and oftentimes even try for themselves how to do a different craft or historical activity such as archery or blacksmithing. The performance and enlivening the past was therefore very dependent on the visitors’ understanding of how they could or could not engage with the site. Having been trained to not touch things and to follow specific tourist behaviors in traditional museums and heritage sites, visitors were often hesitant to engage their senses and interact with the sites based on their own impulses. Therefore, in order to engage with the site and to learn about the past by actually doing different crafts and exploring the landscapes themselves, they typically had to be encouraged to do so by those working at the site. In that sense, hands-on interaction is two-fold because the visitor needs to be curious, but they also need to understand the possibilities for interaction so there is more personal choice in how they wish to learn about the past.

Earlier I identified the possibility to have a more active engagement as a way to counteract mindlessness and become more present within a landscape. This relates

back to research that alludes to the importance of proper interpretation and communication of the site so that visitors are given the necessary guidance and proper tools to encounter the site in their own way (Moscardo, 1996; Mathiesen Hjemdahl, 2004). However, the possibility to engage with the past through learning by doing also goes beyond the visitor. For example, the main activities for re-enactors and particularly craftsman in reconstructed villages and open-air museums are experimental archaeology and exploring the effectiveness of these different techniques. Every site I visited employed different techniques to reconstruct houses as authentically as possible, but there was no way to know exactly how it was done. Therefore, craftsmen were able to test what worked best and could also share this knowledge to other builders. Furthermore, it was also clear that many have taught themselves how to do different techniques through trial and error. Given that there are so few people who still understand traditional craftsmanship, many re-enactors are driven by their passion to revive these techniques so that they can be passed on. Engaging with different crafts and activities is also part of the nature of working in a historical landscape with a limited staff as noted by one re-enactor: "one day you're building a Viking house, the next day you're teaching school kids how to do blacksmithing, the next day you sell popcorn and direct cars in the parking lot. You do absolutely everything" (personal communication, 26 April 2019).

In general, hands-on learning was emphasized as the most valued part of the experience for visitors and for bringing the past to life, and this trend seems to continue with new sites emerging that are more focused on playful, interactive experiences instead of static museum exhibitions. Cornelius Holtorf claims that "the future of presenting archaeological heritage lies in recreated historical realities and visitor centres at particularly significant sites in the landscape where visitors can experience past realities directly where it happened" (2017, p. 3). This trend was clearly observed in all the different sites, and is also reflected in the future plans to provide a wider range of activities for visitors of all ages with different interests.

Storytelling and time travel

Open-air museums and archaeological landscapes have always attracted visitors with historical interests, but there is an increasing number of visitors who seek out places where they can get lost in the worlds they see on TV shows like *Game of*

Thrones or *Vikings* or computer/video games with a fantasy element. Regardless of whether they are motivated by fantasy or an enthusiasm for experiencing an 'authentic' past, visitors are drawn to these sites because of the immersive elements they offer and the powerful historical stories that emerge from them. Furthermore, especially in reconstructed villages, people can express themselves and their love of fantasy more openly even if it has nothing to do with authentic re-enactment. While some sites with stricter historical authenticity policy were quick to distance 'fantasy' visitors from re-enactors, even some of the re-enactors themselves first started with an interest in fantasy, time travel, and LARPing.

Many visitors used the term 'time travel' to describe their experiences at the different sites, and this is also reflected in the way the sites are advertised – for example, that they show what life was like 1000 years ago or that they give visitors a chance to experience living Viking towns. An essential quality of bringing the past to life, therefore, also lies in filling the towns with actual people who demonstrate the hustle and bustle of everyday life in the Viking world. Therefore, beyond the immersive qualities and hands-on engagement possibilities of reconstructed villages, re-enactors play an important role in bringing history to life. Given that all the sites attempt to show what life was like, it would be difficult to present the whole picture of a thriving Viking town without any people. This was also clear in the feedback from visitors during the low season when there were no re-enactors present and they felt underwhelmed with the experience. While the history of the site was emphasized, they were displeased by the lack of engagement possibilities or that it was difficult to understand the history without guides or re-enactors bringing it to life. Therefore, the meaning of living history museums is perhaps less about the buildings and objects, and more about the *people* behind the objects. Visitors want to understand what it was like to live in the Viking world. They imagine themselves being a part of it and reflect on the different smells, tastes, sounds, and activities they encounter. It is much easier to visualize if there are well-informed re-enactors they can interact with and ask questions to develop their own picture of the past more clearly. Therefore, the re-enactors add the life-like quality that visitors seek, and they bring the history of the site more to the forefront because there is a human behind the craft, there is a human associated with life in the past, and it's easier for visitors to imagine themselves in that place because they see it up close, and as noted before, they can try for themselves. However, this once again poses the question of how well-

informed re-enactors need to be given that a visitor may get most of their information about the past from their interactions with them.

This subject was explored in Smed et al.'s (2016) fieldwork at a Viking Age site in northern Denmark. They discovered that the re-enactment group manages many of its activities by themselves, which means they play a large role in how knowledge is obtained, interpreted, and shared as well as the level and nature of contact they have with the visitors. Considering so much of the tourist experience is controlled by the re-enactors themselves, there is a need to consider how this affects the visitor experience in how knowledge is transmitted. In the different sites I visited, a very common theme was the importance in a re-enactor's ability to tell stories and bring the landscape to life, and that this also made the visit more memorable for visitors. Especially with respect to tour guides, there was a strong emphasis on the ability to be a good storyteller and to discuss the past throughout the landscape in a meaningful and interesting way. While re-enactors perhaps have less strict guidelines with respect to their historical knowledge, they also contribute to helping visitors navigate their way through the landscape in lieu of more traditional informational signs. Visitors noted that the people working at the site were a vital component to their understanding of the history of the landscape as well as identifying features that they would have otherwise overlooked. This aligns with Moscardo's 'Setting Factors' (1996) that help guide the visitor through the landscape including signs, maps, and paths as well as tour guides and other staff. Furthermore, Moscardo (2010) also emphasized the role that storytelling plays in the visitor experience both through the branding of the site as well as how the story is communicated to visitors throughout the landscape through different mediums. The re-enactors selling crafts, for example, stressed how important it was to have a strong story behind what they were selling as visitors were more likely to purchase something if they knew the story behind it (for example, if it was modelled after an archaeological finding, it was important to tell the visitor where it was found, the possible time period it emerged from, and perhaps more about what else the excavation had uncovered).

Given the often bare archaeological landscapes left behind, it was clear that visitors can feel underwhelmed if they are not provided with the basic information needed to spark their imaginations typically in the form of stories. While this was especially clear in the sites with a strong historical connection to the landscape with limited reconstructions, it was also evident at the open-air museums during

the off-season when there were no re-enactors present. During these times, visitors should be given enough information that they can immerse themselves in the Viking world and fill the landscape with their own ideas about what it might have been like.

At the same time, the interpretation of the landscape and how it was communicated to visitors also played a significant role in the quality of the experience. Given that many of the sites prioritize the high season where there are many activities and events going on, visitors arrive with certain expectations only to be let down if they are not met with a bustling village filled with re-enactors as they were led to believe. Therefore, it would perhaps be wise to give a more realistic representation of the site during the many months when there are no re-enactors to help better inform visitors of what they can expect when they visit during different times. Sites should perhaps encourage multiple visits and advertise more openly the different dynamics that can be encountered at the site during different times of the year. This was also echoed by several site managers whose goals were to attract more visitors at different times of the year (within the limitations of certain seasons).

For sites with a strong connection to the historical landscape, for example, the low season could provide a greater opportunity to incorporate more immersive landscape walks that engage visitors more with the landscape itself. Given that many of the sites refer to themselves as being museums, it is also important that the visitor feels like there is something to see and experience if there are no activities going on. Furthermore, besides Hedeby that holds many of the artefacts from previous excavations, all the other sites had little or no archaeological material in their 'museums', which perhaps gives an opportunity to present the landscape as the museum – revealing the tangible and intangible remains of the past where storytelling and elements of time travel can help bring these seen and unseen remnants to life. Bringing the story to life throughout the landscape through guided tours and re-enactors who are modern people that are not play-acting also helps to highlight the more recent history of the landscape and can help to amplify local voices and encourage local community involvement and stewardship.

An 'escape' to reconnect with nature and each other

Beyond the attraction of myth, folklore, storytelling, and elements of fantasy and time travel, another appeal of heritage landscapes lies in the possibility for visitors to disconnect with the modern world and the chance to reconnect with nature, with their own interests at a slower pace, and perhaps most importantly, with their family and friends. Especially given that the sites tend to be located in more rural places, visitors and re-enactors alike seek out the sense of community, slow living, and simplicity that comes in a place without technology.

