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The Art of Performing Sound in Sámi Tourism

Decolonising Sápmi by Sounding Care in *Verdde* Tourism

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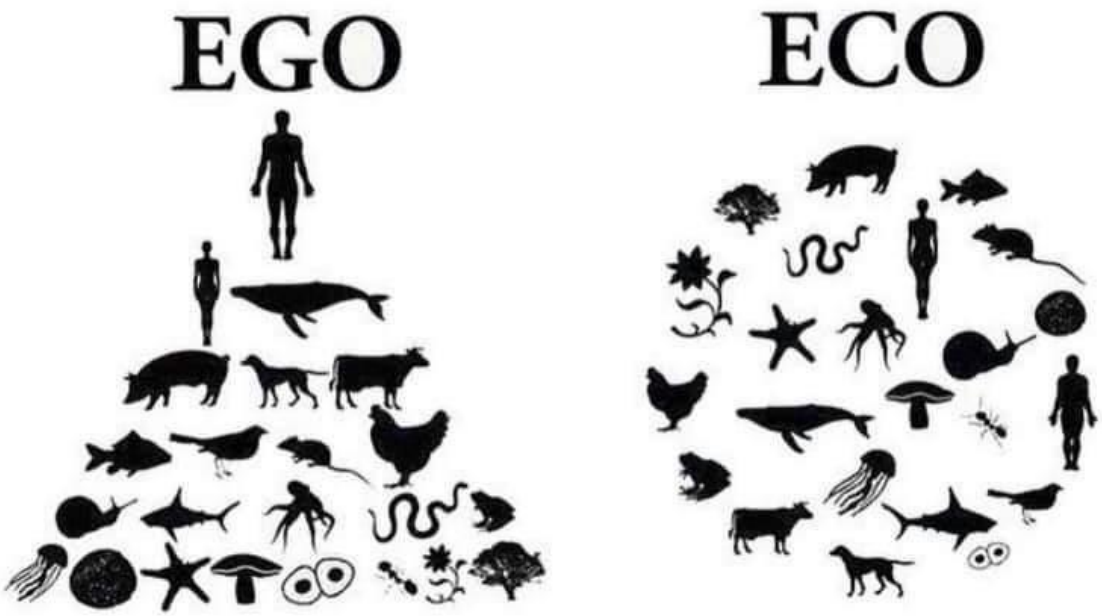

Earth is not a platform for human life.
It's a living being.
We're not on it but part of it.
Its health is our health.

Thomas Moore

Art on the front page; left: The scales on the sides of Graylings. **Right:** Piera drawing his fishing nets at Iešjávri. Made by E.-J. Kvalsvik 2018.

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Abstract

Waitt and Duffy (2010) emphasised the loss of information in tourism research by arguing that a new understanding of knowledge, social power and interconnection between actors and tourism can be uncovered by focusing our attention on the ear and the world of sound. This thesis focuses on the importance of sound and soundscape in Sámi tourism. Inspired by abductive procedures (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017) my work presented itself to become a Sámi phenomenological feminist material semiotic (van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2017; Ingold, 2002, Haraway, 1988; Law, 2004). I developed my project based on an interest in the embodied sensuous experience of the world and to investigate the role of the sound with a Sámi entrepreneur at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu. Through my indigenous performance ethnography an emphasis was placed upon sound recordings. I also used conversation, and others storytelling and participated practises as methods. Bringing attention to the ear, sounds, the acoustic and the sonic in tourism surprisingly, the tacit knowledge of traditional skills presented itself. Caring for everything that belongs to and passes through the surroundings at Vuolit Mollešjohka demands enhanced sonic skills of listening. Sound shows the effect that materials have, how they relate and when they matter. By participating in the daily practices and paying attention to how Piera and his family practice *jávredikšun* (caretaking) to all the *verddes* (guest-friends) that passes through their *meahcci* (nurture land), they give a possibility to experience their ways of knowing, being and doing in the soundscape. Local and traditional skills are used to re-create symbolic relations and practises that have been repressed under colonialization. In the process of decolonialisation of Sápmi, the *Verdde* tourism concept developed at the Vuolit Mollešjohka makes for an interesting contribution to the encounters of knowing coming together in difference.

Key words – indigenous ways of knowing, embodiment in tourism, soundscape, materiality, care

Sammendrag

Waitt og Duffy (2010) hevder at informasjon går tapt i reiselivsforskningen ved å ikke ta hensyn til øret og lydens verden. En ny forståelse av kunnskap, sosial makt og samhandling mellom aktører og turisme kan avdekkes ved å fokusere vår oppmerksomhet denne veien. I denne oppgaven fokuserer jeg på betydningen av lyd og lydlandskapet i Samisk reiseliv. Inspirert av abduktive prosedyrer (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017), og det som etter hvert materialiserte seg som en samisk fenomenologisk feministisk materiell semiotikk (Van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2017; Ingold, 2002, Haraway, 1988; Law, 2004), utviklet jeg dette prosjektet basert på en interesse for den kroppslige opplevelsen av sanseinntrykk gjennom å undersøke lydens rolle sammen med en samisk entreprenør på Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu. Jeg utarbeidet en urfolksetnografi med vekt på lydopptak. Jeg brukte også samtaler og lytting til historier og praksiser som metode. Ved å rette oppmerksomheten til øret, lydene, den akustiske og soniske i turisme, framsto tause tradisjonelle ferdigheter og kunnskaper. Omsorg for alt som tilhører og passerer gjennom omgivelsene på Vuolit Mollešjohka, krever godt utviklet kunnskap om lytting. Lyd viser til effekten av materialene, hvordan de relatertes og når deres funksjon er viktig. Ved å delta i de daglige praksiser og holde oppmerksomheten på hvordan Piera og hans familie praktiserer *jávredikšun* (omsorg) til alle *verddene* (gjestevenner) som passerer gjennom deres *meahcci* (hjemlige omland), gir de muligheten til besøkende å oppleve deres måter å forstå, være og gjøre seg nytte av lydbildet. De lokale og tradisjonelle ferdighetene brukes til å gjenskape symbolske relasjoner og praksiser som har blitt undertrykt under kolonialiseringstiden. Konseptet Verddeturisme, som er utviklet på Vuolit Mollešjohka, er et interessant bidrag til å "komme sammen over ulikheter" (Verran, 1998) i prosessen med å dekolonialisere av Sápmi.

Nøkkelord – urfolks kunnskapsforståelse, kroppslige reiselivsopplevelser, lydlandskap, materialitet, omsorg

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Figure 1. The view of the Finnmark tundra north of Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu (Photo: E.-J. Kvalsvik 2018)

"I feel the warm sun on my neck. The time is twelve and the sun is behind me to the south. I'm walking right to the north. This is heavenly! I'm so lucky to be able to do this! I have never visited the Finnmark tundra before, but I have heard about small game hunting and the tundra crossings from several of my friends, who have previously travelled here. I have wanted to do this walk for years! I look around. The earth is relatively flat. Its geological history is revealed by the sand between the large round rocks in the road. Ice and water have formed this land.

The wind rustles in the dry autumn leaves. A mountain birch *(Betula pubescens czerepanovii)* with three branches looks like a human with open arms welcoming me to the tundra. The tree line is at approximately 400 metres above sea level, and, due to a very dry summer, the flat tops reaching above this height are bare and dry. The hillsides and tops are dominated by the crawling birch (*Betula pubescens appressa*), a sibling of the mountain birch. Some smaller white spots of different sorts of reindeer lichen (*Cladonia sp.*) light up in between. I see a hill in front of me. I look at the map. "Bahásvárri". It's about twenty metres higher than where I am now and the highest point before Vuolit Mollešjohka. I hope to have an overview when I reach the top of that hill.

I stop and listen and decide to do sound takes for my fieldwork right now. I hear only the sound of the light breeze passing my body. "Ssshh". The wind touches my ears very gently. I wonder how it will sound in the recording. "Swisjsjsj". The leaves rustle. I put the recorder next to the bush to get a better sound take. "Swisjl-swisjl-srrrrr". Some slow and some fast rustling depending on the speed of the wind's gust. "Thump-thump, thump-thump, thump". The mountain boots are hitting the sand with a thump sound. There's a lighter pitch to the sound as I knock my toe and stumble on a big rock on the path. I'm finally walking into the soundscape of the Finnmark tundra."

The Arctic is a place associated with beauty, challenge and pristine but vulnerable nature (Johnston, 2011). It is a place where tourists come primarily to experience a world of difference. New groups of tourists have arrived in the Arctic lately, each with different reasons for visiting (Johnston, 2011; Müller & Viken, 2017). One of the growing categories of travellers is the group concerned about climate change, and, who are trying to travel in sustainable ways (Bernat, 2014; Johnston, 2011). Some specific tourism segments, like bird watchers, festival tourists or outdoor concert audiences, come to hear specific sounds and music connected to the region (Doughty, Duffy, &

Harada, 2016; Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray, & Gibson, 2011; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Still, attention towards sound as an important part of a sensuous tourism experience has been scarce (Waitt & Duffy, 2010).

The idea for this thesis started out by listening to two of my fellow students telling stories about their travels in the Arctic. Especially, their perception of silence in remote places far away from people, and how this silence and absence of people and infrastructure made them feel unsafe and scared. This made me realise that silent remote places are not for everyone. How we relate to places and their qualities is situational (Haraway, 1988) and embodied in us (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). While I feel that open spaces and silence is Heaven on earth, it scares the living daylights out of others. How you experience a silent, untouched nature is connected to ways of knowing (Qiu, Zhang, & Zheng, 2018). While some are able to slip into the landscape after a while (Lund & Willson, 2010), some are fully living Arctic landscapes (Østmo, 2013). A one-size Arctic does not fit all. With the stories of my fellow students in the back of my head, I started planning a research project focusing on the importance of sound in tourism. Inspired by abductive procedures (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017), I developed my project based on an "*interest in the immediate sensuous experience of the world and to investigate the role of the senses – touch, smell, hearing and sight – in geographical experiences*" (Rodaway, 1994), where hearing and sound was most appealing to me.

With an emphasis on sound and hearing in tourism, I conducted initial searches in the extant literature and found little in relation to tourism. Bringing attention to the ear, sounds, the acoustic and the sonic in tourism studies has been neglected in favour of the eye, light, the visual and the gaze (Adler, 1989; Urry, 1992). Several contemporary researchers have outlined the binary thinking of mind and body as the reason why the visual has become primary, in addition to the priority of observation in the history of science (Edensor, 2001, 2007; Franklin & Crang, 2001; Ingold, 2002, 2011; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). The science community uses scientific methods to confirm answers obtained in their studies using a conventional step-by-step format. At the core of these methods are steps involving observations, hypotheses, predictions, experiments and conclusions. Everything that is to be known about a question or subject of study will be investigated during the observation step. Earlier, Fiumara (1990) argued that Western

thinking about who has the right to speak has contributed most to the ways listening is marginalised. Such marginalisation leaves out important information about the world. Relatedly, Connell and Gibson (2004) purported that given the conventions of Western tourism performances, research and literature on listening, sound and music has not developed to its full potential. Moreover, Carolan (2009) reminds us that we live in an entanglement of notes, filled with consonance, dissonance and harmonies, the world is literally a symphony. In a similar vein, Waitt and Duffy (2010) emphasised the loss of information in tourism research by arguing that a new understanding of knowledge, social power and interconnections between actors and tourism can be uncovered by focusing our attention on the ear and the world of sounds. Haraway (2013) has argued that to face the narratives of speculative fiction and scientific facts we need to rethink the distinction between nature and culture. We need to move beyond observation in the sense of something done by the eye to using our vision in conjunction with all the senses and our entire body.

Being inspired by Science and Technology Studies (STS), which promotes ontological multiplicity and differences of practices and realities; the amount of information, literature, impressions and empirical data gathered have been abundant, sometimes overwhelming. The process has been messy and sorting out and structuring my thesis along traditional lines was not so easy (Law, 2004, 2007, 2017). This has provided a truly educational experience for me. Nevertheless, compared with work done on land and landscapes in a tourism context (Kramvig, 2005, 2017), my turning to STS theories was necessary in order to look into the complex dilemmas associated with sound and soundscapes. In STS, materiality is understood as a relational effect (Law, 2017). Something becomes material because it makes a difference - when it has an effect on other entities. It depends then, on a relationship between that which is detected and that which does the detecting. Matter including insignificant relationships only matter if they make a difference, then it means that they become material. This means that technology, landscape, politics and so on can have an effect on the objects that we want to investigate. Hence, we should pay attention to those networks through which our research objects appear to us. In addition, we need to pay attention to research as a messy practise as in all other practices where knowledge becomes known through multiple interests and connections (Law, 1992, 2017). Knowledge of landscapes is not

constructed but enacted differently between scientific and indigenous people's different ways of knowing (Law, 2004, 2007, 2017; Oskal, 1995; Østmo, 2013). It is also enlightened by the encounters between these different ways of knowing (Haraway, 1988; Joks & Law, 2017a, 2017b; Kalleberg, 2002). I turned to Meløe (1979) and Rudie (1994) to help me with sense-making of the experiences I had and landscape practises I met. I also looked to Verran (1998, 2013) to learn how to go about doing differences together and with care.

I have chosen to do an ethnographic study on tourism in the Finnmark tundra. I completed a case study in cooperation with a Sámi tourism business, the Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu, and the owner of this business, Per Edvard Johnsen, respectfully called Molleš Piera. He generously provided me with knowledge about his life and practises in his *meahcci* (nurture land, see chapter 2.3). He also invited me into his relationships and networks as a *verdde* (guest friend, see chapter 2.3) amongst his other *verddes* passing by the lodge, once in autumn and once in wintertime. During my two stays I was able to study the sounds, the people and the soundscapes in the surroundings of Vuolit Mollešjohka.

1.1 Research questions

Using an abductive research procedure (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017), my research is built up by following several lines of questions. In the following I will introduce the lead questions that has brought me through the research process. These questions have been formed and transformed several times. At the end of this process, they contribute to the outline of my thesis. The lead questions are highlighted in the bullet points below. First, I wanted to find out:

- How can we learn about sounds that are present in a nature-based tourism destination?

I answer this question in Chapter 5 by first attending to the theories from natural science of sound. I continue with investigating how this sound is heard, how we perceive the sonic characteristics of sound and how we can categorise "what" there is to hear in the world. Then I use my ethnography from Vuolit Mollešjohka to argue that we need to

highlight how local soundscapes are enacted in tourism research, here represented by Vuolit Mollešjohka. Next, I zoom in and move a bit further, asking:

- How do we listen, and what connections are being made between humans and soundscape in nature-based tourism?