During my fieldwork I noticed that the rhythm of these sites is different. Sometimes everything was happening all at once and the different landscapes were booming with people working on different crafts, children playing, re-enactors who have known each other for decades sitting and catching up about their work over the winter season, and visitors exploring the sites for themselves. Especially during markets and larger events, these sites felt like giant playgrounds with children and adults all completely present in the moment having fun exploring the landscape, swimming, having picnics, and engaging with different activities at the site. During these times it was impossible to have a more formal interview with anyone due to the constant interruptions and flow of people. As noted by one of the site managers, the main reason people come to these sites is less about learning about the past and more related to spending time with families and friends and reconnecting with each other without all the distractions of modern life. This relates to research that points to an increasing interest in slower, more sustainable travel where visitors crave getting off the beaten track and are more aware of the impact of their visits (Lee and Moscardo, 2005; Barr, Gilg and Shaw, 2011; McCool *et al.*, 2013; Walker and Moscardo, 2014; Crang, 2015).

Other times the landscape was empty, and everything turned to a very slow pace. There were long periods of sitting, thinking, writing, and listening to stories from re-enactors about what draws them to these sites. One of the most common answers was that they are able to 'get away', to 'escape', and they emphasized reconnecting with nature. People want to put their phones away and do something *real* by working with their hands and learning about how to rely on what is available in nature. This was also true for visitors, and something that was emphasized by several of the site managers. As the modern world grows increasingly fast-paced and technological, and people spend more times connected to their phones and TVs, they have started to crave this disconnection even if it's

just for a few hours. As Sam Harris writes in *Waking Up,* "Most of us spend our time seeking happiness and security without acknowledging the underlying purpose of our search. Each of us is looking for a path back to the present: We are trying to find good enough reasons to be satisfied now" (2014, p. 3). Visitors crave something different, and the possibility to escape into the past that these sites offer is a highly undervalued element of how they are experienced and how important these experiences are for meaning-making (Ammert and Gustafsson, 2017). Some visitors also noted how they enjoyed these slower moments because they were able to connect more with the landscapes by going out and exploring on their own because there were no other activities going on. This contributed to an increased sense of freedom and the possibility to follow their own impulses and make connections in unique areas of the landscape.

Based on the emphasis of 'getting away' and reconnecting with nature, location plays a very important role in how certain landscapes are encountered. Especially with Birka, for example, the necessity of taking a long boat ride to gain access to the island creates the sense of immersion in the past, and visitors noted that they wanted a chance to get out of the city for a day. While some visitors discussed the difficulty in accessing rural sites, the rurality is also one of the main contributing factors to the sense of 'escape' and being in nature. Location was also frequently mentioned with respect to the surrounding nature; for example, being close to water, the possibility of walking through the forest or on a nature trail, and the idyllic countryside setting far from a noisy city were all highlighted aspects in the different landscapes. While the connection with a historical landscape was important for the authenticity or sense of connection with the past in some of the landscapes, others were also quick to emphasize the presence of nature especially with respect to getting away. This is perhaps why several re-enactors noted that Norway is the best place to go to reconstructed villages because the epic natural landscapes there provide a greater feeling of immersion and isolation and thereby more distance from the modern world.

Authenticity and/or accessibility?

One of the site managers said it best when he noted the careful balance that must be made between authenticity and accessibility. If a site aims to be too authentic, it's not accessible, but if it's too accessible, it becomes more like Disney and loses

its authenticity. Therefore, while all the sites carry different approaches, they all ensure accessibility, while also maintaining a certain level of authenticity.

Based on my findings, it was clear that authenticity is a difficult subject to discuss because it is hard to define based on what is actually being analyzed – for example the authenticity of the experience, the reconstructions, the crafts, or even the historical landscape itself all fall under different understandings of authenticity. One site manager at Hedeby even labelled authenticity as a dangerous word to use – echoing Lowenthal's (1985) and Holtorf's (2015) arguments that the past is gone, and any attempt to bring it back to life is done through a distorted contemporary lens. Particularly with respect to the reconstructions, however, each site was adamant about ensuring the highest possibility of authenticity by employing knowledgeable craftsman and modelling the houses based on archaeological findings using as many traditional building techniques as possible. Given that the only informational signs outside of the reconstructed villages outlined the process of the reconstructions, there was a clear emphasis on ensuring that the visitor understood that authenticity was sought as much as possible. However, while 'authentic' reconstructions are a great source of information and experimentation of traditional techniques and a way for visitors to further visualize historical places, some argue that claiming a high level of authenticity is problematic due to the limited data available in what these houses actually looked like. The archaeological findings are mere ghosts of the structures that have long since deteriorated, and it impossible to ever develop a complete picture of what they looked like, the materials used, and the techniques employed to build them. That being said, every site claimed that their reconstructed houses were based on archaeological findings in order to add an extra layer of authenticity. It is therefore important to communicate to the visitor the limits of reconstructions, and that they should be aware they are perhaps not being presented a complete realistic look into the past. Several of the signs did note the experimental nature of reconstructions – for example, at Hedeby the sign discusses how the craftsman use modern tools such as saws to help slightly expedite the tedious nature of building traditional houses by hand. However, this is certainly an area that each site needs to work on more given that comments from visitors alluded to their perception that they were experiencing something 'authentic' or that they were seeing something exactly as it had looked in the past.

Given that many of the sites advertise themselves as places where visitors can go back in time to experience what life was like 1000 years ago, a visitor might not necessarily understand the limits in reconstruction. Also, because signs were not usually translated, any international visitors wouldn't be provided with the

information needed to see the reconstructions with a more skeptical eye. Similarly, as noted by the director of planning at Hedeby, reconstructions are increasingly outdated because they do not "really comply with best practice" as they "tend to impair the fabric and authenticity of a site" (personal communication, 31 January 2020). While the houses help visitors better understand the original site, they create a specific picture for visitors who might not understand that what they are seeing is only a small part of a much wider history. Furthermore, the increasing number of visitors also poses challenges with interpreting an authentic 'Viking' landscape within a living agricultural landscape.

While the immersion can never go so far as to a visitor truly believing that they woke up in the Viking Age, they still need to be given the tools to determine what is authentic, and whether that really matters for the quality of their experience. For example, some visitors reflected that seeing people skinning animals or the overwhelming smells from the woodfires were 'too real', which also means that there may be limits to reconstructions and re-enactments that haven't been considered (see Figure 38).

Figure 38: A deer carcass hanging in Hedeby, which some visitors found to be too graphic. *Source: Author.*

Especially given that these sites often attempt to portray life just as it was, it is important to question the extent to which they wish to do so. This became very clear in the example about the incident at Foteviken where an attempt to bring a theatrical element of the slave trade into the site backfired when visitors had limits on how much immersion and participation they desired. The lines between participant and observer are very difficult to follow as are the different ways visitors might perceive something as 'authentic'. However, one clear conclusion is that visitors enjoy the reconstructions because it helps them imagine what an early settlement or village might have looked like. The presence of re-enactors was also welcome as long as there was a clear engagement with the visitors as well as an educational component to the work that they do (whether through a craft or through storytelling).

Therefore, another important element of presenting 'authentic' everyday life in the Viking world was ensuring that re-enactors followed specific guidelines in how they dressed, how they communicated with the visitors, and the kinds of crafts they performed. There were different levels of authenticity required based on whether there were events going on, but each site ensured that any re-enactor who actively worked at the site would need a basic understanding of the Viking world, but that the guides themselves are the most important sources of information and that re-enactors should refer visitors to them if they weren't sure of something. During markets, however, there were many different craftsman and people selling goods who seemed to be able to stretch the rules slightly, but they were under careful observation, and as one site manager noted, they could be asked to leave if they did not respect the rules enough. There was also an active learning process employed where no one was necessarily turned away for not having enough knowledge about the past, but they were expected to actively learn over time and would often be paired together or shadowed by more experienced re-enactors.

While all the re-enactors I spoke with recognized that they can never have 'pure' authenticity, there were also different points of contention where they thought some could do better. For example, especially during market events there was a great divide between the traditional craftsmen and the people who came to sell mass-produced goods. Several re-enactors were unhappy that people were allowed to come during those days and sell products that are not made by hand for much cheaper, which means the products they make by hand that are more expensive get less attention from the visitors. One re-enactor called the stands with mass-produced items the 'supermarkets' (see Figure 39) and was upset that those stands were given better positions along the main tourist path. Therefore, there is a very strong emphasis in the re-enactor community on actually learning a craft and skill

that can also help to keep traditional craftsmanship alive due to the knowledge sharing the community tries to employ.

For the traditional crafts, there is a higher level of authenticity not only because of the handmade quality and being modelled after archaeological findings, but also because the authenticity emerges from visitors actually being able to see how something is made (Hannam and Halewood, 2006). The markets are not staged or performed in any way except in the case of Foteviken during the battle re-enactment, and the re-enactors were all quick to note that there is no performance, acting, or theatrical display going on. They emphasize the importance in educating the visitor as honestly as possible, and as mentioned before, when the visitor can develop a connection with the past through as honest an interpretation as possible, they have a greater feeling of having an authentic experience. However, as Petersson and Narmo (2011) point out, the visitor nevertheless still controls what products are the most valued, and as demonstrated by the supermarkets, the products they tend to actually purchase are usually not the most authentic.

Figure 39: One of the stands selling mass-produced goods. *Source: Author.*

As discussed before, there are many different motivations as to why someone becomes a re-enactor, but oftentimes they participate because they want to have a more tangible impact in communicating the past. While many are still involved in the fantasy world, they also emphasized that being a re-enactor comes with a stronger emphasis on education and knowledge sharing. Noreen Orr (2006), for example, discusses the desire to share knowledge as falling under the category of a more serious leisure activity by adding a career dimension where knowledge is the main focus. In their fieldwork, Smed et al. (2016) also continuously came across the discussion of knowledge sharing and the importance of accurately representing the past. This process, they argue, is highly related to the idea of developing a collective community beyond the re-enactors – a community that includes the visitors who have multiple identities and interests that brought them to visit the site in the first place. They argue, "Knowledge becomes internalised in the heritage experience for the re-enactors, while they are trying to live their Viking heritage, and the internalisation is thus related to both held knowledge and identity, which indicates that experience of re-enactment and heritage go hand in hand" (2016, p. 103). Just as visitors internalize their experiences, there is a similar outcome with the re-enactors. This is especially evident when the re-enactors noted that they are not the *real* Vikings, but rather modern people attempting to portray life in the past. Despite some identifying with Vikings, there is still a recognition that they are in a "re-enacted reality" (Ibid.). Relating to perceptions of authenticity, there is an obvious paradox where the re-enactors are "aware of the fact that authenticity is staged to a certain extent, while at the same time wishing to come as close to an authentic representation of Viking living as possible" (Ibid.). However certain valued themes with respect to re-enactment were identified including the importance of knowledge sharing of traditional craftsmanship, understanding that true authenticity is unattainable, encouraging active participation in visitors, connecting crafts to archaeological findings, an emphasis on storytelling, and welcoming anyone into the community who wishes to join.

While it is impossible to avoid lapses in authenticity because not everything is known about the Viking world let alone everyday Viking life, what matters is that a quest for authenticity both by the re-enactors and by the visitors continues to be negotiated in order to add value to both participants' experiences. Similarly, based on the non-commercial motivations of re-enactment revealed by Smed et al.'s research and other studies (see Tivers, 2002; Holmes, 2003), the motivations behind volunteering can only be seen as a benefit to the overall site experience.

On the other side, the motivation of visitors to visit sites with less tangible heritage reveals a growing trend of seeking experiences rather than material manifestations of heritage. These experiences illuminate the collective identities and shared processes of place-making that contribute to creating more dynamic and engaging experiences for visitors.

If heritage landscapes are meant to give visitors authentic glimpses into the past, however, there are certain limitations this puts on the accessibility of the site. On a tangible level, these landscapes are often very large, rural spaces with poorly maintained paths and challenging terrain. Furthermore, without signs, visitors struggle to understand significant elements of the material and historical landscape. The hearing impaired, for example, would have to rely on other senses to interact with the landscape, but in doing so, miss out on important details provided in a guided tour or audio guide. In such cases, the use of virtual reality in museums can help 'bring' visitors into the landscape who would otherwise be unable to do so, and more work should be done to understand how to bring a wider array of multisensory engagements into these virtual experiences. This has already been exemplified in Magali Ljungar-Chapelon research on performativity and sensory immersion in the Kivik Grave in Sweden (2017), in Sara Perry's work on enchantment in archaeology and heritage initiatives (2019), and through the Emotive Project that works to create "narratives and experiences" that "draw on the power of 'emotive storytelling'" (2020) in cultural heritage.

The limitations of site development in a historical landscape

Given the *historical* part of a historical landscape, there are many factors that can influence how a site can or cannot be developed for tourism purposes. While funding tends to be one of the largest hindrances, other limiting factors include the restrictions placed on protected landscapes. In more fragile landscapes where few excavations have taken place, these restrictions can limit the possibilities of development. In this case, the site managers must consider many different stakeholders and their interests and claims to the landscape as well as the regulations pertaining to protected places. One site manager, for example, mentioned that they are constantly trying to "balance the preservation of the site with the responsibility to interpret the site to visitors and enhance the awareness of its significance and need for protection as well as with the use of the site by locals for leisure activities and even agriculture in the vicinity" (email

correspondence, 31 January 2020). The historical landscape is both a fragile cultural landscape embedded with archaeological material as well as a living landscape important for the daily life of the local community. Therefore, any changes to the landscape must align with these different functions. In sites like Birka and Hedeby that consistently receive a high number of visitors, there is also the problem of how to accommodate a large number of visitors with high expectations based on a UNESCO World Heritage status. However, this tends to be a double-edged sword. As noted by Magnus and Gustin (2012), part of the responsibility in having a UNESCO site is to both preserve and enliven the site.

All of these factors entail finding a delicate balance between site development and site preservation, which is also an area where local community involvement can be a helpful asset. For example, many of these landscapes could provide open access to residents during the off-season, hold more events aimed at the local community, support farmers and land-owners especially those whose land either overlaps or borders the historical site, employ local craftsmen, and engage younger residents through summer jobs and camps (see Cole, 2006; Gould and Burtenshaw, 2019).

High-tech and/or high-touch

If sites are limited in how much they are able to reconstruct or develop for tourism purposes, oftentimes the solution is to incorporate technological innovations to help bring the landscape to life in a virtual context. Archaeological fieldwork has benefited enormously from advancements in 3D-imaging, virtual reality, and other technologies that help to improve the visualization and presentation of excavations. They are also often increasingly employed in museums to provide more interactive elements for visitors to see different layers in the landscape and to view different developments of buildings or towns. Especially with virtual reality, there are many possibilities to give visitors a sense of immersion and to help visitors who perhaps cannot access more rural sites such as those with possible walking, hearing, or visual impairments. However, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, none of the sites indicated that they wish to add more technology outside of the museum. While technology is useful in the museum in creating more interactive elements and helping to communicate the information a visitor needs to then go out and visualize the landscape using their own imaginations,

the site managers disagreed with bringing more technology to the landscapes themselves.

Due to the fact that visitors often come to these sites to escape from the chaos of the modern world and to get away from technology for a day, there continues to be a strong emphasis on what one site manager called 'high touch' elements discussed before that get the visitor directly involved with the performance of the past where they also play an active role in the reawakening of the landscape and the authenticity of their own experiences because it is a multisensory, lived experience. As noted before, visitors want to feel something, and while technology is useful in many other ways, it does not appear to be useful in helping visitors develop an emotional connection within the landscape itself. While it may help them visualize the landscape better, a synthetic and distanced, predominantly visual presentation limits all other sensory interaction and does not allow a visitor to follow their own impulses. This also runs counter to the idea of getting to reconnect with nature and being able to shut off for a day. Having visitors connect with a historical landscape through as many senses as possible continues to be the preferred choice for all of the sites I studied, and this was also supported by the re-enactors who choose to work in these landscapes because they are real. If even site managers remain hesitant for a technology overkill, perhaps there is an unspoken understanding that heritage landscapes will become even more popular as more visitors will seek out spaces where they can reach out to real people, real places, and real experiences without something talking in their ears, placed in front of their eyes, or downloaded onto their phones to see a reconstruction of the landscape in front of them. While museums can easily provide these experiences for visitors, historical landscapes should be left alone beyond simple reconstructions. Perhaps these sites are most meaningful because they remind visitors of days gone by, of more simple yet difficult times, and of all the different connections they miss out on if they forget to look up, listen, touch, smell, taste, and live in the present moment.

Therefore, perhaps there is a balance that needs to be struck between high-tech and high-touch. This pattern seemed to already emerge in the discussions regarding how museums can serve as more virtual, interactive spaces to immerse visitors in the past in predominantly visual ways. Once they go out into the landscape, they are then able to use their imaginations using these visualizations to build up the landscape around them, and perhaps then the other sensory

dimensions follow. As in Hedeby, the museum should be a part of the landscape, and should incorporate interesting ways of bringing in different elements of the surrounding landscape or the past into its design and function. As visitors with no understanding of the landscape expressed a feeling of being lost and misguided, the museum serves as an important stepping stone in connecting past realities into the present landscape. Furthermore, in sites with no museum such as Foteviken or VikingaTider, it becomes imperative for the quality of the visitor experience that there are more informational signs or different active methods employed to help visitors find their own ways in to the historical landscape or into the past world that is being re-enacted. Furthermore, making a clear difference between what is available to visitors in different areas of the site helps to prevent a clash of expectation and reality. Providing limited information clearly created negative outcomes in visitors who had expected to have a different experience. At the same time, as noted by Moscardo (1996), it is also easy to overwhelm visitors with too much information. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration what information is relevant in different areas of the landscape. For example, the museum can employ more digital visualizations while informational signs placed out in the landscape or re-constructions can provide more context.

While there are perhaps many more themes that can be garnered from applying the TRIOLE model to a number of sites, the themes identified here have served to show the broad reach the TRIOLE model can have in helping to understand the complexity of the visitor experience and the different material, symbolic, and affective dimensions of heritagescapes.