The discussion in Chapter 6 attempts to give answers to this question. I present theories to show the difference between hearing and listening. Further, I present different modes of listening. I present the thoughts on how bodies in soundscapes and soundscapes of bodies are entangled. Primarily, I use conversations with Piera's guests to enlighten this question, but I also touch upon some of my own experiences as a tourist and researcher. From this, I move further in and ask the question:

- Can bringing attention to soundscape become an important quality enhancer of experiences in indigenous tourism, and if so in what way?

The basic theories in Chapter 7 describe how knowledge is transcended along lines and how kincentric ecology contributes in forming those lines behind an indigenous host – the "who". I try to answer this question by presenting my experience of participating in the daily practices of Piera and watching how he uses his sonic skills and traditional ways of knowing to perform in his role as a Sámi host. Within this knowledge, I am mostly looking for tacit knowledge that is demonstrated by experiencing practises. This is where impressionist ethnography has contributed the most as a tool in this thesis. Finally, I zoom into the specifics of using soundscapes in ecological practises of taking care of the surroundings and whatever passes by Piera's *meahcci*. I ask:

- When do sound become important to care for in relation to traditional knowledge in Sámi tourism?

In Chapter 8, I narrow in on what caring becomes in Sámi tourism. Sound has shown another reality by materialising the tacit of knowledge. I try to show that even though materiality of sound doesn't show, and are tacit, it does not mean it does not exist. Through this research I have found that sound perform ecologies that are contested. Sound shows the effect materials have and enlighten our understanding of different ways of knowing. It also shows that important knowledge has been overlooked by attending to observation as the Western traditional method. I describe the ways of

taking care through Piera's and his family's local knowledge, beings and doings at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu where they all live and host. I sum up my thesis by showing to his practises and ways of knowing, and what there is to learn from Piera. I then, metaphorically, pull the knitwork together with the red thread that I essay to lay out throughout the thesis chapters.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

In the following chapter (chapter 2) I start out by presenting some of the main issues and implications found in indigenous and Sámi tourism. In addition, I introduce you to the case of my research and present some of their ways of life. I present some of the Sámi concepts that are important tools in my analysis. These are *meahcci* (nurture land), *jávredikšun* (nature management) and *verddevuotha* (guest friend cooperation). I will argue that these Sámi concepts transgress the nature-culture divide where caring for the land and sound is part of the traditional knowledge. In addition, the concept *verddevuotha* may enact the tourist as a more responsible and caring actor.

In the third chapter, I present a methodology that has informed the design of this process. Using abductive procedures (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017), I was able to recognise the elements that highlighted the best methods for this particular case (Tomaselli, Dyll, & Francis, 2008). The methodology is based on a position recognised as indigenous ethnography (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008) with an emphasis on the relational paradigm of native indigenous research presented by Wilson (2008). Other theories also contribute to informing the basis of the methodology. These include the theories of the phenomenologist, Tim Ingold (2002, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Ingold & Kurttila, 2000), the Wittgenstein praxeologist, Jacob Meløe (1979), and the philosophical social anthropologist, Ingrid Rudie (1994). On top of that, I have added STS-inspired theories of situated knowledge by Donna Haraway (1988; Haraway & Teubner, 1990), and feminist indigenous theories linked to Actor Network Theory (ANT) (van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2017). Further, I have added other layers of STS-theories, such as material semiotics discussed by John Law (Joks & Law, 2017a, 2017b; Law, 1992, 2004, 2007, 2017), how practices are locational as described by Britt Kramvig (Brattland, Kramvig, & Verran, 2018; Kramvig, 2005, 2017; Kramvig & Førde, 2013), and the role of caring purported by Helen Verran (Brattland et al., 2018;

Verran, 1998, 2013; Winthereik & Verran, 2012). I have tried to build upon a methodology that makes it possible to talk about research as involving multiple and messy practices, which tries to build bridges and break fences between the natural and social sciences (Law, 2004, 2007, 2017) and between Local Ecologic Knowledge (LEK)/Traditional Ecologic Knowledge (TEK) and science (Joks & Law, 2017a, 2017b; Oskal, 1995; Verran, 1998, 2013; Østmo, 2013). My main argument in this chapter is that engaging in indigenous ethnography is dependent upon a joint performance between practitioners of research and traditional ways of being and doing. This is necessary to develop a convergent understanding of the tacit knowledge involved in those practices.

The fourth chapter describes the becoming of my methods. First, I introduce the methods of performance ethnography (Hamera, 2011) by which I have been inspired and have used in my own indigenous ethnography. This was done both through the embodied practice of walking and moving around in the footsteps of a practitioner on the tundra, as well as writing ethnographic (embodied) stories about those situations (Edensor, 2010; Ingold, 2002). Technical equipment and practical methods are presented in this chapter as well as a short description of the laps I walked and my whereabouts during fieldwork. Then, I explain my thinking about writing an ethnography (Van Maanen, 2011) in an indigenous context (Wilson, 2008). I consider pre, during and post fieldwork (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Finally, I reflect upon ethics in indigenous research (Battiste, 2008; Mitchell, 2007; Nagell & Grung, 2002). In this chapter my main argument is that using acoustic methods contributes to knowledge building but is dependent upon the sonic skills of both the researcher and the practitioner (Bijsterveld, 2019b).

My lead questions have provided the main structure of the thesis and are found in Chapter 5-8. This structure has been described above. I use these chapters to show that there has been close to no research undertaken regarding the relationship between tourism and sound even though there has been some research conducted on soundscape in anthropology and in relation to museum exhibitions (Bijsterveld, 2013). In each of the chapters 5-7, I incorporate theories in the beginning related to the specific stories that I build my analysis on. These theories are used as basic tools and I tie them to my

ethnography as light poles through the chapters. In chapter 8 I let my stories be the light poles and I add theories to support my thinking about caring and different ways of knowing, being and doing.

My final aim in Chapter 9, is to show that sound and acoustic knowledge are important skills in Sámi tourism, and by introducing *Verdde* tourism at Vuolit Mollesjohka Duottarstophu, they knit a nice work that shows how this can be done as a best practice. I also show that sound has the ability to become an actor that enlighten the effect of materials that relate to one-another in Sámi tourism practises.

Chapter 2 – Background

Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu (Photo: E.-J. Kvalsvik 2018)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I want to introduce the concept of Sámi tourism and the issues and implications involved in developing and enacting this concept. Then, I turn to Sámi practices that contribute to the basis of entrepreneurship in Sami tourism. Last, but not the least, I introduce you to the case I studied at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu.

2.2 Issues and implications in Sámi tourism

Tourism is doing something other than what we do in our everyday life (MacCannell, 1976; McCabe, 2002; Urry, 1992). Hence, it is based on experiencing differences in nature and geographies (Müller & Viken, 2017). The periphery of Northern Europe is described as remote, isolated and a frontier with exotic natural scenery and attractive tourist places, sometimes including stories of colonialism and resource extraction (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Barenholdt and Granas (2008) have argued that new social-scapes are enacted across distinctions. Dichotomies like periphery-centre, local-global, urban-rural, modern-primitive, authentic-copied are all created from distant positions. Societies are performed and defined over distances and at a distance through social interaction, networks and fields where people perform corporeally, virtually or imaginarily (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Enacting places involve materials, politics and imaginations. Hence, practices of place enactment could involve nature, politics of nature and imaginations of nature. These are ambivalent and messy practises (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Tourists who travel to the north and to Sápmi, the territory of indigenous people in northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. They want to experience the Midnight Sun in summer, the Polar Nights with the *Aurora borealis* in winter, wild nature and local life. In addition, they also want to encounter the indigenous Sámi populating the area (Kramvig, 2017; Mathisen, 2004, 2010; Olsen, 2003).

Fascination with the Sámi has been routed deeply in the western colonisation project (Kramvig, 2017; Mathisen, 2004, 2010; Müller & Viken, 2017; Müller & Viken, 2017; Olsen, 2003; Viken & Müller, 2006). The first travellers in these regions were explorers discovering, documenting and claiming new land and resources driven by capitalism, technology and religion in attempts to expand the European continent (Kramvig, 2017). Kramvig (2017) argues that the concept "Ultima Thule" was used in the imaginary of Sápmi as "the End of the World". The first travellers' descriptions of the Sámi population were based on an "otherness" duality mirroring the travellers. Hence, the Sámi were described as barbaric, uncivilised, unruly and wild savages of the North. Their religious beliefs had to be overcome and the first recognition of being a "civilised world" came with the establishments of churches, followed by trading posts, military defence, schools and trade routes (Kramvig, 2017).

In the 11th century, mountain lodges were built to host the first travellers entering these roadless places (Guttormsen, 2019). At that time, infrastructure in the mountains was inadequate and the need for housing was severe. For those entering the tundra, building shelters, quarters and mountain lodges were part of the improvement of infrastructure. Initially, there were two types of mountain lodges that hosted officials, herders, hunters, gatherers, expeditioners and tourists. One type was the state-built and -owned ones and the other type was the completely private ones (Guttormsen, 2019). Today's type of mountain lodge presented in the Finnmark tundra was shaped around 1840. As roads developed in Sápmi, opportunities to get further, faster and more often to the mainland increased (Viken & Müller, 2006). Of all the state-built ones, there are only three state-owned left with professional tenants ("oppsitter" in Norwegian) on state salary. These are the Jotka, Upper Mollešjohka and Ravna. The position as tenant runs in kinlines and they are officially employed by the Norwegian Department of Agriculture. These remaining state-owned lodges are situated in a straight line between Alta and Karasjok, called the Postal route. The remaining state-built lodges were sold to private people and a few of these are run as tourism businesses today. Most of these tourism lodges are found close to the county roads. The second type of lodges were initially built as private lodges for people living off inland fisheries. Today, they are tourism businesses and the families that live there must raise their income from tourism and/or have additional jobs.

However, development of Sámi tourism in the Arctic has several "issues and implications". Hinch and Butler (2007) describe them as complex matters balancing tourism between threats and opportunities for indigenous people. The rights of indigenous people have been recognised by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) of the United Nation (UN) through the Indigenous Tribal Peoples Convention, ILO C169 of June 27th, 1989 (Pillay, 2013). It is the most important operative international law to guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples. The UN provides a continuously negotiated definition of indigenous people. The most cited "working definition" of indigenous peoples is provided by the Martinez Cobo Study:

> *Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them* (Pillay, 2013, p. 6)

However, the strength of the ILO convention is dependent on a number of ratifications amongst the United Nations. The Sámi are regarded as one people, even though there are nine different languages and multiple other differences regarding traditions and practices (Kramvig, 2005). Norway was the first nation to ratify the ILO convention on June 19, 1990 (Åhrén, 2016). Still, there are issues to attend to when it comes to possibilities of making a living in Sápmi. Issues like being heard properly concerning management and access to traditional coastal fisheries and pasture lands, and the right to use Sámi expressions, for example, using the Gákti as a commodified product in Finland as described by Åhrén (2016). Sámi ways and traditions are protected by international conventions, like the ILO 169 and are not to be used for exploitation in disrespect of the Sámi people. Those who are Sámi have the right to protect their cultural expression to keep their status as a defined people (Wright, 2014). Hence, the Sámediggi has gained initial rights to be consulted in cases concerning governmental decisions affecting Sámi people and communities (Åhrén, 2016). Wright (2014) reminds us that tourism is a place where colloquial expressions are moved into a space of the market. The elements of nature and business are entangled in indigenous businesses presented in tourism contexts, hence also in Sami tourism (Kramvig, 2017). Olsen (2003) argued that the tourism industry has taken over the exhibition of culture.

The challenge being that the industry often needs to use emblematic signs to make it possible for tourists to recognise an attraction (Olsen, 2003).

Mathisen (2004, 2010) has argued that Sámi are emblematically represented in contemporary tourism as reindeer herders, representatives of a life lived in close contact with nature, and as carriers of a spirituality reflecting deeper concerns for the environment and powers of nature. These signs contributed to the enhancement of a Western narrative of noble savages and of prelapsarian and a pre-colonial past (Mathisen, 2010). Mathisen (2010) reported that the historical perspective of the Sámi is that various groups have relied on subsistence economies with fishing along the coast and rivers, and hunting and reindeer herding on the tundra as main activities. Some contemporary Sámi still work within these traditional economies, but the majorities work in combinations with or in different economies (Mathisen, 2010). The challenge of presenting the Sámi way of life based on ecological attitudes towards nature, traditionalism, spirituality and harmony is that:

> *…the boundary between popular myths or narratives about indigenous peoples and representations of these cultures in tourism becomes unclear and fuzzy*. (Mathisen, 2010, p. 55)

Olsen (2003) are concerned with how the Sámi are "consumed" by the tourist's gaze. He noted that when the emblematic Sami is not found, people and areas are regarded as Norwegian. This is a view that is easily found in tourism (Olsen, 2003).

Kramvig (2017) discusses the consequences of this complex dilemma. On the bright side, we find the opportunity to articulate self-respect and pride in a cultural background, to preserve knowledge and make a living out of Sámi practices and traditions, as well as simultaneously cope with contemporary issues and ways of knowing. The downside being that the same efforts that forward possibilities brings out new forms of ownership where important elements are transformed into market products. Some of them are made for external markets and some for locals (Kramvig, 2017). Discussions about the use of indigenous expressions occur in media from time to time, like who have the right to use the Gákti, who can make duodji products and collect duodji materials. The rights have been ratified in the ILO 169 convention, as

mentioned earlier, but the borders are not defined and highly politically practised. Kramvig (2017) says that these products come with disturbance and a passion that creates new encounters, conflicts and debates in the minority-majority interface along with new inter- and intra-ethnic ties.

Encounters are meetings that are not simply in the present: each encounter reopens past encounters (Kramvig, 2017, p. 63).

The double-edged sword will appear anywhere one tries to add cultures, identities and other ways of knowing as input factors in economic activities, as it is with indigenous tourism (Kramvig, 2017). Hence, the largest challenge in contemporary Sámi tourism is how to find a balance between the danger of exotification and the quest for autonomy?