4.2 Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the nature of human experience in landscapes of the past and present from many different perspectives, but its contribution has particularly been directed to two main areas of study. First, in placing my arguments within landscape geography, I have contributed a new way of analyzing landscapes. Through a three-pillared model inspired by different realms of landscape studies, it is possible to see how the many layers and positionalities explored from critical to humanistic perspectives can work together to fill in the gaps that the others create. Instead of standing in opposition to one another, these approaches should rather be seen as peeling back different layers of landscapes starting from the material, building up to symbolic interpretations, and ending with the affective and emotional dimensions of landscape experience. The three components of the model, *locale*, *story*, and *presence*, therefore, attempt to answer the call for a more concise methodology that engages the different uses of the landscape concept. Through these three interwoven parts, the landscape tapestry can be more easily unraveled. While the model's simplicity leaves it vulnerable to a certain level of scrutiny, its base in a methodological, conceptual, and theoretical exploration of landscape theory and heritage and tourism studies provides a more wide-reaching template that can be applied to a multitude of landscapes.

The second area to which the model contributes is the heritage industry. While the emotional turn has arrived in heritage and tourism studies, there is still a disconnection between theory and practice. Based on deadening forces including museumization, disneyfication, and standardization, heritage sites increasingly adhere to a certain template through which landscapes are molded and shaped based on uniform ideas of how they should be experienced. I have shown that this leads to more mindless, disenchanted encounters, and limits the meaningful connections visitors are able to make due to time constraints, poor communication and inaccessibility of the wider landscape, uniform experiences such as guided tours, and a lack of choices. However, as the TRIOLE model

shows, if heritagescapes cater more to the individual rather than to a wider template of visitor experience, a new space can be created where visitors experience something new, learn about how people used to live by sharing in their experiences and daily activities, try out traditional crafts that rely on local products, actively learn and engage with what interests them, and spend quality time with friends and family. Helping visitors of all ages develop personal connections to different landscapes also has a range of other benefits from positive behavioral changes to the development of conservation values (Loza and Finch, 2008).

Through the Triangle of Landscape Engagement model, it becomes possible to assess the many different layers of landscape that can be utilized to improve the visitor experience. A more critical analysis of different geographical and built elements (*Locale*) as well as how the history of the site is communicated through different mediums (*Story*) leads to a better understanding of how the site has been developed over time and how visitors currently move through and interact with different elements. The component of *Presence* attempts to move from a more traditional approach in heritage management to one that follows the emotional turn in considering the affective and emotional dimensions of landscapes through the use of phenomenology. A more phenomenological engagement helps to reveal the affective and emotional dimensions of visitors' lived experiences and uncovers potential weaknesses and possibilities for improvement. Furthermore, within the landscape itself, a phenomenological approach helps to identify previously overlooked or undervalued areas that provide more engagement possibilities for visitors with a wider range of interests. Given that previous research has often relied on feedback from the visitors themselves regarding the site experience, employing the TRIOLE model shows the importance and value in a deeper investigation into the material, symbolic, and affective, multi-sensory dimensions to which visitors normally would not have access. Therefore, as site managers have often scrambled to combine traditional practices with more theoretical explorations of the heritage landscape experience, the model aims at bringing together these concepts in a more methodical, yet accessible way.

Furthermore, the model can also be used as a collaborative tool in helping different actors who are involved in the landscape's preservation as well as its development work together to best determine what is needed in both short and long-term plans. Therefore, it can also be a useful tool in determining the meaning behind the landscape both for visitors as well as the local community to create

more engagement possibilities and highlighting different ways the landscape can be used during different seasons, which can also broaden sources of funding. This perspective also helps to ground the landscape in its present context as a lived, worked landscape where its purpose and meaning are constantly renegotiated.

The fieldwork conducted in four Viking heritage landscapes revealed how the TRIOLE model can be used effectively to make a more holistic analysis of the visitor experience as well as the landscape itself. Even in sites with a large number of visitors and a UNESCO World Heritage status, it uncovered potential areas for improvement. From the data collected, different themes emerged that showed the importance of heritagescapes as places of interaction, active participation, and learning by doing. While the landscape can be brought to life in many ways, emphasis was placed on high quality, imaginative storytelling by guides, the presence of well-informed, talented craftsmen, friendly and engaging re-enactors, and more informative, interactive media in the museums. Though the use of technology in certain instances can be a helpful tool in helping visitors visualize past realities, once they are out in the landscape, it is best to allow them to make their own choices in how they wish to encounter and engage with the past ranging from joining the guided tours to independently walking around the site and into the wider landscape. The analysis also revealed the differences in how sites are encountered during high and low seasons. From this assessment, visiting a site one time is likely not going to fulfill all the different goals of a visitor's experience in the landscape, and more attention should be paid in how sites are advertised for different seasons to reveal further engagement possibilities. For example, while markets are very popular, they can also be very distracting and crowded, and they can limit the visitor's movements and possibilities to go out into the landscape or observe any reconstructions more critically. Finally, there is a significant educational component based in a curiosity for how people once lived in order to make comparisons with life today, and it is important to ensure that the visitors are given the proper tools they need to make these connections.

The use of the TRIOLE model has confirmed the unpredictability in how heritagescapes are experienced and valued in different ways by different actors. Awakening the landscapes through active participation, highlighting different affective and emotional dimensions unique to the landscapes themselves, and understanding the limits to authenticity and the increasing desire to make the past more accessible through reconstruction and re-enactment are all important

guidelines in developing and managing heritagescapes. Given that visitors and employees alike pursue experiences in these landscapes because they provide an escape from the busy, modern world and help them feel *something* – whether it be a small tingle of joy or a spell of teary-eyed nostalgia, more attention needs to be paid to the enduring value of unique, individual *lived* encounters in landscapes. If Yi-Fu Tuan was right, and the good life is life awake, this dissertation comes to the conclusion that a good landscape is a landscape awake.

References

Adams, J. L. (2010) 'Interrogating the equity principle: The rhetoric and reality of management planning for sustainable archaeological heritage tourism', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5(2), pp. 103–123.

Agnew, J. A. (1987) *Place and Politics: The Geographical Meditation of State and Society*. Boston, MA: Allen and Unwin.

Agnew, V. (2007) 'History's affective turn: Historical reenactment and its work in the present', *Rethinking History*, 11(3), pp. 299–312.

Ahmed, S. (2006) *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ammert, N. and Gustafsson, B. E. (2017) 'To Make and Experience Meaning: How Time Travels are Perceived Amongst Participants', in Petersson, B. and Holtorf, C. (eds) *Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 113–128.

Ankersmit, F. (2005) *Sublime Historical Experience*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ankre, R., Fredman, P. and Lindhagen, A. (2016) 'Managers' experiences of visitor monitoring in Swedish outdoor recreational areas', *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism*, 14, pp. 35–40.

Ash, J. and Simpson, P. (2016) 'Geography and post-phenomenology', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(1), pp. 48–66.

Ateljevic, I. *et al.* (2005) 'Getting "entangled": Reflexivity and the "critical turn" in tourism studies', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30(2), pp. 9–21.

Bakewell, S. (2011) *How to Live: A Life of Montaigne in one question and twenty attempts at an answer*. London: Vintage.

Baranowski, S. and Furlough, E. (2001) 'Introduction', in Baranowski, S. and Furlough, E. (eds) *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 1–31.

Barr, S., Gilg, A. and Shaw, G. (2011) '"Helping People Make Better Choices": Exploring the behaviour change agenda for environmental sustainability', *Applied Geography*, 31(2), pp. 712–720.

Basu, P. (2004) 'My own island home: The Orkney homecoming', *Journal of Material Culture*, 9(1), pp. 27–42.
Belhassen, Y., Caton, K. and Stewart, W. P. (2008) 'The search for authenticity in the pilgrim experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(3), pp. 668–689.
Bender, B. (1998) *Stonehenge: making space*. Oxford: Berg.
Bennett, C.-L. (2015) *Pond*. London: Fitzcarraldo Editions.
Bennett, J. (2001) *The Enchantment of Modern Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: a political ecology of things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Berg, I. *et al.* (2016) 'Debattinlägg: "Förtryck och sexuellt våld var förvisso en del av det vikingatida samhället, men kan knappast förmedlas genom pubertal humor."', *Sydsvenskan*, 3 August. Available at: https://www.sydsvenskan.se/2016-07-20/fortryck-och-sexuellt-vald-var-forvisso-en-del-av-det-vikingatida-samhallet-men-kan-knappast-formedlas-genom-pubertal-humor (Accessed: 14 February 2020).
van den Berg, J. H. (1955) *The Phenomenological Approach to Psychiatry*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
Boelpaep, B. (2018) 'Is tourism killing Venice?', *BBC News*, 15 October. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-45835906/the-venetians-trying-to-reclaim-venice (Accessed: 5 April 2019).
Boorstin, D. J. (1964) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
Brink, S. (2008) 'Introduction: Who were the vikings?', in Brink, S. and Price, N. (eds) *The Viking World*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 4–7.
Bruner, E. M. (1994) 'Ambraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96(2), pp. 397–415.
Brunton, J. (2020) '"Nature is taking back Venice": wildlife returns to tourist-free city', *The Guardian*, 20 March. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/mar/20/nature-is-taking-back-venice-wildlife-returns-to-tourist-free-city (Accessed: 24 April 2020).
Buchmann, A., Moore, K. and Fisher, D. (2010) 'Experiencing Film Tourism -- Authenticity & Fellowship', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), pp. 229–248.
Bunkše, E. V. (2004) 'Softly heaves the glassy sea: nature's rhythms in an era of displacement', in Mels, T. (ed.) *Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 71–85.
Bunkše, E. V. (2011) 'The Ineffable, Ethereal, and Evanescent as Values of Local, National, and European Identities', in Roca, Z., Claval, P., and Agnew, J. (eds) *Landscapes, Identities and Development*. Surrey: Ashgate, pp. 25–36.

Burgen, S. (2017) 'Barcelona cracks down on tourist numbers with accommodation law', *The Guardian*, 27 January. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/27/barcelona-cracks-down-on-tourist-numbers-with-accommodation-law (Accessed: 5 October 2018).

Burlingame, K. (2018) 'Where are the storytellers? A quest to (re)enchant geography through writing as method', *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 43(1), pp. 56–70.

Burlingame, K. (2019) 'Presence in affective heritagescapes: connecting theory to practice', *Tourism Geographies*, 0(0), pp. 1–21.

Burlingame, K. (2020) 'Hidden in the mountains: Celebrating Swedish heritage in rural Pennsylvania', in Lovell, J. and Hitchmough, S. (eds) *Authenticity in North America: Place, Tourism, Heritage, Culture and the Popular Imagination*. London: Routledge, pp. 134–144.

Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Buttimer, A. (1976) 'Grasping the Dynamisim of the Lifeworld', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, pp. 277–292.

Butz, D. (2010) 'Autoethnography as Sensibility', in DeLyser, D. et al. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 138–155.

Buzard, J. (1993) *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, S. D. (1996) 'Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities? Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 62(3), pp. 296–312.

Campbell, S. D. (2016) 'The Planner's Triangle Revisited: Sustainability and the Evolution of a Planning Ideal That Can't Stand Still', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 92(4), pp. 388–397.

Carman, J. and Sørensen, M. L. S. (2009) 'Heritage Studies: An Outline', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 11–29.

Carman, T. (2008) *Merleau-Ponty*. London: Routledge.

Carnegie, E. and McCabe, S. (2008) 'Re-enactment Events and Tourism: Meaning, Authenticity and Identity', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 11(4), pp. 349–368.

Carolan, M. S. (2008) 'More-than-representational knowledge/s of the countryside: How we think as bodies', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48(4), pp. 408–422.

Carr, D. (2012) 'Experience and History', in Zahavi, D. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Phenomenology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199594900.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199594900-e-24 (Accessed: 28 February 2020).

Carr, D. (2014) *Experience and History: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Historical World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M. (1997) *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Chang, H. (2008) *Autoethnography as Method*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
Chhabra, D., Healy, R. and Sills, E. (2003) 'Staged authenticity and heritage tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(3), pp. 702–719.
Cloke, P. *et al.* (2004) *Practicing Human Geography*. London: Sage.
Cole, S. (2006) 'Information and empowerment: The keys to achieving sustainable tourism', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 14(6), pp. 629–644.
Comune di Venezia (2016) *EnjoyRespectVenice*. Available at: http://www.comune.venezia.it/it/EnjoyRespectVenezia (Accessed: 16 January 2018).
Cosgrove, D. (1985) 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10(1), pp. 45–62.
Cosgrove, D. (2003) 'Landscape and the European Sense of Sight -- Eyeing Nature', in Anderson, K. et al. (eds) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 249–268.
Cosgrove, D. (2006) 'Modernity, Community and the Landscape Idea', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(1–2), pp. 49–66.
Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (1988) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Crang, M. (1996) 'Magic kingdom or a quixotic quest for authenticity?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), pp. 415–431.
Crang, M. (1997) 'Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), pp. 359–373.
Crang, M. (2003) 'Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see?', *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(4), pp. 494–504.
Crang, M. (2006) 'Circulation and Emplacement: The Hollowed-out Performance of Tourism', in Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds) *Travels in Paradox*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 47–64.
Crang, M. (2015) 'Travelling ethics: Valuing harmony, habitat and heritage while consuming people and places', *Geoforum*, 67, pp. 194–203.
Crang, M. and Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2010) 'Nation, race, and affect: Senses and sensibilities at national heritage sites', *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10), pp. 2315–2331.
Cresswell, T. (2015) *Place*. 2nd edn. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
Crouch, D. (2001) 'Spatialities and the feeling of doing', *Social and Cultural Geography*, pp. 61–75.

Crouch, D. and Parker, G. (2003) '"Digging-up" Utopia? Space, practice and land use heritage', *Geoforum*, 34, pp. 395–408.
Dahle, B. and Molnar, D. J. (2003) *Anatomy of a park: Essentials of recreation area planning and design*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.
Daniels, S. and Lorimer, H. (2012) 'Until the end of days: narrating landscape and environment', *Cultural Geographies*, 19(1), pp. 3–9.
Daugbjerg, M. (2017) 'Being There: Time Travel, Experience, and Experiment in Re-enactment and "Living History" Performances', in Petersson, B. and Holtorf, C. (eds) *Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 157–174.
Davis, D. K. (2011) 'Reading Landscapes and Telling Stories: Geography, the humanities, and environmental history', in Daniels, S. et al. (eds) *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 170–176.
DeLyser, D. (1999) 'Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 89(4), pp. 602–632.
Dewsbury, J.-D. (2003) 'Witnessing space: "Knowledge without contemplation"', *Environment and Planning A*, 35(11), pp. 1907–1932.
Dilthey, W. (2010) *Wilhelm Dilthey: Selected Works, Volume III: The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
della Dora, V. (2009) 'Travelling landscape-objects', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(3), pp. 334–354.
Duncan, J. and Duncan, N. (2001) 'The Aestheticization of the Politics of Landscape Preservation', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 91(2), pp. 387–409.
Edensor, T. (2006) 'Seeing Tourist Spaces', in Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds) *Travels in Paradox*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 23–46.
Edmonds, M. (2006) 'Who said romance was dead?', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(1–2), pp. 167–188.
Ellis, G. D. and Rossman, J. R. (2008) 'Creating Value for Participants through Experience Staging: Parks, Recreation, and Tourism in the Experience Industry', *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 26(4), pp. 1–20.
Elwood, S. (2010) 'Mixed methods: Thinking, doing, and asking in multiple ways', in DeLyser, D. et al. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 94–114.
Emotive Project (2020) *Emotive Project*. Available at: https://emotiveproject.eu/ (Accessed: 9 June 2020).
Eriksen, A. (2014) *From Antiquities to Heritage: Transformations of Cutlural Memory*. New York, NY: Bergahn Books.

EXARC (2008) *Definitions*. Available at: https://exarc.net/about-us/definitions (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Feighery, W. (2006) 'Reflexivity and tourism research: Telling an (other) story', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9(3), pp. 269–282.
Fleck, L. (1935) *Entstehung Und Entwicklung Einer Wissenschaftlichen Tatsache: Einführung in Die Lehre Vom Denkstil Und Denkkollectiv*. Basel: B. Schwabe.
Fotevikens Museum (2020a) *How do I become a Viking?* Available at: https://www.fotevikensmuseum.se/d/en/vikingar/bliviking (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Fotevikens Museum (2020b) *The History of the Museum*. Available at: https://www.fotevikensmuseum.se/d/en/museet/historia (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Fotevikens Museum (2020c) *The Law of Foteviken*. Available at: https://www.fotevikensmuseum.se/d/en/museet/historia (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Foucault, M. (1977) *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Frers, L. (2013) 'The matter of absence', *Cultural Geographies*, 20(4), pp. 431–445.
Garden, M.-C. E. (2006) 'The heritagescape: Looking at landscapes of the past', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(5), pp. 394–411.
Garden, M.-C. E. (2009) 'The Heritagescape: Looking at heritage sites', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 270–291.
Germann Molz, J. (2012) *Travel Connections: Tourism, technology and togetherness in a mobile world*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Germundsson, T. (2005) 'Regional cultural heritage versus national heritage in Scania's disputed national landscape', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11(1), pp. 21–37.
Gibbens, S. (2017) 'More Expensive National Parks May Threaten Access to Nature', *National Geographic*, 25 October. Available at: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/destinations/north-america/united-states/national-parks-service-entrance-fee-increase-spd/ (Accessed: 15 November 2017).
Goodwin, H. (2017) *The Challenge of Overtourism*, *Responsible Tourism Partnership Working Paper 4*. Available at: https://haroldgoodwin.info/pubs/RTP'WP4Overtourism01'2017.pdf (Accessed: 14 September 2018).