In the beginning of this chapter, I presented tourism as doing something other than what we do in our everyday life (MacCannell, 1976; McCabe, 2002; Urry, 1992). Hence, it should be based on experiencing differences in nature and geographies (Müller & Viken, 2017). Wright (2017) argues that this view has traditionally contributed to an analytic approach presenting tourism as something out of the ordinary, separated from the everyday as a different activity, as a phenomenon. She points out that from a post-structuralist and post-colonial perspective this should not go by unnoticed. She forwards a view based on a new ontology where tourism is considered part of a world-creating practise with action, object and performance done through relationships and networks. This is not necessarily relationships between humans, but also relationships between humans and nature, the non-human, in addition to the sensuous multiple body. An example of the latter is the sensuous encounter with Oscypek cheese described by Ren (2011). She analysed the experience of the cheese presented by four orderings of our multiple realities (Law, 1992) – the traditional, the tourism, the modern and the unique cheese. Her performative/material contribution is argued by Wright (2017) as enabling ways of presenting the complexity and the different realities of the world without reducing it to a one-world theory (Law, 2007). Wright (2017) calls for a change of focus in tourism research from the destructive focus of representation and identity, authenticity, commodification, and socio-economic effects, towards Sámi ontologies and landscape creating new realities of tourist-local encounters in tourism.

2.3 Case description

In addition to a native lifelong relationship with the Arctic tundra, my fieldwork has consisted of two visits to Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu. One in the autumn and one in wintertime, resulting in two totally different experiences of soundscape, landscape and people. The lodge is run by a family that have spent their whole life at this specific place. They have gathered fish in the lakes and rivers and exported it across the border to Sweden. When breeding of trout and char in aquaculture became successful, they lost market space and had to adjust to other ways of living. As they had hosted people passing by all along, they continued to develop that part of the business. I have particularly cooperated with and followed the manager at the lodge, known by locals as Molleš Piera. He is a North Sámi man that has lived in this landscape his entire life making a living out of traditional practises of fishing, hunting and gathering, in addition to facilitating and making a living out of tourism. Still, as I have learned, his touristic activity is connected to and developed in line with Sámi philosophy and landscape practises. As presented above, the tourism industry has contributed to the "exotification" of knowledges of indigenous people for a long time (Kramvig, 2017; Müller & Viken, 2017; Viken & Müller, 2017; Viken & Müller, 2006). Living off Sámi tourism could have put Molleš Piera on the edge of a sword. Subsequently, when trying to make a living, where he uses his local and traditional knowledge, how does he find a balance between the danger of exotification and the quest for autonomy? This is something that is highly at stake in some other Sámi tourism businesses, but at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu this has not been a relevant issue. It has taken Molleš Piera and his family a long time to build a new form of a combination business focused on caring for people and the environment. This is based on traditional practises of hosting guests passing by and introducing fishing, hunting, gathering, snow mobile rides, skiing tours and reindeer sledding in addition to preparing and serving local food.

After the first days of my first visit, I had collected enormous amounts of sound materials related only to this place and this tourism business. This occurred in early September during the first days of small game hunting. The second visit was made in late January during the Aurora season and Polar nights. It became clear to me that all this material related to site specific events, in the land defined by the host as his nurture

land – *meahcci* (Oskal, 1995). Through his business, he offers partial access to his surroundings and the landscape he regards as his meahcci. To Piera, nature is not an abstract category but alive, and it has the capacity to act back in specific events. Learning involves being with and being shown and told by one or several family masters of a practice. Situational practices offer us the possibility to open up to sensuous experiences of dissonance and consonance that guide and safeguard us in other specific situations and practises throughout life. The pedagogics in short are as follow: Based on what you learn, you will be on your own one day and need these learnings to find your way, to be safe, to develop your practices and pass them on to the next generation. The North Sámi word *luondu* have been translated to "nature", but it is more correct to say "the character of nature" (Østmo, 2013). The word exemplifies more than just the visible nature but also all that nature can afford us. This is not the same as the word *meahcci* that could be translated as the terrain outside fences. The former describes an area that people regard as their place to afford a good living (Østmo, 2013). It is a place where people, animals, plants, water, forest and marshes relate to one another (Oskal, 1995). It is a home and a self away from home and your embodied self, a place for walking, playing, learning, spending your leisure time, hunting, gathering and where worshiping is performed. You know the area like your home and are just as safe there (Østmo, 2013). *Meahcci* is part of your reflections of yourself and develops your inner self. Outside the *meahcci* is *amas meahcci*, a place where you can do the same things, but is foreign and strange although not a complete wilderness (Østmo, 2013).

Piera practises *jávredikšun*/Sámi management of his *meahcci* (Joks & Law, 2017a, 2017b; Østmo, 2013). In the same way, you take care of your home and your body, Østmo (2013) argued, you also take care of your *meahcci*. *Jávredikšun*, is a concept and a Sámi traditional way of taking care of your meahcci (Østmo, 2013). The concept comes from managing (*dikšun*) your lake (*jávre*) and describes the way Sámi people provide circulation by removing stones and wood from river inlets and estuaries or manage growth of Carex along the water edges to protect the water from successive regrowth. This way fish will continue to spawn, and waters remain healthy. It also means that you do not fish more than what can be reproduced (Østmo, 2013).

Piera uses sounds and soundscapes as important embodied devices for his daily practises in tourism. By soundscape I, for now, mean a composition of different key sounds that are present in a specific place (Farina 2014). The embodied knowledge is not so easy to translate and has been articulated as "soft" knowledge in contradiction to "hard" knowledge produced by science (Joks & Law, 2017b). The "soft" knowledges of locals and indigenous people have been valued as insignificant to nature management (Joks & Law, 2017a, 2017b; Oskal, 1995; Østmo, 2013)) even though this is slowly changing through recognition of TEK (traditional ecological knowledge) by political and academic institutions, such as the Arctic Council, Sami Parliament as well as the Norwegian Research Council and Norwegian nature management institutions. Working through my empirical material and analysis, I became in need of a framework that could lead me along a winding road through messy practises. Moving from the "hard" natural science of hearing, that gives little room for social sciences, towards the "softer" science of listening, living and caring, I use the sense of sound and soundscape to zoom in on the multiple bodies that are performing in tourism – whether they are guests or hosts. In Sámi traditions, you can become kin in different ways. Guests that have visited for decades are more than guests. They relate to the hosts as being a guest-family-friend, *verdde*. Traditionally, this was a relationship between the reindeer herding family and the resident family of the mountain lodges or by the coastal summer pastures (Paine, 1957). Such friendship was based on practices of exchanging goods, information and help, *verddevuohta*. It was a cooperative system, where nothing was expected in return and there was no payment involved. It was a mutual exchange of value. The relationship was often based on both biological or ritual kinship and passed on to the next generation. The resident family sometimes owned reindeer in the herd to be looked after by the herding family. In return, the herders and their family were offered lodging and assistance during labour-intensive periods when moving the herds (Paine, 1957). This formed the basis of a new concept called *Verdde* tourism developed by Piera and his family.

Chapter 3 – Research design

Doing Autoethnography
Do you read my words?
Sketched on the page
And learned of entanglement
Well, here now is my flesh
What say you, as I sing my song?
Where do you belong?

Paul Whitinui 2014

3.1 Introduction

In the beginning of my work for this Master's thesis I undertook a lot of preparation. I read a lot and planned my way with a relatively high degree of accuracy. In retrospect, I recognise the vague hints from my supervisor, Britt Kramvig, about letting the way of the research present itself by following my intuitive openness and humility, and letting the different situations materialise and speak to me. The following chapter is a methodological autoethnography on how and why nothing went as initially planned and the valuable educational process that it was for me. The "auto" prefix to ethnography means looking back at myself and comparing my earlier experiences, reflecting upon my own culture and ways of knowing, in comparison to the differences I experienced through fieldwork. By doing so, I believe I have come to ask more questions than resolving answers. The ethnography tries to communicate the messiness inherent in the different ways of knowing nature, culture and academic theories.

3.2 Dynamic procedures

Reading Guba and Lincoln's (1994) descriptions of the constructionist paradigm led me to Denzin and Lincoln (2018) and their philosophies of qualitative and indigenous methodology in the social sciences. In particular, I liked the way they located the observer in the world through situated activity, and that observer was able to transform that world by making it visible through a set of interpretive, material practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This perspective argues that the world is represented through a mix

of those practices, like writing field notes, making sound recordings, making conversations, taking photos, and so on. This involves an ongoing interpretive process of trying to make sense of what people bring to certain phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

How we interpret phenomena is always perspectival and "facts" are always theory-laden (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) argue that the study of confusing and contradictory empirical material has much to offer that may be both surprising and inspiring. But, to be able to do such studies we need methodologies that go deeper than those of induction and deduction separately. The nomadic process of moving between theory reading, data gathering, *in situ* reflection and empirical analysis is described by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) as "abduction". It is a reflexive process of both induction and deduction (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). This resembles the process I found myself in and I can relate to Haraway (1988) whom reminds me that even if at the end of the journey I ended up in another destination than the one intended, I was still at a specific destination and not at any destination. She tells me it is of importance to describe how I ended up at that specific destination. Which decisions along the journey did I make? What was included and what was not – and why? (Haraway, 1988). It is all about reflecting upon how to balance these aspects to become a researcher attending to the need of situating the knowledge production in which I have participated (Haraway, 1988). Haraway (1988) argues that the disposition of knowledge involves more than reflecting on who the researcher is – it also involves explaining where knowledge comes from in each situation. Thus, we need to know which links and switches are made both in the past and present (Haraway, 1988).

I have a multiple academic background with previous Master's degrees in biology of resources from the Arctic University of Tromsø and in nature-based tourism from the University of Lifescience at Ås. Both introduced me to ways of knowing how concepts are evolved and agreed upon. Doing natural science, I just had to gather materials, identify and count the individuals to provide others with "knowledge"! I could easily avoid having to attend to politics. Not to my surprise, most of my fellow students in biology felt the same. From such a position, nature was one thing and culture was many possible layers that could be added on top of that nature (Joks & Law, 2017b). Through

my academic training I soon realised that biology, especially ecology, was filled with truths established on faltering scientific grounds. First, I saw that specific species were more abundant in areas with universities teaching biology. Academics had used more time to do research in environments close to home and on aesthetically and politically interesting species. Methods were also questionable in relation to percentage coverage of the totality of species. When models for management and governance where made, some of the species were significant and others not. The whole idea of multispecies management, that Norwegians "bragged about", was not so "multiple". The last boxes cracked with Ernst Mayr (1996) asking "*What is a species and what is not*?" Introducing the concept of sibling species, complex species concepts, genetic divergence and convergence in evolution, and so on, made me realise that not even basic structures that we rely upon in nature management are fixed and they should indeed be questioned.

Reading Guba and Lincoln (1994), and Alvesson and Sköldberg (2017) reflections on how our experience influence us as researchers, made me reflect upon the benefits and implications this earlier academic training provided me. I felt the need to return to Meløe's (1979) notes in philosophy of science. These have been stuck in the back of my head ever since my first days at university. Inspired by Wittgenstein praxeology, Meløe (1979) reflected upon the relationship between language and landscape. In his notes, he specifically thought about what he called typically questions in the philosophy of science:

> *What is it that we do when we do something? What do we understand when we understand a statement or an action? What is it that we don't understand when we do not understand? How can we learn to understand what we do not understand?* (Meløe, 1979, p. 1).

He argued that landscape becomes through practice as well as is a concept that the landscape offers. The concept, however, does not exist outside of the practice. A harbour is known through the knowledge about good harbours when you enter with a boat (Meløe, 1979). In chapter later I will build further on these theories with Rudie (1994) and her theories about making sense of new experiences.

3.3 Developing methodology and methods on the move

Tomaselli et al. (2008, p. 348) write about "*developing methods as we go*" in relational long-term case studies. Place plays a crucial role and must be taken seriously in knowledge-generating work (Kramvig & Førde, 2013). Even though my plans to reach a specific destination got lost in my orientation through mess (Law, 2004), I still reached some destination. A destination I regard to be a new inspiring way of knowing both the challenges of Sámi tourism and the way that entrepreneurs work to build bridges between traditional knowledge and tourism activity. A theoretical destination was made based on inspirations from tourism studies and included a place inspired by feminist and indigenous methodology tied to actor network theories (ANT) that describe the network between both living and non-living actors in the world (Haraway, 1988; van der Duim et al., 2017) – a place that made sense in regard to my ethnographic material as well as academic personal interests.

The case with which I worked was introduced to me by my supervisor. Being an indigenous native to the coastline of Finnmark with fjords, islands and open sea, the tundra was partially different and an unknown landscape - still partially known. We all contribute to the smaller pieces of an incomplete totality. There is no way that I can know Piera's world as a totality. I can only try to understand and relate to his knowledge and practices through my knowledge and practises, which at the same time is similarly out of reach for him. I will explain this with Rudie (1994) later in this chapter. Yet there is no totality without every single piece. There is consonance and dissonance between the pieces as some are more similar than others and others more different. Ethnographic truths are similarly partial. Being incomplete of the totality, they are still committed to the whole (Strathern, 2005). Making generalisations is not the aim. The aim is to contribute with these small parts, and see where, how and if they fit into a totality (Latour, 2010). There is a constant duality between the parts and the whole that needs to be considered as if we had double vision (Haraway & Teubner, 1990). Winthereik and Verran (2012) suggest that to treat this duality, there is the possibility of identifying figures in our ethnographic material that may work as crucial elements in instrumentalising insights into stories of composition (Latour, 2010), double vision (Haraway & Teubner, 1990) and partiality (Strathern, 2005).