Gorman, J. (2012) 'Finding Zen in a Patch of Nature', *The New York Times*, 22 October. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/23/science/david-haskell-finds-biology-zen-in-a-patch-of-nature.html (Accessed: 15 September 2017).
Gould, P. G. (2018) 'Economic Valuation of Heritage', in Smith, C. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Cham: Springer. Available at: https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-51726-1_3382-1 (Accessed: 5 September 2019).
Gould, P. G. and Burtenshaw, P. (2019) 'Community Economic Development and Archaeology', in Smith, C. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Cham: Springer. Available at: https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-51726-1_3385-1 (Accessed: 5 September 2019).
Goulding, C., Saren, M. and Pressey, A. (2018) '"Presence" and "absence" in themed heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 71, pp. 25–38.
Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Granö, J. G. (1997) *Pure Geography*. Edited by O. Granö and A. Paasi. Translated by M. Hicks. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Grevstad-Nordbrock, T. and Vojnovic, I. (2019) 'Heritage-fueled gentrification: A cautionary tale from Chicago', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 38, pp. 261–270.
Groth, P. (1997) 'Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study', in Groth, P. and Bressi, T. W. (eds) *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 1–24.
Gumbrecht, H. U. (2004) *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Halewood, C. and Hannam, K. (2001) 'Viking heritage tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(3), pp. 565–580.
Hannam, K. and Halewood, C. (2006) 'European viking themed festivals: An expression of identity', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1(1), pp. 17–31.
Haraway, D. (1988) 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), p. 575.
Harding, S. (1991) *Whose Science/ Whose Knowledge?* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Hare, J. L. (2015) *Excavating Nations: Archaeology, Museums, and the Danish Borderlands*. Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press.
Harris, S. (2014) *Waking Up: A Guide to Spirituality Without Religion*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
Hartog, F. (2003) *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expérience du temps*. Paris: Le Seuil.
Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (2013) 'Landscape and heritage: emerging landscapes of heritage', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 152–165.
Hawkins, H. (2015) 'Creative geographic methods: knowing, representing, intervening. On composing place and page', *Cultural Geographies*, 22(2), pp. 247–268.
Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time*. Translated by J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
Henderson, G. (1998) '"Landscape is dead, long live landscape": a handbook for sceptics', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24(1), pp. 94–100.
Hill, L. (2013) 'Archaeologies and geographies of the post-industrial past: Landscape, memory and the spectral', *Cultural Geographies*, 20(3), pp. 379–396.
Holmes, K. (2003) 'Volunteers in the heritage sector: A neglected audience?', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 9(4), pp. 341–355.
Holtorf, C. (2017) 'Introduction: The Meaning of Time Travel', in Petersson, B. and Holtorf, C. (eds) *Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 1–22.
Holtorf, C. and Kristensen, T. M. (2015) 'Heritage erasure: Rethinking protection and preservation', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21(4), pp. 313–317.
Hoskins, W. G. (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
Husserl, E. (1970) *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*. Translated by D. Carr. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Ingold, T. (1993) 'The temporality of the landscape', *World Archaeology*, 25(2), pp. 152–174.
Ingold, T. (1995) 'Building, dwelling, living: how animals and people make themselves at home in the world', in Strathern, M. (ed.) *Shifting Contexts*. London: Routledge, pp. 57–80.
Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London: Routledge.
Jaiswall, A. (2018) 'Indian visitors to Taj Mahal to be capped at 40k/day', *The Times of India*, 3 January. Available at: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/indian-visitors-to-taj-mahal-to-be-capped-at-40k/day/articleshow/62344330.cms (Accessed: 25 January 2018).
Jakobsen, B. and Barrow, S. (2015) *Management of Open-air Museums*. OpenArch. Available at: https://exarc.net/manuals/management-open-air-museums (Accessed: 10 September 2017).
Jørgensen, L. (2008) 'Manor, Cult and Market at Lake Tissø', in Brink, S. and Price, N. (eds) *The Viking World*. London: Routledge, pp. 77–82.

Kantanen, T. and Tikkanen, I. (2006) 'Advertising in low and high involvement cultural tourism attractions: Four cases', *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 6(2), pp. 99–110.
Kaplan, R. and Kaplan, S. (1989) *The Experience of Nature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Karlsson, J. M. (2016) 'Vikingar anmäler kvinnan som såldes som slav', *Sydsvenskan*, 3 July. Available at: https://www.sydsvenskan.se/2016-07-31/vikingar-anmaler-kvinnan-som-saldes-som-slav (Accessed: 15 September 2016).
Keith, M. and Pile, S. (1993) *Place and the Politics of Identity*. London: Routledge.
Kettle, M. (2017) 'Mass tourism is at a tipping point – but we're all part of the problem', *The Guardian*, 11 August. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/11/tourism-tipping-point-travel-less-damage-destruction (Accessed: 10 October 2017).
Knudsen, D. C., Metro-Roland, M. M. and Ricky-Boyd, J. M. (2013) 'Landscape studies and tourism research', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 286–295.
Konzack, L. (2017) 'Viking re-enactment', in Roued-Cunliffe, H. and Copeland, A. (eds) *Participatory Heritage*. London: Facet Publishing, pp. 37–45.
Krippendorf, J. (1987) *The Holiday Makers: Understanding the impact of leisure and travel*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemnn.
Landelius, M. (2016) '"Sexistsunket på Foteviken har pågått för länge"', *Sydsvenskan*, 15 July. Available at: https://www.sydsvenskan.se/2016-07-15/sexistsunket-pa-foteviken-har-pagatt-for-lange?redirected=1 (Accessed: 12 February 2020).
Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein (2020) *About the Viking Museum Haithabu*. Available at: https://haithabu.de/en/about-the-viking-museum-haithabu (Accessed: 30 January 2020).
Lane, B. (1991) 'Sustainable Tourism: A New Concept for the Heritage Interpreter', *Interpretation Journal*, 49, pp. 1–4.
Länsstyrelsen Skåne (2020) *Löddeköpinge och andra köpingeorter*. Available at: https://www.lansstyrelsen.se/skane/besoksmal/kulturmiljoprogram/skanes-historia-och-utveckling/kustens-landskap/loddekopinge-och-andra-kopingeorter.html (Accessed: 6 February 2020).
Larsson, M. (2010) 'Today's Viking', *Vice*, 2 March. Available at: https://www.vice.com/da/article/expb9k/todays-vikings-378-v17n3 (Accessed: 15 September 2017).
Latza Nadeau, B. (2020) 'Deserted Venice contemplates a future without tourist hordes after Covid-19', *CNN*, 16 May. Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/venice-future-covid-19/index.html (Accessed: 18 May 2020).

Lea, J. J. (2009) 'Post-Phenomenology/post-phenomenological geographies', in Kitchin, R. and Thrift, N. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 373–378.
Lee, W. H. and Moscardo, G. (2005) 'Understanding the impact of ecotourism resort experiences on tourists' environmental attitudes and behavioural intentions', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 13(6), pp. 546–565.
Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. 3rd ed. Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lekan, T. M. (2004) *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Lew, A. A. (2011) 'Tourism's role in the global economy', *Tourism Geographies*, 13(1), pp. 148–151.
Ljungar-Chapelon, M. (2017) 'The Kivik Grave: Virtual Bodies in Ritual Procession', in Petersson, B. and Holtorf, C. (eds) *Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 47–78.
Löfgren, O. (2001) 'Know Your Country: A Comparative Perspective on Tourism and Nation Building in Sweden', in Baranowski, S. and Furlough, E. (eds) *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 137–154.
Lominé, L. (2005) 'Tourism in Augustan Society (44 BC-AD 69)', in Walton, J. K. (ed.) *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*. Toronto: Channel View.
Lorimer, H. (2005) 'Cultural geography: the busyness of being "more-than-representational"', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(1), pp. 83–94.
Lorimer, H. (2014) 'Homeland', *Cultural Geographies*, 21(4), pp. 583–604.
Lorimer, H. and Spedding, N. (2002) 'Excavating geography's hidden spaces', *Area*, 34(3), pp. 294–302.
Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lowenthal, D. (2015) *The Past is a Foreign Country: Revisited*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Loza, A. M. and Finch, K. (2008) *Nature Play: Nurturing Children and Strengthening Conservation through Connections to the Land*. Pennsylvania Land Trust Association. Available at: https://conservationtools.org/library_items/1360-nature-play-nurturing-children-and-strengthening-conservation-through-connections-to-the-land (Accessed: 3 March 2020).
MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
MacDonald, K. I. (2005) 'Global hunting grounds: Power, scale and ecology in the negotiation of conservation', *Cultural Geographies*, 12(3), pp. 259–291.

Mack, B. (2012) 'Tourism overwhelms vanishing Venice', *Deutsche Welle*, 9 November. Available at: http://www.dw.com/en/tourism-overwhelms-vanishing-venice/a-16364608 (Accessed: 20 October 2018).
Macpherson, H. (2016) 'Walking methods in landscape research: moving bodies, spaces of disclosure and rapport', *Landscape Research*. Routledge, 41(4), pp. 425–432.
Magnus, B. and Gustin, I. (2012) *Birka and Hovgården*. Edited by L. Johansson and A. Ragnarsson. Translated by A. Crozier and J. Tolk. Karlstad: Swedish National Heritage Board and Votum.
Maitland, S. (2008) *A Book of Silence*. Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint.
Maitland, S. (2012) *Gossip from the Forest*. London: Granta.
Malpas, J. (2012) 'Putting space in place: Philosophical topography and relational geography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30(2), pp. 226–242.
Manning, R. E. *et al.* (1999) 'Crowding norms: Alternative measurement approaches', *Leisure Sciences*, 21(2), pp. 97–115.
Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (2016) *Designing Qualitative Research*. 6th edn. London: Sage.
Martyn-Hemphill, R. and Libell, H. P. (2018) 'Who Owns the Vikings? Pagans, Neo-Nazis and Advertisers Tussle Over Symbols', *The New York Times*, 17 March. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/world/europe/vikings-sweden-paganism-neonazis.html (Accessed: 28 March 2018).
Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage.
Mathiesen Hjemdahl, K. (2004) 'History as a Cultural Playground', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 32(2), pp. 105–124.
McCool, S. *et al.* (2013) 'Is Concept of Sustainability Utopian: Ideally Perfect but Impracticable?', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 38(2), pp. 213–242.
McCormack, D. P. (2013) *Refrains for Moving Bodies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
McIntosh, A. J. and Prentice, R. C. (1999) 'Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(3), pp. 589–612.
McKercher, B. (2002) 'Towards a classification of cultural tourists', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 4(1), pp. 29–38.
Mead, W. R. (2008) 'Reflections on the Historical Landscapes of Finland', in Jones, M. and Olwig, K. R. (eds) *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging in the Northern Edge of Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 421–439.
Mels, T. (2006) 'The Low Countries' connection: landscape and the struggle over representation around 1600', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32(4), pp. 712–730.
Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) *Phenomenology of Perception*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Merleau-Ponty, M. (1969) 'Eye and mind', in *The Essential Writings of Merleau-Ponty*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1994) 'Cézanne's Doubt', in Johnson, G. A. (ed.), Smith, M. (tran.) *The Merleau-Ponty Aesthetics Reader*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 59–75.

Merriam-Webster (2016) *Landscape Definition*, *Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary*. Available at: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/landscape (Accessed: 26 April 2016).

Milton, K. (2002) *Loving Nature: Towards an Ecology of Emotion*. London: Routledge.

Min-ho, J. (2018) 'South Korea's Jeju Island suffers from "too many tourists"', *South China Morning Post*, 4 January. Available at: http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/2126785/south-koreas-jeju-island-suffers-too-many-tourists (Accessed: 20 February 2018).

Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (2006) 'Introduction: Traveling Paradoxes', in Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds) *Travels in Paradox*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1–22.

Mitchell, D. (1996) *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscapes*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Mitchell, D. (2004) 'Making Sense of Counterurbanization', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20(1), pp. 15–34.

Mitchell, D. (2008) 'New axioms for reading the landscape: paying attention to political economy and social justice', in Wescoat Jr., J. L. and Johnston, D. M. (eds) *Political Economies of Landscape Change: Places of Integrative Power*. New York, NY: Springer, pp. 29–50.

Mitchell, D. (2017) 'A relational approach to landscape and urbanism: the view from an exclusive suburb', *Landscape Research*, 42(3), pp. 277–290.

Moscardo, G. (1996) 'Mindful visitors: Heritage and Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), pp. 376–397.

Moscardo, G. (2008) 'Understanding tourist experience through mindfulness theory', in Kozak, M. and DeCrop, A. (eds) *Handbook of Tourist Behavior*. London: Routledge, pp. 99–115.

Moscardo, G. (2010) 'The Shaping of Tourist Experience: The Importance of Stories and Themes', in Morgan, M., Lugosi, P., and Richie, J. R. B. (eds) *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives*. Buffalo, NY: Channel View, pp. 43–59.

Moscardo, G. (2017) 'Exploring mindfulness and stories in tourist experiences', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism, and Hospitality Research*, 11(2), pp. 111–124.

Moscardo, G. (2020) 'Stories and design in tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 83, pp. 1–12.

Muir, R. (1999) *Approaches to Landscape*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Muzaini, H. and Minca, C. (2018) 'Rethinking heritage, but "from below"', in Muzaini, H. and Minca, C. (eds) *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 1–21.

National Park Service (2017) 'National Park Service Proposes Targeted Fee Increases at Parks to Address Maintenance Backlog', 24 October. Available at: https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/10-24-2017-fee-changes-proposal.htm (Accessed: 6 May 2018).

Nijkamp, P. (2012) 'Economic Valuation of Cultural Heritage', in Licciardi, G. and Amirtahmasebi, R. (eds) *The Economics of Uniqueness*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, pp. 75–106.

Olwig, K. R. (2002) *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Orr, N. (2006) 'Museum volunteering: Heritage as "serious Leisure"', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(2), pp. 194–210.

Orsi, J. (2014) 'Construction and Contestation: Toward a Unifying Methodology for Borderlands History', *History Compass*, 12(5), pp. 433–443.

Palang, H. *et al.* (2004) 'The Permanence of Persistance and Change: Introduction', in Palang, H. et al. (eds) *European Rural Landscapes*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Palmer, C. (2009) 'Reflections on the Practice of Ethnography Within Heritage Tourism', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 123–139.

Palmer, C. T., Wolff, B. and Cassidy, C. (2008) 'Cultural heritage tourism along the Viking Trail: An analysis of tourist brochures for attractions on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland', *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 23(2), pp. 1719–1726.

Park, V. (2018) 'Form an orderly queue: Recreating the perfect Instagram photo in New Zealand', *BBC News*, 28 November. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-46342915 (Accessed: 15 December 2018).

Peacock, A. (1995) 'A Future for the Past: The Political Economy of Heritage', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 87, pp. 189–243.

Peacock, A. and Rizzo, I. (2008) *The Heritage Game: Economics, Policy and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pearce, P. L. and Moscardo, G. M. (1986) 'The Concept of Authenticity in Tourist Experiences', *Journal of Sociology*, 22(1), pp. 121–132.

Perlik, M. (2011) 'Alpine gentrification: The mountain village as a metropolitan neighbourhood', *Revue de géographie alpine*, (99–1), pp. 0–16.

Perry, S. (2019) 'The Enchantment of the Archaeological Record', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 22(3), pp. 354–371.

Petersson, B. and Narmo, L. E. (2011) 'A Journey in Time', in Petersson, B. and Narmo, L. E. (eds) *Experimental Archaeology: Between Enlightenment and Experience*. Lund: Lund University, pp. 27–48.
Picard, D. (2012) 'Tourism, Awe and Inner Journeys', in Picard, D. and Robinson, M. (eds) *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 1–20.
Pine, B. J. and Gilmore, J. H. (1999) *The experience economy: work is theatre and every business a stage*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Pocock, N. (2015) 'Emotional entanglements in tourism research', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 53, pp. 31–45.
Polletta, F. *et al.* (2011) 'The Sociology of Storytelling', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37(1), pp. 109–130.
Pörtner, R. (1975) *The Vikings: Rise and Fall of the Norse Sea Kings*. New York, NY: St. James Press.
Price, T. D. (2015) *Ancient Scandinavia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Price, T. D. *et al.* (2018) 'Isotopes and human burials at Viking Age Birka and the Mälaren region, east central Sweden', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 49, pp. 19–38.
Reisinger, Y. and Steiner, C. J. (2006) 'Reconceptualizing object authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), pp. 65–86.
Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited.
Renes, J. (2004) 'Different Methods for the Protection of Cultural Landscapes', in Palang, H. et al. (eds) *European Rural Landscapes*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 333–344.
Renes, J. (2011) 'European Landscapes: Continuity and Change', in Roca, Z., Claval, P., and Agnew, J. (eds) *Landscapes, Identities and Development*. Surrey: Ashgate, pp. 117–136.
Rickly-Boyd, J. M. (2013) 'Existential Authenticity: Place Matters', *Tourism Geographies*, 15(4), pp. 680–686.
Rippon, S. (2013) 'Historic Landscape Character and Sense of Place', *Landscape Research*, 38(2), pp. 179–202.
Robertson, I. J. M. (2008) 'Heritage from below: Class, social protest and resistance', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 143–158.
Robertson, I. J. M. (2018) 'Afterword', in Muzaini, H. and Minca, C. (eds) *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 169–180.
Roe, M. (2012) 'Making Sense of Place and Landscape Planning at the Landscape Scale', in Convery, I. and Corsane, G. (eds) *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 191–205.