3.4 The indigenous influence on methodology

Denzin et al. (2008) positioned indigenous methodologies at an intersection where theories of interpretive practice, pedagogy and practice meet. This turns the focus towards indigenous inquiry practices, interpretive pedagogies, performance and theories of truth, power, politics, social justice, ethics and aesthetics. In their introduction to critical and indigenous methodologies, Denzin et al. (2008) suggested a good start in designing such research is to look deeper into the relationship between axiology, ontology, epistemology and methodology. Wilson (2001) explained the four aspects that make up an Indigenous research paradigm thus:

> *One is ontology or a belief in the nature of reality. Your way of being, what you believe is real in the world: that's your ontology. Second is epistemology, which is how you think about reality. Next, when we talk about research methodology, we are talking about how you are going to use your ways of thinking (your epistemology) to gain more knowledge about reality. Finally, a paradigm includes axiology, which is a set of morals or a set of ethics.* (Wilson, 2001, p. 175)

These relations are unique to every indigenous community and, if possible, must be revealed in each case by the researcher (Wilson, 2008). Wilson (2008) put forward a methodological relationship as a separate paradigm in indigenous research. He described the shared aspect of an indigenous ontology and epistemology as relationality – the relationships do not just shape reality; reality is what they are. The indigenous ways of being and knowing differ, and there are no culturally, socially and politically independent theoretical tools that can be used to analyse indigenous knowledge. Scientific theories are also locally embedded in ways of performing knowledge. For the indigenous researcher, the truth is not external or an object being "out there". Reality forms as a process from the relationship one has with the truth (Wilson, 2008, p. 73), or as Carolan (2009) asked; is there a yes/no border dominating our logic or do we pick multiple sides? Knowledge is relational and shared with every creation in the world as it goes beyond individual knowledge to a relational system of knowledge shared with reality (Wilson, 2008). Indigenous axiology builds upon accountability to relationships. It makes it impossible to separate the researcher from the research and the subject of the research. It is of importance that the interpreted knowledge is respectful of the

relationships formed during research. In addition, respect must be paid to that which helped to build the relationship through the research process of information gathering and interpretation. The methodology must contribute to a process that adheres to relational accountability and a healthy relationship with a focus on respect, reciprocity and responsibility (Wilson, 2008). These paradigmatic aspects can be put into practice to support indigenous researchers by choice of research topic, methods of data collection, form of analysis and presentation of information (Wilson, 2008, p. 7). The indigenous research methodology was developed under the considerations that they would participate in the forming of their own knowledge and that this knowledge should be relevant to the societies involved in knowledge-making (Battiste, 2008; Brattland et al., 2018; Denzin et al., 2008). I will expand upon this towards the end of Chapter 4 when I talk about ethical concerns.

3.5 Making sense of common experiences

I was generously welcomed as a verdde. This relationship gave me insights that I believe I would not have gotten being a plain outside researcher. The generosity and care that developed in the space between me and Piera, his family and guests was used to understand the nature of the encounter and the social assumption of me as a researcher in relation to Piera. The sensitivity towards this space was essential for what I learned through *verddevuotha* and influenced the way my research and my methods changed. I continuously asked: How much of myself do I put in and leave out? As Holman Jones (2005) and Tomaselli et al. (2008) noted, this is a question that I share with other researchers. Throughout the research process I have had an ongoing dialogue with Piera, who became more of a co-researcher than informant. In addition, I had enlightening discussions with my supervisor. Thus, the ethnography also became embedded in the reflection of my own life, culture and practices, which was brought forward through my research and encounters on and around the mountain lodge. In this case, even though I was an ethnographic researcher, I also performed as a tourist in search for something "other" (Tomaselli et al., 2008). Albeit the questions have been different with my being a native of Finnmark, the northernmost part of Sápmi, I have wondered much more about the nature of the differences, than just stating that there were differences and the amounts of it. As such, it is more like looking for "an-other-than-me" than the described "other" in tourism and indigenous research (Franklin &

Crang, 2001; Tomaselli et al., 2008). Being Sea Sámi and native to the County of Finnmark means that Piera and I come together through similarities. My neighbours back home are more different to me than Piera, and I especially found common grounds in fishing and driving a traditional wooden boat, but I also found differences. I do not specifically know the inland fisheries with the different species of fish. I certainly do not know reindeer herding and gathering wood for winter. I do not know much of the meahcci of the inland with the spruce and pine woods, mushrooms and reindeer lichen, the big predators and elk. Neither do I know the large lakes and big rivers carving the tundra. We do not even share the length of the days and nights, nor the climate or the number of insects. What we have in common in addition to wooden boats and fisheries, is the endless sight over an open meahcci with endless possibilities. We do have some similar species of the tundra, like the willow and the mountain ptarmigan, cloudberries, lingonberries, blueberries, crowberries, birch, juniper, char and trout. Even though I am not native to this place I would still survive by using my inherited Sámi practices even though they belong to the coast.

In a co-creational performance ethnography, the ethnographer and the informant are "*catalysts to each other's effort to make sense*" (Rudie, 1994, p. 29). Rudie's (1994) view of sensemaking is a process where experience transforms continuously into knowledge. Our learned dispositions intersect with new experiences and are mentally processed to fall into familiar patterns or create new ones. The ethnographer and the informant manage their experiences and make sense along parallel lines. They balance between tacit incorporated practical understanding and verbalised and discussed practices. Interpretations are hence intertwined in a final text. The ethnographer tries to transform the practice into knowledge, but the practitioner's self-interpretation and sense-making of the experience lie partly "inside" the final text. There is dissonance and consonance throughout the experience, and they will confirm, rearrange or destroy earlier understandings (Rudie, 1994).

The cultural sense-making process into which Rudie (1994) invites us, moves through reflection and representations to language structuring, from tacit experience to common belief to images stored in mind for future practice, to metaphors fit for intersubjective communication, to direct language in speech and writing. Connerton (1989) was

specifically concerned with how societies remember and the stabilising effect of body practise and commemorative rituals with inbuilt habit memory. These stabilising forces institutionalise innovation and make improvising increasingly difficult. Especially when memories of a culture are brought forward by reproducing inscriptions rather than through live performance (Connerton, 1989). Rudie (1994) saw this as two sides of the inventive edge that reflect our different experiential positions and interests when trying to make sense. On one side, there is a constant flow of creative practice presenting possibilities of undetected change, and on the other side is the institutionalised innovation. Rudie quoted Ingold (1991) to describe the plasticity and creativity of the process of acquiring culture:

> *For it is in and through relationships that persons come into being and endure in the course of social life. It might be helpful to think of social relations as forming a continuous topological surface or field, unfolding through time. Persons, then, are nodes in this unfolding, and sociality is the generative potential of the relational field in which they are situated, and which is constituted and re-constituted through their activities.* (Ingold, 1991 in Rudie, 1994, p. 31)

From this perspective, Rudie (1994) argued that we can view culture as constantly happening, invented and re-evented. This corresponds to how Meløe (1979) wanted social scientists to develop our glance at the world and realise that forms, like culture, are composed, maintained and decomposed in time.

Situating knowledge plays a part in feminist theories particularly as brought forward by Haraway (1988). Haraway (1988) reminds us that knowledge production is always partial and incomplete and the result of situational practices. Theories are created in relation to place and our thinking evolves continuously as the effect of multiple relationships stretch out in time and space (Haraway, 1988). Kramvig and Førde (2013) argue that situational practices organize and stabilize relationships, they connect and switch - and through these links, realities, knowledge, and models claim different degrees of authority. This follows on from Haraway's (1988) argument that:

> *…politics of location, positioning, and situating, where partially and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims. These are claims of people's lives. …for the view from a body, always complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity. Only the God trick is forbidden. Here is a criterion for deciding the science question in militarism, that dream science/technology of perfect language, perfect communication, final order.* (Haraway, 1988, p. 589)

Location plays a crucial role and must be taken seriously in knowledge-generating work (Kramvig & Førde, 2013; Latour, 1986). Through my working process on what politics of location means, as well as through positioning and situating my research project and research vision, I have made myself open to the ambiguity of empirical materials and the complexity of interpretations (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Beard, Scarles, & Tribe, 2016; Denzin et al., 2008; Haraway, 1988). I have also come to realise that the way I view the world as a messy effect of different life and work experience, academic training and engagement in leisure activities. This has affected my nature-culture vision, specifically, the indigenous nature-culture view of the world.

Chapter 4 – Methodology becomes method

Water isn't just for drinking or washing. Water has its own spirit. Water is alive. Water has memory. Water knows how you treat it, water knows you. You should get to know water too.

Wabinoquay Otsoquaykwhan (Anishinaabe Nation)

4.1 Introduction

The word "ethnography" means culture in writing, or writing culture (Mitchell, 2007). A particular society, culture, group or social context is described and represented through a written text (Mitchell, 2007; Van Maanen, 2011). Van Maanen (2011) offers an introduction and his description of writing ethnography connected with my methodological position and my research design. Van Maanen (2011, p. 33) emphasises that ethnography is both a methodology and a method. In the following, I explain how in my research, methodology became methods through abductive procedures. When methodology is developed and matured through reflection the methods that are suited in each case and opportunity reveal themselves (Tomaselli et al., 2008). This also includes what is not suitable and cannot be done in a setting. It is the mixture of methodology, ethics, respect, methods, analysis, reflections and technology that need to be puzzled together to dynamically fit each situation and to build enough trust and confidence to begin to scratch the surface.

4.2 Performance ethnography

To make methods based on the presented methodology, I needed a strategy of inquiry to expose and represent "*the dynamic interactions between power, politics and poetics*" (Madison, 2008, p. 392, in Hamera, 2011). I wanted to make interventions to generate more just circumstances (Hamera, 2011). Performance ethnography offered me a strategy with both inter- and poly-disciplinary aspects. It also offered a relational institutional situation betwixt and between disciplines that binds methods and meta-methodology. It gave me a vocabulary with which to work in exploring the expressive elements of nature-culture as integrated from multiple areas of expertise as specialised knowledge. In addition, it provided tools to analyse the embodied knowledge of me and

others. A knowledge built through all our senses and expressed in practices. Performance ethnography also provided tools for political engaged conceptual knowledge and scholarly engagement to theory in/as practice and pragmatic knowledge, the know-how (Hamera, 2011).

Performance ethnography when used as a method means giving focus to the expressive, denotative sensory elements of an event, like how it sounds, looks, smells, shifts over time, and the affective dynamics of the event (Hamera, 2011). It also positions the researcher in larger conversations in the world and cultural approaches were all parties in the research are found. Hamera (2011) argued that performance ethnography is not easy to operationalise. The complexities of each site and location in place and history, as well as the embodied particularities of the implicated persons, need to be negotiated. There is a mere infrastructure of keywords, formative figures and key questions (Hamera, 2011) to guide us through fieldwork and analysis. They are inseparable from the methodology described in the previous chapter.

4.3 Performing ethnography in indigenous communities

I decided early on that I wanted to walk across the tundra alone to get in touch with the environment without being disturbed. I wanted to learn about the unknown land- and soundscape by walking the land, and by paying attention to the relationship between my own body and the landscape through which I walked. Benediktsson and Lund (2016) describes this as having a sensuous body-to-body conversation. I completed the north-south crossing of the Finnmark tundra in two laps. The first third of the way was done walking in September's first week of the small game hunting season. The second two thirds of the distance were completed by Nordic skiing during the Polar nights of late January. This is the season for hunting the Northern lights with snowmobile or dogsledding or for Nordic skiing in Polar expedition training.

Friday, September 7, I walked on the 18 km long tractor track from south to north. I dragged along a Nordic wheeled sledge cab filled with my 50 kilos of equipment. I intended to record every impression of sounds and sights with sound recorders, cameras and video. I started by carrying a SLR camera around my neck but found that my much smaller and lighter mobile phone gave better pictures and was easier to access. The SLR

had a higher pixel rate than the mobile phone, so I decided to use it to take pictures when there was a possibility that I wanted to enlarge smaller details of a picture. In my pocket I carried a small Dictaphone to record key sounds and sound-impressions from the soundscape. The Dictaphone is more suitable for conversations but being so small and handy I used it intensively throughout the entire fieldwork. Sometimes, I used it to record specific sounds and sometimes I used it because there were no apparent specific sounds. To make sound records of better quality, I used a minidisc recorder (MDR) connected to a microphone on a two-metre cord. In addition to that, I used my mobile phone which recorded sound of a quite satisfying quality. By using the MDR, I could gather specific key sounds by trying to get as close to the source as possible without "polluting" the sound take by sounds that were made by me. The weather was warm and the skies clear so there were no climatic challenges for the electronic equipment. I walked slowly and stopped several times to stand still and listen to the environment. Even though I had no sounds to aim for I recorded the sound of an almost silent environment to try to define what sounds were continuously present in a way that might have made me ignore them after a while. I thought that if there were such sounds present, I would find them when I played the recording in a studio environment, when not interrupted by other impressions.

Walking into the tundra I thought of myself as a native. I realised that even though Finnmark is my county, it is a big county with many ways of being and knowing the land. I consider myself to be a multiple figure – the coming together of identities as timelines of both Norwegian and Sámi descent, as my ancestors came from many different mobility practices and places. I thought about how to behave and how to survive without the company of other people, such as my parents, and grandparents, and by exploring together with my siblings. The tundra does not scare me. On the contrary, I feel safer alone with nature than with certain types of people. But then again, this always comes with the local training of visioning multiple future events, as well as being prepared for them all. Being alone in the tundra, I had to have a backup plan in case of emergency. I would not have done this without having my background or an agreement of a periodic feedback plan to both my husband and Piera.

On my first visit, I stayed in a small private cabin connected to the mountain lodge from Friday, 7 to Wednesday, 12 September. I presented the ideas for my research to Molleš Piera to set the stage for his reflection about key-sounds in and of nature, cultural sounds and soundscapes. At the destination, there were also the aunt of Piera and his brother with his wife. I talked to them as well and discussed my motives and interests. They all suggested to record the sound of the rivers and the river boat. I asked Piera if I could join him when fishing. By following him around, I got to participate in specific everyday practices as he navigated in the tundra by car or river boat. I learned about his landscape, his meahcci through observing, participating in helping with daily tasks, through small talks and conversations. Sometimes, I also asked direct questions to be clear about how specific things were performed, and sometimes I just followed along to see how the performance progressed. Sometimes, when he could not answer my questions or had things, he wanted me to understand, he told me stories of his experiences in relation to places or practices. The stories were visualised in my head and memorised as a short documentary movie that I put down in words in my fieldnotes as soon as I had a moment alone. By experience, this is the way I remember things best. I also made some actual movie cuts with my mobile phone. I did that to show the relation between specific soundscapes and landscapes and of practices where using sound to navigate was part of the skill.

The hunting season for elk had already started and the hunting season for small game, especially ptarmigans, started September 10. A group of Finnish fishing guests were already there when I arrived. Another group of twelve Norwegian old friends of Piera arrived for ptarmigan hunting with dogs from Saturday morning to Sunday night. I participated in meals and socialised with the guests as one with them. They also paid interest in my research on sound and shared stories with me from their own experiences at the site. I did not follow them hunting but got sounds of shooting and dogs barking from a distance. I did not want to intrude too closely on the guests of the cabin and only attended outside the meals when invited. I felt that by taking a more informal and equal role I could respectfully reflect together with those who wanted to share their thoughts and experiences.