Roesdahl, E. (2008) 'The Emergence of Denmark and the Reign of Harald Bluetooth', in Brink, S. and Price, N. (eds) *The Viking World*. London: Routledge, pp. 652–664.
Rose, M. (2002) 'Landscape and labyrinths', *Geoforum*, 33(4), pp. 455–467.
Runia, E. (2006a) 'Presence', *History and Theory*, 45(1), pp. 1–29.
Runia, E. (2006b) 'Spots of Time', *History and Theory*, 45(3), pp. 305–316.
Ryan, A. (2012) *Where Land Meets Sea: Coastal Explorations of Landscape, Representation and Spatial Experience*. London: Routledge.
Samida, S. (2017) 'Performing the Past: Time Travels in Archaeological Open Air Museums', in Petersson, B. and Holtorf, C. (eds) *Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 135–156.
Sauer, C. (1929) 'The Morphology of Landscape, 1925', in Sauer, Carl (ed.) *University of California Publications in Human Geography (1919-1928)*. 2.2. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 19–53.
Schama, S. (1995) *Landscape and Memory*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
Seamon, D. (1979) *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest and Encounter*. London: Croom Helm.
Setten, G. (2004) 'The habitus, the rule and the moral landscape', *Cultural Geographies*, 11, pp. 389–415.
Shaffer, M. S. (2001) 'Seeing the Nature of America', in Baranowski, S. and Furlough, E. (eds) *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity inModern Europe and North America*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 155–184.
Simonsen, K. (2013) 'In quest of a new humanism: Embodiment, experience and phenomenology as critical geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(1), pp. 10–26.
Smed, K., Dressler, S. and Have, P. (2016) 'The Vikings Are Here! Experiencing Volunteering at a Viking Heritage Site.', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality & Tourism*, 16(1), p. 94.
Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Smith, L. (2014) 'Visitor Emotion, Affect and Registers of Engagement at Museums and Heritage Sites', *Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage*, 14(2), pp. 125–132.
Soja, E. W. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies*. London: Verso.
Spirn, A. W. (1998) *The Language of Landscape*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Stabler, M. (1996) 'Are heritage conservation and tourism compatible? An economic evaluation of their role in urban regeneration', in Robinson, M., Evans, N., and Callaghan, P. (eds) *Tourism and Culture Towards the 21st Century*. Newcastle: Centre for Travel and Tourism: University of Northumbria, pp. 417–438.
Steiner, C. J. and Reisinger, Y. (2006) 'Understanding existential authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(2), pp. 299–318.

Storey, D. (2012) 'Land, Territory, and Identity', in Convery, I. and Corsane, G. (eds) *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 11–22.
Strömma Sweden (2019) *About Birka the Viking City*. Strömma Sweden. Available at: https://www.birkavikingastaden.se/en/about-birka/ (Accessed: 14 February 2019).
Strömma Sweden (2020) *See and Do*. Available at: https://www.birkavikingastaden.se/en/attraction/ (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Svanberg, F. (2003) *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.
Svanberg, F. and Söderberg, B. (2000) *Porten till Skåne: Löddeköpinge under järnålder och medeltid*. Malmö: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
Thaler, P. (2009) *Of Mind and Matter: The Duality of National Identity in the German-Danish Borderlands*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.
Thompson, C. W. (2013) 'Landscape perception and environmental psychology', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 25–42.
Thrift, N. (1997) 'The Still Point - resistance, expressive embodiment and dance', in Pile, S. and Keith, M. (eds) *Geographies of Resistance*. London: Routledge, pp. 124–151.
Thrift, N. (2003) 'Performance and ...', *Environment and Planning A*, 35, pp. 2019–2024.
Thrift, N. (2008) *Non-Representational Theory: Space, politics, affect*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Thrift, N. and Dewsbury, J.-D. (2000) 'Dead geographies—and how to make them live', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18(4), pp. 411–432.
Throsby, D. (1999) 'Cultural Capital', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23(1/2), pp. 3–12.
Throsby, D. (2012) 'Heritage Economics: A Conceptual Framework', in Licciardi, G. and Amirtahmasebi, R. (eds) *The Economics of Uniqueness*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, pp. 45–72.
Thwaites, K. and Simkins, I. (2007) *Experiential Landscape: an approach to people, place and space*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Tilley, C. (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.
Tilley, C. (2004) *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*. New York, NY: Berg.
Tivers, J. (2002) 'Performing heritage: The use of live "actors" in heritage presentations', *Leisure Studies*, 21(3–4), pp. 187–200.
Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2007) 'Fear in paradise: the affective registers of the English Lake District landscape re-visited.', *The Senses & Society*, 2(3), pp. 329–351.

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2013) 'Landscape and Memory', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 322–334.
Tresidder, R. (1999) 'Tourism and Sacred Landscapes', in Crouch, D. (ed.) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*. London: Routledge, pp. 137–148.
Trilling, L. (1972) *Sincerity and Authenticity*. London: Oxford University Press.
Trudeau, N. A. (2002) *Gettysburg: A Testing of Courage*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
Tuan, Y.-F. (1974) *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*. Columbia, NY: Columbia University Press.
Tuan, Y.-F. (1975) 'Place: An Experiential Perspective', *Geographical Review*, 65(2), pp. 151–165.
Tuan, Y.-F. (1976) 'Humanistic Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66(2), pp. 266–276.
Tuan, Y.-F. (1986) *The Good Life*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
Tuan, Y.-F. (2008) 'Geography, Phenomenology, And The Study of Human Nature', *Canadian Geographer*, 15, pp. 181–192.
Tuan, Y.-F. (2011) 'The good inherit the earth', in Daniels, S. et al. (eds) *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 127–140.
UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2020a) *Archaeological border complex of Hedeby and the Danevirke*. Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1553/ (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2020b) *Birka and Hovgården*. UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/555/ (Accessed: 5 February 2020).
Urry, J. (1991) 'The Sociology of Tourism', in Cooper, C. P. (ed.) *Progress in Tourism, Recreation, and Hospitality Management, Vol. 3*. London: Belhaven, pp. 48–57.
Urry, J. (2002) *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.
Urry, J. (2006) 'Preface: Places and Performance', in Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds) *Travels in Paradox*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. vii–xi.
VikingaTider (2020) *Om Oss*. Available at: https://www.vikingatider.se/om-oss/ (Accessed: 11 December 2019).
Walker, K. and Moscardo, G. (2014) 'Encouraging sustainability beyond the tourist experience: Ecotourism, interpretation and values', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. Taylor & Francis, 22(8), pp. 1175–1196. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2014.918134.
Walton, J. K. (2005) 'Introduction', in Walton, J. K. (ed.) *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*. Toronto: Channel View, pp. 1–18.

Wang, N. (1999) 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), pp. 349–370.
Waterton, E. (2013a) 'Heritage tourism and its representations', in Bushell, R., Staiff, R., and Watson, S. (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, and Engagement*. London: Routledge, pp. 64–84.
Waterton, E. (2013b) 'Landscape and non-representational theories', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 66–76.
Waterton, E. (2019) 'More-than-representational landscapes', in Howard, P. et al. (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 91–101.
Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2013) 'Framing theory: towards a critical imagination in heritage studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), pp. 546–561.
Watson, A. and Till, K. E. (2010) 'Ethnography and Participant Observation', in DeLyser, D. et al. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. London: Sage, pp. 121–137.
Westcott, B. and Culver, D. (2020) 'Chinese tourists sites are packed as country comes out of lockdown, but experts say risk still high', *CNN Travel*, 7 April. Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2020/04/06/asia/china-coronavirus-tourist-warning-intl-hnk/index.html (Accessed: 24 April 2020).
Whittaker, E. (2012) 'Seeking the Existential Moment', in Picard, D. and Robinson, M. (eds) *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 73–84.
Williams, G. (2008) 'Raiding and Warfare', in Brink, S. and Price, N. (eds) *The Viking World*. London: Routledge, pp. 193–203.
Williams, J. (2017) 'Australia to Ban Climbing on Uluru, a Site Sacred to Indigenous People', *The New York Times*, 1 November. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/world/australia/uluru-ayers-rock-climbing-ban.html (Accessed: 5 November 2017).
Winroth, A. (2014) *The Age of the Vikings*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Withey, L. (1997) *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915*. London: Aurum Press.
Woodyer, T. and Geoghegan, H. (2013) '(Re)enchanting geography? The nature of being critical and the character of critique in human geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(2), pp. 195–214.
World Travel and Tourism Council (2020) *Economic Impact*. Available at: https://www.wttc.org/economic-impact/ (Accessed: 15 October 2019).
Wylie, J. (2005) 'A single day's walking: Narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(2), pp. 234–247.

Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape*. London: Routledge.
Wylie, J. (2009) 'Landscape, absence and the geographies of love', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(3), pp. 275–289.
Wylie, J. (2010) 'Non-Representational Subjects?', in Anderson, B. and Harrison, P. (eds) *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 99–116.
Wylie, J. (2013) 'Landscape and Phenomenology', in Howard, P., Thompson, I., and Waterton, E. (eds) *Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 54–65.
ZBSA (2020) *Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie – ZBSA)*. Available at: http://www.zbsa.eu/centre (Accessed: 28 May 2020).