The private cabin provided time off for my open, curious body, which had taken in a lot of impressions performing research twelve hours a day. I needed to take time to disconnect from the relations I made with people and nature and just sit alone in my cabin. Making time and space for "auto-reflexivity" was of outmost importance to enable myself to "stay in the game". I also needed time to put impressions down as written fieldnotes. This was done by first making a sketch of the day's main activities on a piece of paper. Then, I provided a calendar with a weather forecast in the back of my book. My ethnographic fieldnotes were only written on the left pages of the book. In this way, I could add things that came to mind later, for example, I could add explanations and further clarifications, my developing analyses and connections to theories. This way, I felt confident in my documentation work and after almost a week on site I had just one page left in the book upon which to write. I joined the Finnish guests returning home and left the same way I came by car on the 12th. Immediately after coming home, I started to translate my ethnographic stories into documents on my computer.

The second two thirds of the way were undertaken by Nordic skiing on Friday, January 18. I went from north towards the south, starting out way too late in the mid-day to walk the 40 km on skis. It had already started to get dark and the last pictures of landscape were taken at the first lodge I passed. In advance, I had made agreements with another tourist host to bring my equipment to the mountain lodge on snow mobile. I left the backpack at the parking space as had been agreed and carried only what was necessary for the 40 km trip. I used a lot of time taking pictures before the darkness arrived. I also recorded sounds of all practices related to snow and frost that was particular to the season as well as the sites I passed. It was 20 degrees below zero Celsius when I started to walk, and it continued to fall towards minus 35 on the big lake of Iešjávri. I recorded the wind and the silence of the frozen rivers and trees. Because of the cold, in case of emergency, I had to save on battery usage of my phone. I used the SLR camera until it froze. I kept the Dictaphone in my pocket so it would not lose power. Sometimes, I recorded long stretches as I skied the tundra and sometimes, I stopped to stand still and listen as I recorded. Due to the cold, the sound did not travel far, and I was surprised by dogsledders as well as by very silent snow mobiles sneaking up behind me.

Halfway, I realised I had forgot my map and compass in the car. I had to trust old skills of navigating. I have a habit of mentally photographing maps in order to memorise new places with which I am not familiar. I do this just to get a feeling about a landscape before I arrive there. Because of this, I could recognise structures like smaller hills and larger lakes as I crossed them. When in nature, I continue to build on that mental map by adding pictures from different angles as I walk. Over time, I achieve a 3D map in my head that I use for orientation. Making plans on my mental map, I realised that I needed to speed up to get to the nearest cabin by nightfall. I had made an agreement with Piera that I would send him a message and he would come and get me if I used too much time on recording. In the evening he came along on his snowmobile to pick me up.

When I arrived at the lodge, there were visitors there. Those included a tourism company with snowmobile tourists and a couple with a dog, doing expedition training, who were staying for just one night. Piera's children and their friends where there and the family of Piera's son-in-law were there to celebrate his birthday. His father brought along my backpack. In addition to the guests, an old friend of Piera and a consultant working with a project at the cabin was there over the weekend. During the days I spent there, the temperature dropped to 40 degrees below zero Celsius and the electronic equipment worked for just a few seconds at the time. My mobile phone on the contrary turned out to be tougher than expected. Thus, most recordings outdoors were done by mobile phone.

4.4 Writing impressions of indigeneity

My ethnographic work is painted with multiple brushes and the paint blended together in a picture inspired by the methodology I have described above. I am very fond of the impressionist painters, and I can relate to Van Maanen (2011) arguing that:

> *For my purposes, it is the impressionists' self-conscious and, for their time, innovative use of their materials—colour, form, light, stroke, hatching, overlay, frame—that provides the associative link to fieldwork writing.* (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 101)

The way impressionists express the experience of a landscape or a situation without including unnecessary and destructive details to the instant perception in that experience

is appealing to me. The impressionist tales of ethnography give a personalised perspective about the researcher's own perceptions at a given place in time and space. The idea is to give attention to the unfamiliar world of the story. The practice of thick description is important in providing ways of knowing, being and doing to the research process and allows the audience to experience with their own senses what the fieldworker has sensed – placing the audience ringside of the research ceremony (Van Maanen, 2011; Wilson, 2008). This tool became useful in presenting the indigenous way of using poetic narratives to include an outsider audience in the indigenous axi-ont-epistem-methodical (Wilson, 2008) way of thinking. The audience may pick up fragments of different ways of knowing in disorganised manners (Van Maanen, 2011). Characters are presented through their own presence with names, faces, lines to speak, motives and performances. Impressionist tales present the performativity of performances in indigenous ethnography (Tomaselli et al., 2008).

4.5 Ethical considerations in indigenous research

The Norwegian Comity of Research Ethics arranged a seminar on Sámi research and research ethics in 2002 (Nagell & Grung, 2002). Tove Bull opened the seminar by problematising the concept "Sámi research" and asked if it was a fruitful concept with which to work? She pointed out that research is always situated and contextual and that it is not possible to ignore different aspects lurking in the bushes when discussing Sámi research, the policy of Norwegian Colonisation and efforts to make earlier injustice just again (Bull 2002 in Nagell & Grung, 2002, p. 4). Bull (in Nagell & Grung, 2002) worried that the concept "Sámi research" connotated compensations for injustice applied to Sámi minorities both as natives and as objects of research. Research has defining powers that may lead to political power. Hence, the battle of language is a battle to define reality (Bull 2002 in Nagell & Grung, 2002, p. 4). Battiste (2008) argued that research in indigenous issues linguistic competence is a requisite. I could not agree more. During this research, I have used a lot of time to work with the online dictionary of North Sámi-Norwegian. I needed words to explain what was not possible to explain with neither Norwegian nor English words. As I am a Sea Sámi, who is familiar with Sámi practices, but has neither the Norwegian nor the English words to describe these I searched for the North Sámi ones that could cover what I meant to present. I found this a better way to provide just explanations of what I saw was going on and how I

experienced the ways of knowing, being and doing in Sámi practices. There were also additional words that I felt I needed to understand to get hold on differences and similarities to guide me in the analysis. They are presented in Appendix 1 at the end of the thesis.

Mitchell (2007, p. 63) was concerned with ethnographers' "production of others" and the positioning of power. He talked about the methodological development in ethnographic research of reflexivity and co-authorship as essential to equalising power and authority. This is especially so in indigenous research where contexts have been highly political and "truth" has been under colonialising forces (Mitchell, 2007). Due to the Norwegian colonialization process, we have indigenous people that have not had the chance to learn the language of their mother tongue, we have indigenous people that have not had the chance to participate in traditional practices and learn about their heritage, and we have all sorts in between (Kramvig, 2017). The indigeneity in Norway has been under such high colonialising pressure that a lot of people have hidden their Sámi heritage to live an easier life in colonialised parts of societies. This has led to new generations being unaware of their indigenous heritage, language and practices. Another respect for indigeneity has come as a consequence of the last decades of work within the UN, as described in Chapter 2. People have started to dig into their background and have found that even their parents had an indigenous background but feared being harassed. Doing indigenous research based on indigenous methodology and methods might contribute in bringing the indigenous way of knowing forward to be taken into considerations in respectful ways (Kramvig, 2017). Doing indigenous research demands humility and respect for different ways of knowing (Østmo, 2013). Kalleberg (2002) expresses his thought about intellectual humility in his writings "About Scientific Humility":

> *Intellectual humility is part of the recognition of one's own limitation in relation to a great and diverse reality and in relation to other people's knowledge and insights. This implies an openness to one's own inaccuracy and lack of knowledge, an understanding that one can have something to learn from others. Humility implies both understanding our own sensibility and error, where the*

> *boundaries of our own competence go and how we depend on each other as knowing beings.* (Kalleberg, 2002, p. 2).

I have left out a great deal of sounds in respect of people's privacy and in respect of competition to the business. Conversations that I refer to are written on the basis of my memory a few hours after the conversation happened. The conversations are hence based on the impressions I gained from participating in them. There is a possibility that I have had the wrong impression or have misheard or misunderstood the situation. Still, I have chosen to present impressions that I had.

I argue that the skills and the ways of knowing are local and embodied and that no-one else other than those living in a body of particular experiences has that knowledge. Such is also true for the people hosting at Vuolit Mollišjohka and no-one can imitate this. This leads me to the reason why I have not anonymised Molleš Piera but kept the name that he is respectfully referred to by his *verddes*. The stories I have presented belongs to him. In Sámi co-operation (*verddevuotha*) and storytelling traditions (*máinnastandáidda*) it is considered rude to present personal stories as generic and anonymised. The stories you are part of is your property and of no one else to present as theirs. I have also been working with Piera through the fieldwork and this work would not have been abled without his contributions and knowledge. Therefore, I withdrew my application to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data – it would not have been appropriate according to indigenous methodology.

Chapter 5 – *Gulastit* (to hear)

To record sounds is to put a frame around them.

Schafer (1973)

A yellow wagtail (*Motacilla flava*) has been following me. I have noticed it flying around me. The singing has become more intense as it has closed in on me. I hear the characteristic sharp, drawn out and high-pitched tune falling at the end – transcribed as "tsiiv, tsiiv". Ornithology and identifying birds by tunes are part of my academic training. This is a bird that is easy to identify by the tune. The sound is regarded as primitive and not so striking. It has two or three notes resembling the contact in timbre. To me the sound is clear, clean and aesthetical beautiful.

At first, when I noticed the bird, it flew at a distance, but the oscillating pattern of its flying was recognisable to me as one of the wagtails. At a distance, I could not identify it by its feather coat. I thought it was the black and white feathered common wagtail (*Motacilla flava*), but I realised it was too even coloured to be that. The species systematics and phylogeny are messy and interestingly forming a cryptic species complex that does not fit with standard identification methods.

The bird lands in the bush in front of me. I move slowly towards it with the sound recorder. Now, I can see that its rump is olive and the breast yellow. It is a male, because females are greyer over the rump. The wagging tail is black and white and the white crown line above its eye ends at the root of his thin black beak. This is a beak for catching insects. I hope the sound of the wind does not destroy his specific singing. It's a peaceful singing. A high-pitched tune – "tsiiv, tsiiv". He is not afraid of me, but curious. He sits there like he has been watching me for much longer than I have noticed him. I am the visitor in his habitat. He probably has youngsters in the bushes that he wants to protect. I record several seconds of singing before he flies away.

5.1 Introduction

Why did I start the ethnography by describing the visual impression of my first meeting with the tundra? Even thought my aim is to do research on sound, all I have to say is that the wind rustles in the dry leaves and the bird sings with a high-pitched tune. This is where I start my performance turn in sensuous tourism research. Sound waves are floating around in the tundra and can be picked up by my ear and interpreted as tiny bits of information (Elert, 2019a; Farina, 2014; Feigen, 1971). I can learn how sound waves behave depending on the medium that contributes to the sound (Ingold, 2011) and the

mediums through which it runs (Gjestland, 2018), the wind speed that enhances the speed of sound (Elert, 2019b) and all the other characteristics of sound will give me information about what I hear (Elert, 2019b; Gjestland, 2018; Henderson, 2017; Ramm, 2017). It is like learning to read - first letters, then words and sentences, and then context. What I will introduced here is just a little piece of the "alphabet" of sound and there is so much still to learn, to investigate and to research. I have picked out the things that would make a difference in describing the sound in the environment of the Finnmark tundra, at the lodge, amongst the visitors and in the surroundings of the hosting practices and the host.

In this chapter, I start by presenting the physical world of sound and how we hear. What are the characteristics of sound to which we need to attend and what is there to hear? I present and relate to the sonic definition of soundscape (Farina, 2014) in this context. I select significant sounds that I registered at Upper Mollešjohka Duottarstophu and categorise them into phonic groups, geo- bio- and anthrophonies of sources as presented by Farina (2014). Further, I discuss how some sounds are more prominent than others and what they tell us about the place in different contexts. I refer to the theories and thoughts in this chapter as the "hard" science of sound. I use the surroundings at Vuolit Mollešjohka and my experiences there to discuss some of the challenges of working with sound and I think about the information lost when not attending to sound in tourism. Based on this, I will try to answer the question:

- How can we learn about sounds that are present in a nature-based tourism destination?

5.2 The "hard" background science of sound

5.2.1 What is sound?

Electromagnetism is the field of study that relates to the physics of mechanical vibrations. These vibrations create waves of movement that differ in frequency and amplitude, how they are transmitted and absorbed within certain media and how materials are affected (Feigen, 1971). Different movements create mechanical pressure changes and spread like electromagnetic (EM) waves of energy flowing through the universe (Elert, 2019a). Roughly, lights and colours are visible to the human eye in the range between 430 and 751 THz (Gjestland, 2018). The higher the frequencies the

longer the waves become (Elert, 2019a). The long wave low frequency part of the spectrum between 0 Hz and 20 MHz are referred to as sound. Hence, sound is the informative energy that participates in the physical phenomenon of pressure waves of a vibrating object (Farina, 2014). Mechanical vibrations create sounds in fluids by rapidly moving groups of molecules that have been compressed or expanded and rarified by the vibrating source (Feigen, 1971). Sound waves run through mediums such as air (gas), water (liquid) or wood and steel (solids) with different speed (Gjestland, 2018). Speed increases with higher temperature, atmospheric pressure and the speed of the wind (Elert, 2019b). When sound hits an obstacle speed will change and it will be reflected. As sound is waves, the hindrance will vary according to the size of the obstacle (Elert, 2019a). The materials in the medium, its surface and density, also affect how the waves are transported and reflected. Sound waves are a natural part of nature and are out there even if there are no living creature to sense them (Elert, 2019a; National Park Service, 2018).

5.2.2 How do we hear with our ears?

In humans, impressions of sound waves have primarily been related to the ears. The pressure waves of different frequencies create vibrating pressure in the cochlea and the semi-circular canals filled with a water-like fluid and over 20,000 hair-like nerve cells (Henderson, 2017). The nerve cells differ in length and have different degrees of resilience to the compressional wave in the fluid that sets them in motion. Each hair cell has a natural sensitivity to a particular frequency of vibration. When set, vibration increases in amplitude and the cells release an electrical impulse that passes along the auditory nerve towards the brain (Henderson, 2017). This is how sound is transduced to nerve impulses that are registered to the brain and perceived as sound (Pinch & Bijsterveld, 2012). Normally, the upper range of audible frequencies tends to fade with age and only kids and teenagers can hear sounds between 14-16,000 Hz (Feigen, 1971).

The amount of information to which a brain can attend is estimated to be about 120 bits per second (Levitin, 2014). A lot of irrelevant sound impressions are therefore sorted out and never processed in our brains. The attention span and filter protect us from being distracted by insignificant sounds in cases where attention must be paid to sounds that keep us safe and sound (Levitin, 2014).

5.2.3 The sonic characteristics of sounds

Sonic characteristics refer to the physical or conceptual artefacts created by sound (Farina, 2014). The brain analyses sound impressions from wave movements by their different qualities. In this thesis, I concentrate on the three most prominent characteristics of nature sounds, the frequency, amplitude and timbre (Gjestland, 2018; Ramm, 2017). This is because these are the easiest recognisable characteristics of sounds to people with no enhanced sonic skills.

The sensation of one or several waves of different frequency is referred to as a pitch (Gjestland, 2018). The pitch is perceived as high or low tunes. In the lower spectrum of audible frequencies, we find the bass, and in the upper the descant. People that are trained listeners may distinguish two tones that vary in frequencies of as little as 2 Hz (Henderson, 2017). Waves with frequencies that clash make dissonance and are noisy and unpleasant to which to listen. If several clashing frequencies are represented it, is called white noise and sounds like a waterfall (Ramm, 2017).

Loudness, or amplitude, describes the intensity of a sound and is measured in decibels (dB) (Ramm, 2017). This is perceived by our ears as the volume of the sound. The same sound will not be perceived to have the same loudness to all individuals (Henderson, 2017). Age is one of many factors that affects the ability to hear and perceive sounds. The Threshold of Hearing (TOH) is set at 0 dB (Henderson, 2017). Rustling of leaves has a volume of 10 dB and whispering 20 dB (Henderson, 2017). Mapping of nature sounds in national parks in the States shows that if humans where taken out of the picture, sounds in nature seldom exceeds 40 dB (National Park Service, 2018). Normal conversation lies in the area of 60 dB (Henderson, 2017). Amplitude also relates to how the sound behaves over time when it comes to duration, direction and distance. Direction can be perceived due to our ability to hear with two ears sitting on opposite sides of our heads. This gives an all surrounding ability to perceive sound, as with vision it is about 120^{o} tract-like just straight in front of the eyes. Sound will reach the ears with a slight difference in time. This creates directional qualities of perceptions as left-right, high-low and front-back. The loudness of a sound can tell you something about the distance of its source – how near and far the source of a sound is from you.

Timbre describes the reason why an E on a piano sound different from the exact same E with the exact same volume on a guitar. There are multiple frequencies at play at the same time (Ramm, 2017). The material of the instrument that is played, as well as the temperature of the instrument, play a role in how the different waves of that tone behave. Some tones have a higher pitch, overtones, and some have lower, subtones. Over- and subtones together are known as harmonics and make the perceived change in quality of the sound, known as tone colour or timbre (Ramm, 2017).

5.2.4 What kind of sounds are found in the world?

The most enduring sources of sound are natural phenomena like weather, water and animals (Pinch & Bijsterveld, 2012). Interest in conceptualising what to hear has grown in the field of landscape ecology (Pijanowski, Farina, Gage, Dumyahn, & Krause, 2011; Pijanowski, Villanueva-Rivera, et al., 2011). There are many definitions attached to the concept of soundscape. In relation to the aim of this chapter, I find it fruitful to follow Farina's (2014) description of soundscape; being the entire sonic energy produced by a landscape. It is the result of the overlap of three distinct sonic sources: geophonies, biophonies, and anthrophonies. The geophonies are the sounds that are produced by non-biological natural agents like the winds, the rivers, the rain, waves on a lake, thunder and avalanches. They represent a sonic background of which other sounds can mask, overlap or mix with and are affected by geomorphic traits, climate and weather. Sonic degradations are affected by ridges, mountains, and valleys. The pattern of the sound waves is affected by winds, humidity and temperature. These all contribute to local conditions of sounds in a specific region (Farina, 2014).

The biophonies are produced by living organisms in a specific biome (Farina, 2014). Ornithology is a field that for a long time has worked with the sounds of different birds (Bruyninckx, 2012). In order to describe the songs of birds, musical notation, graphic notations, nonsense syllables and phonetic vowels have been tried. These presentations have been rejected by conservative scientists due to the unscientific description of only the pitch and harmony and not considering timbre and other qualities of the sound. Recording using mechanical recording has not helped in a way that it was hoped. The ear is better at tuning in on specific sounds (Bruyninckx, 2012). Sounds are presented in scientific publications as writing or pictures (Pinch & Bijsterveld, 2012). Ornithologists

that have developed significant sonic skills present the results as frequency (Bijsterveld, 2019b) or graphic spectrum charts. Only skilled practitioners can interpret the real results from the images (Figure 2). Despite challenges, ornithologists have developed considerable variations in knowledge about bird behaviour and how they are affected by changes in their environments. The possibilities of sharing video and sound through web pages makes it easier also to co-create knowledge about the variety of sounds from birds (Chernasky, 2019).

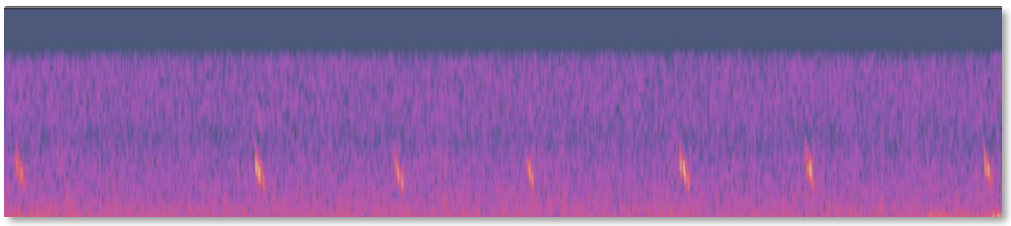

Figure 2. The graphic spectrum of "my" yellow wagtail's song.

Acoustic complexity of biophonies are high because of intra- and interspecific individuality in active and passive communication and movement. Despite technological development, it is not always possible to identify all biophonies that compose a soundscape (Farina, 2014). Krause (2012) excludes human-made sounds from this category and calls them noise. Farina (2014) thinks the human voice should be considered and included but does not mention other natural sounds of humans. Biophonies have different patterns related to season, hours of day and latitude. Of course, fish makes sounds in the water, but these sounds are not accessible to humans except by using specific technology like hydrophones (Farina, 2014).

Anthrophonies are produced by artificial devices made by humans (Farina, 2014). They are increasingly regarded as intrusive and dominant parts of soundscapes (Dumyahn & Pijanowski, 2011; Farina, 2014; Krause, 2012; Qiu, Zhang, & Zheng, 2018). Anthrophonies are associated with urban development and globalised trade (Farina, 2014). As a major cause of noise pollution (Krause, 2012), anthrophonies can cause dangerous consequences to all organisms and to human health (Farina, 2014). Exposure to noise increases in importance when moving towards urban, industrial and transportation areas. The different phonies interrelate. Geophonies are the least affected along a gradient from intact natural landscape to rural and urban landscapes. In contrast, as anthrophonies increase with increased human intrusion, biophonies are very much

affected and decrease accordingly (Farina, 2014). The spatial overlap of geophonic, biophonic, and anthrophonic patterns creates soundscapes (Farina, 2014). Soundscape ecology has important applications in the assessment of the environmental quality of parks and protected areas, in urban planning and design, in ethology and in anthropology, and finally in long-term monitoring.

Every phase of matter and every type of material reacts differently to sound waves (vibration), and this can be useful for remote sensing procedures to monitoring the dynamics of environmental context and behaviour of individuals (Farina, 2014). Ingold (2011) calls for more attention to materials and their properties. As mentioned above, the material is important to how soundwaves behave, reflect and are shaped, formed and moved (Feigen, 1971; Gjestland, 2018; Henderson, 2017; Ramm, 2017). The medium, composition of mediums and surfaces of the source or the space between the source and the perceiver play an important role in how the characteristics are perceived. The harder the material the fewer frequencies, the longer the waves are carried and the clearer the timbre. Like when you use a metal tuning fork or a brass instrument. The softer the material the more silent and thump the sound becomes. Like wool where sound is not carried through the material and the sound is silenced instead. Wood is semi-hard. Depending on type of wood, the different hardnesses of wood bring sound forward with different characteristics, for example, in acoustic wooden pianos and guitars. In nature, there are different materials too, like trees and water, grass and sand. Sand and grass do not carry sound very far (Farina, 2014), but water does (Feigen, 1971) like when in a fog.

5.3 “Hard” analyses of hearing and sounds at Vuolit Mollešjohka

In the surroundings of Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu, complete silence is rare. At the same time, it was easy to find places silent enough to catch the very quiet sounds of nature. The rustling of leaves sometimes sounded very high in almost no wind because of the absence of other sounds interfering. When there is less variety and loudness of sounds, the attention can include very low sounds that would otherwise be excluded from our attention spans (Levitin, 2014). It makes it possible to pay attention to the “little” things in the world. Upon my arrival, I started out making a list of what I could hear and found that I could constantly add new sounds to the list. Mapping sounds and

trying to document significant sounds was first a methodical challenge. The soundscape was not fixed in time and place. Sounds travel along with moving sources. Like people and vehicles passing the place or game running and flying away. So, there are some anthrophonic sounds that are sometimes there and sometimes not. The presence is unpredictable and there is no sort of rhythm to which to relate, at least not in the short term. My own movement regarding the sources also changed and contributed to making sounds and continuously created new ones as I moved. This movement was sometimes rhythmical sometimes not. Most of all, it frequently appeared as an unwanted interference with my aims of recording.

The tundra is almost flat and has few sound barriers for sounds emanating from sources high up in the terrain. Sound sources low in the terrain were blocked by the ridges, but the rivers could carry sound along them as through channels. Noise from the waterfall south of the lodge was louder closer to the riversides even if the distance to it was greater than to the top of the ridge. Recording soundscapes gave me another chance to listen to what there was to hear and gave me new information every time I listened to the recordings. This was especially the case, when listening to the sounds of the different rivers and streams, and also in the case of river boats going up and down the river. The body of water in the tundra is enormous. Rivers and lakes run like arteries and veins through the landscape and in the middle is that heart – the great Iešjávri. The flow of the aorta, Iešjohka, runs out from it, into the watercourses of the Deatnu river before it enters the ocean. The mires and ridges are muscles and bones, the birch forest are the lungs that produces oxygen and use carbon-dioxide and the heater is the skin that protects the landscape and keeps it moist. The tundra is alive and the life sustaining process of water circulating in the world can be sensed particularly at this place. You cannot be closer to the living planet than by the rivers and right there where you can sit down and hear it.

I tried to categorise the sounds according Farina's (2014) classification. The majority of biophonies on the arctic tundra are produced by birds and insects, mammals give sounds mostly during breeding seasons and when encountered by humans. Sounds from amphibians are rare and produced almost entirely by frogs. The seasonal effect is higher in boreal and arctic latitudes than in southern latitudes due to the higher variance in

weather, light and temperature (Farina, 2014). I found that some of the sounds were not that easy to classify. The first sounds I noticed was the sound of my boots and the wagon in the sand and how we hit the big rocks. I found it hard to categorise these sounds as geophonic, biophonic or anthrophonic. Is it the boot or wagon that make the sound? Or is it the rock or sand? Or, is it me inside the boot and dragging the wagon hitting the rock and sand? Maybe it is the connection of me, the technologies and the environment? I think of them as intermediate phonies between geophonies (the rock and sand), biophonies (me and my foot) and anthrophonies (the boot and the wagon). Performances make the key sounds harder to detect, distinguish and categorise. They are often a cooperation between living creatures, technology and the surroundings. Then, I started to think about Farina (2014), who considers human speaking as a biophonic sound even though it is made by humans. I could not decide how to make a distinction between biophonic and anthrophonic sounds. All bodily sounds made by humans are not made by intention like talking is. So, if talking is a biophonic sound, so are the bodily made sounds. Then what are the anthropic sounds? Are they sounds from industrial devices? What is industrially made sounds? Are sounds from tools that animals like crows and magpies manufacture (Shumaker, Walkup, & Beck, 2011) biophonies or anthrophonies? These questions are not so easy to answer. Bringing them up in this context generated an argument that set me on my way to tear down the walls between humans and nature. Even though these categories make sense, and they can easily be used as analytic tools or categories to try to sort out complexity, there are more to sounds than can easily be sorted out by just using the ears. By using the ears, it was of course possible to describe what sorts of sounds that were there, and which were not, and, as a reflexive exercise, to try to put them into Farina's (2014) categories.

Situated far away from urban environments, traffic noise was not common, and cars could be individually recognised by sound after a few days. People talked together with low voices and could sit on the benches outside in silence. A few Finnish guys talked quietly in Finnish and only made noise by slamming the hanging old wooden doors of their cabin and the sauna. Most of the anthrophonic sounds were situated indoor. Like Farina (2014), I too considered most of them biophonies. The sound of different languages, dialects, speed of words, loudness of the voices and laughter are certainly important in a tourism space as they say something about the guests and culture being

present. Different languages have their own tune and that has certainly something to do with how you feel connected to a place in tourism. A Sámi tourism business does not feel the same without people speaking Sámi, as France doesn't feel French without listening to people speaking French – even though you do not understand a word of what they are saying.

The first thing I noticed in my fieldwork notes was that I had used a "harder" scientific description of the flora and fauna in the place – describing them also with the correct species identifications in Latin. I am a biologist – this is what matters to me when describing a walk on the tundra and how I learn to know the environment I am visiting. I notice all the other species situated there – with me. To me, all the other living creatures are individuals and just as important to the earth as humans. The second challenge I found while writing out my ethnography was that describing the sounds as I heard them was close to impossible. I tried to describe the sound of the rustling leaves, but I had no idea how to do that. I read other scientists attempt to describe sounds (Nuckolls, 1996) and investigated ornithologic discussions on sound (Bruyninckx, 2012). Still it was no easy task and did not quite resemble my experience with the sounds. Going back to my first piece of ethnography presented at the beginning of this chapter, I tried to describe the bird's song by adding the notion "tsiiv, tsiiv". This is how I have learned to transcribe the song of a yellow wagtail in Norwegian. A quick search on the internet tells me that in English the song is transcribed as "pseeeoo". To me that is a completely different sound. I use this example to shows the difficulties of transcribing any sounds of nature as phonetics differ with the experience and skills of the ear of the listener. They are therefore not that easy to translate between different languages, disciplines and people. This might be one of the reasons why birdwatching tourists and ornithologist have come together to gather bird sounds upon common web pages (Chernasky, 2019). The next thing I noticed in my field notes was that I was really taken with some specific sounds, like the sounds of moving water and blowing wind, the singing birds, the rustling leaves and the noise that I made. There were certainly other sounds to which to attend, but to cope with the impression, I blocked them out. Sounds that were very present were, for instance, the pinging musical chord sounding every time I turned on the recorder, the four wheelers with reindeer herders driving past, Siri's sheep and dogs, and the guests at the lodge. I realised that I had

unconsciously used a political approach in my first review of the soundscape (Jensen, 2016). Painted by the typical duality of inclusion/exclusion of sound in nature and tourism management, I kept to simple questions like: What can be heard? What cannot? How is the silence outdoors affected by the sound of tourists? How can sound be used to support Sámi tourism? With a political approach, I left them all out in favour of looking at valuable sounds in accordance to possible impacts or noise. In a traditional natural science context, I could have used this mapping and the knowledge I initially gained to create a map of different impacts from anthrophonic sounds (National Park Service, 2018). I could have argued in a management context preventing mass tourism at the place because it would disturb wildlife. I could also argue against establishing windmills in the environment, because sonic qualities for tourists seeking silence would be destroyed by the sound of the mills. Attention towards specific sound could mask others making significant sounds unnoticed (Levitin, 2014). I would not have known this unless I had recorded it and listened to it several times afterwards. The more tired I was, the worse my attention, and more sounds were left out. Sometimes I had problems picking up on what people said because I was tired and even though my ears heard people talking, I could not hear what they said. The attention span was narrowed by the overall mental capacity.

I have used this chapter to present a gateway into the field of soundscapes. The Finnmark tundra is certainly alive and constantly moving. This is also true for every place visited by tourists, as tourists themselves add sounds to a place. A symphony is continuously made and re-made by the sounds of movements. All the parts move in different ways, at different distances, towards different places, at different speeds and at different times – and all parts create sounds audible to humans or not. The basis to understand this, is made up of "hard" theories about sound and hearing in relation to my visual and acoustic experiences on the tundra. I have argued that sound has possibilities to give us information about the environment in which we find ourselves at any given time and place. To be better abled we can develop our sonic skills, a few characters of the basis have been described above. To talk about skills, we need to add a body to the mind and the ear. In the following chapter, we need to start to listen to learn about the different soundscapes of guests visiting and the people living and caring for the land- and soundscapes.

Chapter 6 – *Guldalit* (to listen)

I would like to see art as a return to the senses.

Richard Long, sculptor, artist and walker
(Long and Cork 1988 in Rodaway 1994, p. 3)

I find the men sitting in the main room. They are drinking coffee and eating waffles with cloudberries. I'm invited to join them. They ask me where I have been the whole afternoon and what I have been up to. I tell them about my afternoon and the sounds of the rivers. The men start to discuss where the river falls are and if it is possible to hear them from different places. "You know, we have been here for so many years that we too know the surroundings. We carry the maps and GPS around just in case", one of the guys says. "It is hard to tell what we are navigating after", one of the men says. "Sometimes we just walk for hours. There are ridges, rivers, mountains and other visuals we know.

I ask them why they come there. "This is more like a tradition heading back to a time when hunting at the Finnmark tundra was popular", one of the guys say. "We thrived here with the company and got stuck", one of the others add. "Did you ever become attracted by the silence here?", I ask. "What silence?", the youngest of the men replies quickly, "These guys are never silent. When they're awake they talk all the time and when they sleep, they snore". The other ones laugh. They agree that silence is not present at all but there is a certain calming atmosphere that they like and need to adjust to during the week.

They adjust at different speeds. "Like that man", one of them points at his friend. "He has so much pressure in his work that he has trouble calming down. He has always been like that. He relaxes the last day and stays like that for a few weeks. He should come here once a month." They laugh together. "It's true", he admits, "I need the whole week to calm down. The hunting is just a reason for coming here, I could have been sitting on a bench outside for a week, but then I would have had time to think about things at work. The hunting gives me something else to think about to disconnect me from my everyday life."

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present my argument that it is time to let senses other than the eye and vision take part in tourism research, just as many others have previously advocated (Bernat, 2014; Franklin & Crang, 2001; Jensen, 2016; Qiu et al., 2018; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Sounds are indisputable out there in nature and we can hear them. The different characteristics of sounds can give us a lot of information and contribute a great deal to knowledge production (Bijsterveld, 2019b). There is much to learn about the

environment through sound and hearing (Bijsterveld, 2019b; Fiumara, 1990; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). In tourism research, we can learn more about the complexity of our surroundings through bits of phonic information, if we develop some sonic skills (Bijsterveld, 2013).

I move forward to the "softer" science of sound by asking what is listening and how do we listen (Nancy, 2014; Truax, 1996, 2012; Truax & Barrett, 2011)? What are the modes of listening and how can these modes be used? Further, I get into the theories pertaining to soundscapes (Drever, 2002; Dumyahn & Pijanowski, 2011; Smith & Pijanowski, 2014), and soundscape ecology (Pijanowski, Farina, et al., 2011; Pijanowski, Villanueva-Rivera, et al., 2011). Further, I discuss how sound affects our bodies and how this is individual and situational and tied to specific traditional practises (Carolan, 2009; Ingold, 2011; Salmón, 2000; Whitinui, 2013) and aesthetics (Jóhannesdóttir, 2016; Böhme, 2013). By bringing in conversations between long-time re-visitors to the lodge and myself, I discuss how we can achieve this information if we learn to listen. I undertake this theoretical approach to answer the following question:

- How do we listen, and what connections are being made between humans and soundscape in nature-based tourism?

6.2 The "soft" science of sound and how we listen

6.2.1 Hearing and listening

Hearing and listening are often understood as quite distinctive but related practices (Nancy, 2014; Truax, 1996, 2012; Truax & Barrett, 2011). Nancy (2014) argued that hearing is a cognitive process of comprehending and understanding sounds perceived by the ears. Truax (1996) emphasised that listening is also multi-levelled and involves various degrees of attention. Truax (1996) argued that we process acoustic information more at a background level with no attention focused on it. The information we gather provides the environmental context of our awareness, a more sophisticated ongoing and highly redundant cognitive process to our consciousness. This involves feature detection, recognition of patterns and their comparison to known patterns and environmental "signatures". Conscious attention can be triggered towards specific key sounds when sufficient need or motivation is present (Truax, 1996). Listening and

hearing are not fully distinct processes as both operate through our bodies simultaneously, shifting between processes of interaction with sonic affordances of sound characters and how they are registered in bodily and/or cognitive modes (Nancy, 2014).

6.2.2 Modes of listening

Bijsterveld (2019a) describes two dimensions of listening in science. First, the three purposes, the why, and then the three ways, the how, of listening. The three purposes of listening are monitory, diagnostic and exploratory listening. Monitory listening is done to check for possible malfunctions, like changes in rhythm and silent periods of an engine. This type of listening is often performed simultaneously with other tasks. Sudden and unexpected changes in a background sound can draw the attention of an experienced listener. The ability to simultaneously monitor multiple tasks are also part of this competence. Diagnostic listening is undertaken to point out what exactly is the problem or to identify a sound with a particular concept. What sounds are abnormal amongst normal sounds. To ornithologists, diagnostic listening is used to identify species or monitor recording quality of sound takes. Exploratory listening is the science of listening out for new phenomena (Bijsterveld, 2019a). Like young zoologists and ornithologists looking out to learn about new birds.

The three ways of listening presented by Bijsterveld (2019a) are synthetic, analytic and interactive listening. Synthetic listening describes the ability to perceive complex auditory events as a whole. In contrast, analytic listening describes the ability to break the whole down into its component pieces and single out particular streams of sound for attention. In addition, the capacity to switch between these different modes is considered important at different stages of the knowledge production process. Even if they are considered as contradictions, both modes assume that the source of the sound is stable and unfolds to its own dynamic rules. In many practical cases of listening, the practitioner intervenes interactively into the sound while listening. For example, ornithologists could add other birdsongs or geophonic sounds into the environment to listen to how different birds react (Bijsterveld, 2019a).

These “whys” and “hows” can be combined into six modes of listening as well as combinations of mode-switching skills (Bijsterveld, 2019a). The different modes also

interact with a third dimension the "what", described in the previous Chapter 5. Bijsterveld (2019a) wanted to demonstrate how practitioners shift between different modes of listening as an important part of knowledge-making and competence building. She argues that our understanding of knowledge making is deepened substantially by giving attention to the ways listening modes inform the use of sonic skills in the process. The modes of listening are regarded as linked to particular bodily practices and embedded in a broader set of sonic skills, like listening, making, recording, storing and retrieving sound. This might give us a multi-layered and nuanced appreciation of the listening skills of practitioners (Bijsterveld, 2019a).

Why / How	Synthetic listening	Analytic listening	Interactive listening
Monitory listening	Attending to overall features of sound for the purpose of monitoring.	Attending to the specific characteristics of sound for the purpose of monitoring.	Interacting with the sound source for the purposes of monitoring.
Diagnostic listening	Using a (quick) overall impression of a sound for the purposes of diagnosis.	Attending to specific characteristics of a sound for the purposes of diagnosis.	Attending with a sound source for the purposes of diagnosis.
Exploratory listening	Listening out for general impressions for the purposes of exploration.	Attending to specific features of sound for the purposes of exploration.	Interacting with the sources of sound for the purposes of exploration.

Table 1. Overview of listening modes (Bijsterveld, 2019a).

The different modes shift constantly back- and-forth with the listener zooming in and out using connections to embodied skills and also in addition to the availability and knowledge of the use of specific tools by practitioners. Sonic skills involved in knowledge making practices are built upon the ability to reproduce sounds, store, retrieve, circulate recordings in addition to listening (Bijsterveld, 2019a). In this chapter, I would like to analyse the importance of different sounds and how they are retrieved through different modes of listening by humans, such as me in the position of researcher, by the tourist that visits Mollešjohka and by Piera and his family, who host the lodge. Even though moving through the same landscape, we attend to different sounds. The significant "what" must be linked to a specific practice, the why and the how. Pijanowski, Farina, et al. (2011) have argued, as presented in the previous chapter,

that the composition of key sounds, whether biophonic, geophonic or anthrophonic, make up the soundscape of nature. Regarding the perceived difference in hearing and listening, the definition of soundscape presented by Truax (1999) suits the context of this thesis better:

> *An environment of sound (or sonic environment) with emphasis on the way it is perceived and understood by an individual, or by a society. It thus depends on the relationship between the individual and any such environment. The term may refer to actual environments or to abstract constructions such as musical compositions and tape montages, particularly when considered as an artificial environment.* (Truax, 1999, pp. 21-22, in Drever 2002)

Drever (2002) identified that this definition set some criteria. The listener needs to recognise the source material even if it undergoes transformation. To complete the impression ascribed to the sound, the listener's knowledge of the environmental and psychological context of the soundscape material is invoked and encouraged. This is also important to influence the shape of the composition at every level. Ultimately, the composition is inseparable from some or all those aspects of reality. Its influence is carried over into our everyday perceptual habits and the work enhances our understanding of the world (Drever, 2002; Truax, 1996). The variations in space and time reflect ecosystem processes and human activity, and all these unique acoustic patterns can be described as soundscape ecology (Pijanowski, Farina, et al., 2011; Pijanowski, Villanueva-Rivera, et al., 2011).

Jóhannesdóttir (2016) presented two different approaches to thinking about subjective and objective qualities of landscape, which in this context can be related to soundscape. The objective way is where the qualities are inherently parts of the physical features of sound, and the subjective way involves the qualities of people's perceptions of sound. She argued that both approaches fell short as explanations in a human-nature or nature-culture context (Jóhannesdóttir, 2016). Using an objective approach, the aesthetics and emotional relationship with nature vanish, and with the subjective approach. Jóhannesdóttir (2016) argue that the meaning that we find in our surroundings lies in the spaces between subject and object. Böhme (1993, 2013) built his theories of aesthetic nature, as atmosphere, arguing that we are projecting qualities of ourselves into the

landscape. Hence, we modify the sphere of the surroundings based on the moods or feelings we have towards the environment (Böhme 2000, in Jóhannesdóttir, 2016). Jóhannesdóttir (2016, p. 119) argued that atmospheres are most clearly experienced as contrasts. We are not only subjects of our minds, separated from the body as well as other objects outside us. The notion of flesh is a materialisation of the border between the human and nature. We are nature and nature are us. The "*perception is inherently an ongoing interchange between the body and the entities that surround it, and thus the barrier between the inside and outside is blurred*" (Merleau-Ponty 1968, in Jóhannesdóttir, 2016, p. 116).

6.2.3 Bodies in Soundscapes and Soundscapes of Bodies

The philosopher Deleuze argued that the body could be a body envisaged as an assemblage of sounds, hence challenging the Western knowledge of the body as raw material, pre-social or fixed containers of biology (Deleuze, 1988). Sounds are central to the fleshy, emotional, material and tactile experience of self and place and are an important communicative medium (Connell & Gibson, 2004; Doughty et al., 2016; Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray, & Gibson, 2011; Waitt & Duffy, 2010). Ingold (2011) argued for the haptic senses being just as important as hearing and seeing. Pressure and vibrations can be felt all over and in our bodies. He particularly writes about perceiving the world through our feet. He suggests that holding, feeling and gesturing has been taken over by the hands as humans have risen on our two feet to walk. Development of our brain needed to free our hands to design and shape what the mind conceptualises *upon* the world. These concepts couple the hands and the brains and creates potential for transformation. Having our whole body resting on our feet is biomechanically necessary as they undergird and drive the body *within* the natural world, the feet are the medium by which the body moves. Ingold (2011) commented that boots and shoes inhibit us to maintain a primary sensation through the sole of the foot, and he pointed towards barefoot civilisations. During the last decades, attention to haptic sensation of the foot, barefoot walking, has increased due to health benefits in adults (Franklin, Grey, Heneghan, Bowen, & Li, 2015) and more sensuous embodied and playful connections between children and nature (McVittie, 2018). Research on vibrotactile perception on foot soles are used to develop navigation devices (Meier, Matthies, Urban, & Wettach, 2015) and foot-based interaction techniques for mobile solutions (Kim et al., 2019).

All sounds affect bodies somehow, and bodies equally affects sound (Gallagher, 2016). Their material characteristics modulate its amplitude, frequency spectrum, timing and so on, which in turn alters its capacities to affect other bodies. Gallagher (2016) recognises how sound affects many different kinds of bodies, hence undermining anthropocentrism. Bodies may be human, but also intra-human, such as a cochlear affecting the auditory nerve, or extra-human, such as a body of air vibrating leaves or bodies of waters in lakes and rivers. Humans are just one possible element in vibrational assemblages, and in many cases may be marginal or absent. Sound is perceived through the bodily senses (Abram, 1996; Ingold, 2002; Merleau-Ponty, 2013; Rodaway, 1994). This is true for all living creatures. Perceptions are processed in the body and mind of humans and phenomenologically embedded in specific contexts (Carolan, 2009; Ingold, 2002; Merleau-Ponty, 2013). We cannot be separated from this symphonic world as the body acts within the space of the world (Carolan, 2009). Sound is an essential, everlasting and dynamic part of the nature-based experience (Pijanowski, Villanueva-Rivera, et al., 2011). We do not simply exist within a material reality, but reality is constituted by our bodies through our doings within it and our sensation of the world is shaped by our doings (Carolan, 2009). Perception is hence culturally shaped, and knowledge is embodied through situated sensual experiences (Carolan, 2009; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994).

Ingold and Kurttila (2000) described how perception of the weather is multisensory for Sámi people. This perception combines the auditory, tactile, olfactory and visual in so closely related experiences that they cannot be properly separated. The total impression is perceived as a bodily experience of weather. Hearing is possibly the most important of the senses, as it is possible to listen for bird songs or silence, how the sound of snow changes underneath your feet (also tactile), thunder, wind, and so on. These are not background sounds anymore, as they punctuate the space of lived experience. The multisensory awareness of the environment is a key to spatial orientation and coordinating activity. Sensitivity towards movements in the surroundings and animal behaviour, like when everything falls still and silent, can be felt as very disorientating even in familiar surroundings. Learning to contend with a degree of uncertainty and being able to recognise this uncertainty is an embodied knowledge of the truly experienced (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000).

The hunters start to talk about my research and about sounds they like and miss. One says he misses the pulsating noise of planes and people. These used to belong to the surroundings of Fornebu in Oslo where he grew up. Now, there are just the sounds of shuffle busses going back and forth between the office buildings and convention centres. "It will never be the same", he says.

Another man recalls: "I live close to E18 and think of it as the sea hitting the shore. It's like the sea at my cabin in Sørlandet", he says. "It's a pulsating noise, and I can't think of it as cars otherwise I would become frustrated. I adjust to it in a positive way instead".

I ask the men what sounds they think of when they are here. "The sound of the ptarmigan as it flies away, especially the adult male.", one of them says. "The sound of the split shot gun as you click it together, the sound of the shot and sometimes the hail raining down into the bushes. The dogs sniffing and breathing while running around looking for ptarmigans and suddenly they stand still and are silent."

Another says he also use to fish in the rivers and lakes. "The sound of the line on a fly-fishing rod through the air before and after hitting the water", he says. "Or, when you throw out a lure and it hits the water. Fish breaking the water and mosquitoes closing up on your ears, eyes and nose. The sound of the riverboat quietly sliding up the river." They all nod to agree.

6.3 "Soft" analysis of listening and soundscapes

To attend to different modes of listening the significant "what" must be linked to a specific practise, the "why" and the "how". I will argue that the "who", the body, is just as important when choosing listening modes. As foetuses in our mother's womb we learn to manage how to sort out what sounds are important and what are not. Like the heartbeat of our mother and voices on the outside. We hear this through rumbling stomachs and intestines and the whistling of blood streaming in our mother's veins. Early on we learn how to listen attentively to specific things. Listening gives us information that along with other sensuous impressions can develop our knowledge of specific places, individuals and their practises. As a result of my methodological choices of performing auto-ethnography, I had two different roles during my fieldwork – one as a researcher and one as a tourist. Being a researcher made me more consciously aware of the soundscape and I actively searched for key sounds that contributed to its constitution. I was constantly zooming in and out, stopping, listening and recording. I have given a thorough description of the results regarding thoughts of hearing in the previous chapter. Noteworthy here is that adding a body to what has been said changes a lot. First, it explains the choices of what I considered to be key sounds and what made

up the soundscape for me at a given place at a given time. It brought back a lot of memories, affections and intuitive practices. It also affected me regarding when to make sound takes and when not, how I listened and the pace of listening. It affected the choice of methods and how to listen, the chemistry with my co-researcher and with the visitors, all who most kindly let me into their lives on vacation.

Some of the things I noticed with respect to the visitors' perceptions of sounds and soundscapes were that they differed a lot. Even though I would not have brought forward the same examples of comforting sounds I can relate to most of them because of shared similar experiences (Rudie, 1994). Even though there are similarities between the men's stories and my perception of the stories, they differed by being embodied by different individuals. We remembered and looked for both similar and different things at the lodge because we are made up from different stories, experiences, bodies and minds. I had presumed that silence was something everyone visiting remote areas considered a primary value. Hence, also at Vuolit Mollešjohka, when I asked the question, I found that I might have projected my own feelings into that question. It was not at all a neutral question. Even though the silence might not be the primary reason to go, I felt that it was valuable as a background sound to comradely conversations, shared laughter and experiences on the tundra. As for the specific story concerning a need for tranquillity, I can very much relate to the man, who described his stressful job and how this place relaxed him. I felt his story in my body. When I travel, I often look for silence and tranquillity in nature. This is a quality that comes from embodied experiences of a tranquil childhood, and stressful job situations in noisy areas or townscapes. Even living in the small cities in Norway, I experienced the surroundings as filled with too much and too loud anthrophonic noise. If you start to get annoyed by it, it will haunt you. Hence, I try to avoid those kinds of sounds. This has become deeply embodied in me and if I must stay in noise for some time, I become tense. My muscles start to hurt, and I get all these weird food allergies, I get very tired, unable to concentrate distant, and irritated, and I disconnect my mind from my body to cope and stay with the noise. The best "medication" is to find a soundscape that suits me. When I think of the harmonic sounds of nature, they are rhythmic, never enduring, very medium to low pitched, quiet and low pressured and filled with timbre. I have an affection for "the little things" and often do recordings close to the earth like one does macro-photography.

Beside the waterfall, the noise was not anthrophonic but geophonic. Still, it annoyed me because of all the frequencies colliding into white noise. Using monitory listening, I tried to find a soundscape that suited my preferences and relaxed my body. When I found the sounds disturbing my harmony, I used diagnostic listening to figure out what caused the noise in the soundscape. Changing between analytic and synthetic listening, I zoomed in and out to figure out where in the landscape the preferred soundscape would be found. The annoying sound of the waterfall was south of me. I realised it was not going to disappear by itself, so I had to be the one to move my body away from the source. The tunes of the smaller streams and the slower parts of the river made more harmonic sounds. I felt more comfortable to listen to them gurgling. This part of the river was to the north. Using interactive listening by moving my body away from the source of the noise and exploratory listening to find out in what direction I needed to go to get away from the noise, I moved along the path north of the houses of Vuolit Mollešjohka. At one point, a meander in the river slowed down its speed and I was able to sit on a steeper side of the ridge upon the heather covered ground with my face turned towards the sun in the south west. I could close my eyes and listen to the clucking of the water and the rustling of leaves – very low frequent sounds that felt relaxing and very calming to my body. This is what I appreciated the most from my visit to the surroundings of the lodge. The memories and practices of my body made the place afford me with different experiences and different sounds to contribute to a soundscape that was mine.

In the tables that follow, I have tried to use the modes of listening as an analytic tool to see if they could bring something useful into thinking about listening both in tourism research and when performing as a tourist in specific contexts. I have outlined the questions I asked myself while performing listening practices first as a researcher (Table 2), then thinking as a tourist searching a railway station (Table 3). I found the modes of listening informative and valuable when considering my practices both as a researcher and as being and imagining to be a tourist in different contexts. But, putting questions in the boxes was not an easy task. Especially when trying to attend to the "why"-side of the table. Listening is a verb not a substantive and the how covers the different activities. The thing that became clear to me during this exercise was that modes of listening are contextual, situational and dependent upon the sonic skills

embodied in the listener – the 'whos'. The how (the way) and the why (the purpose) are not separate but merged in the who (the listener) that does the how (the practise of listening) in a dynamic shift between the listening modes. Why is thus not an issue according to the methodology I have based this thesis on. How you listen is also connected with agency, and the will to listen to and for specific sounds of those modes – the 'whats'. I tried to make a similar table for some of the guests but realised that this was too complicated for me to do that, and it would be based upon guessing what they might have thought and considered important. Considering this, I reflect that making empty tables to bring along during research would have been a valuable way to collect more personal data. I also consider working in more details with these modes of listening, but there is no place for it within the limits of the thesis work. I'll have to come back to this later. Instead, I settle for now by taking out the "why" and leaving just the "how" in the upper corner of the tables (table 2 and 3).

How	Synthetic listening	Analytic listening	Interactive listening
Monitory listening	How can I describe the soundscape around the lodge?	What key sounds are there?	How can I evoke the crackling sound of walking on dry heather?
Diagnostic listening	Identifying the sound of a small bird	Identifying the yellow wagtail	Can I move in on the bird to listen more closely
Exploratory listening	What kinds of other small birds are up here at this time of year?	Are the sounds just from yellow wagtails?	If I encounter the birds will they sing other songs?

Table 2. Overview of results from my own listening modes in the role of being a researcher on sound.

How	Synthetic listening	Analytic listening	Interactive listening
Monitory listening	Am I closing up on the railway station?	Do I hear any trains close by?	If I go towards the sounds of trains the railway station might be closer?
Diagnostic listening	Is that the sound of a train?	Is that sound of a train within walking distance?	Does the sound of the train become louder or quieter as I move up this street?
Exploratory listening	Is there a railway station nearby?	Does the sound of all those people and a train come from a railway station?	If I move in direction of people crowds, do I find a railway station?

Table 3. Listening while being a railway tourist in search of a railway station.

What I have come to realise is that preferences are connected to memories and that there is tacit knowledge built as memories in our bodies (Carolan, 2009). How one experiences sound and what kind of key sounds one pays attention to is situational (Haraway, 1988) and contributes to one's own personal soundscape built by our bodies. Others do not even have to like it, because it might not be what they like, prefer or appreciate. It is like discussing music tastes – every individual has their own taste, like my fellow visitors. They had not reflected upon the sounds in the surroundings of the lodge. However, a more silent environment might be a key factor in experiencing a slower pace of everyday life. If we think about nature with our bodies, like Carolan (2009) noted, boundaries become indistinct and picking sides regarding the valuing of sound qualities becomes useless. By picking multiple sides, we can move dynamically between different understandings of sound values and taste. The landscape architect at Fornebu had done their best to build a soundscape that could make up for years of noise generated by the airport, and then there was this man saying he misses the sound of it. Is he completely out of his mind? No, he just has different childhood memories embodied in him. I would guess it was a happy childhood as he longs for sounds that someone would consider unbearable noise. What does this have to say about the way we promote places in tourism? Well, we just need to discuss what we have and how we consider it and maybe try to show it a bit better. Then, potential customers need to decide for themselves if it suits them or not, just like when promoting music in a record company.

Talking to Piera's friend, who had visited him for several years, there were grades of knowing the land- and soundscape. It was like making memories from bits and pieces that you put together by the impressions received and perceived. I was new to the place, so I made up my basis getting to know the place by first paying attention to all the different types of sounds that made up the soundscape. For those who had been there for a while, key sounds did not appear unless they were unfamiliar, or they decided to pay attention to them because they needed the sounds to afford them with information for security reasons, peace finding, and so on. So, in addition to hearing with the ears, they had embodied experiences also to which to listen. Memories had been added to different sounds through their experiences of the soundscape. It simultaneously connected them to a place in a different way and moved them closer to their destination. This is pushing the ideas of being a tourist to its limits. I guess the friends of Piera would be insulted if

they were called tourists, as was the case that Kramvig and Førde (2019) experienced when talking to people at Hurtigruten. Being a tourist has difficult connotations regarding indigenous tourism, and you do not want to enter that sphere. Still, you do not have the same skills and enlivened experiences of the place as Piera and his family. So, you are in a position in between. With respect to Piera's knowledge this is a better position to have than being called a tourist.

In this chapter I have discussed how we listen and what that contribute with in tourism encounters. I have shown that the theories on "why" we listen became difficult to answer in a generic way. The ones I have talked to about sounds and soundscapes say that they believe that sounds matter mostly in creating memories. Hence, it plays an important role in connecting to places you have visited. In nature-based tourism the most important purpose to listening is to keep yourself and your companions safe and happy, but it doesn't appear as an answer to a "why"-question because it is not part of a reflexive process but more like an instinctive practise. You do that by using all modes of listening in an indescribable dynamic combination over time. The knowledge needs to be embodied through experience, otherwise your attention span would be occupied with just listening. Sometimes that can happen, but only when you know that the possibility of meeting danger is extremely high. The laughter of people is an important anthrophony to pay attention to and it easily mirrors the mood and feelings of a person. So does the sound of how people move. If their walking stiffens and slows down the sounds stretch out in time, telling you that they are probably less comfortable. Basically, the "how" you listen is primarily connected to caretaking. The most important caretaker in a tourism context is the host. To be a good host you need to develop skills that you can offer to your guests. In Sámi tourism the traditional way of developing sonic skills has not been given much attention. I will attend to this in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – *Eallit* (to live)

Figure 3. The youngest reindeer of Piera showing attention to the artist (Made by E.-J. Kvalsvik 2018).

I walk along a path a few meters away from the Duottarstophu and meet a young dog that has jumped over the fence. He is eager to get to know me and is jumping all around me. I hear a woman calling him to return and leave me alone. I tell her it's no problem and I open the gate and approach her. I shake her hand and introduce myself. Her name is Siri and she is Piera's aunt. She wonders where I come from and what errand I am on.

We talk about exploring the sounds of the surroundings and connecting to the safety of home. "It's like when you're in your mother's womb", she says. "You get used to sounds of the heart of your mother and the blood running through your common veins – it feels safe. You press your foot soles upwards towards her diaphragm and feel the heartbeats against your feet. You experience that your mother feels happy every time you do this, and you start to communicate with her with your feet. It's the same way you communicate with earth. Earth communicates back if you stop and listen". I tell her my three-year-old still connect to me through his foot soles so there is more to foot soles than we realise. "There're a lot of memories connected to sound", she says. "Another thing that feels comfortable and safe is lying in the front of a river boat as it runs up a river. I remember my father taking us up the river when I was a little girl. I used to lay in the front of the boat listening to the water sliding along the sides as it made way for the boat. You should make Piera bring you on a tour on the river to record that sound." I thank her a lot for her valuable feedback and the good conversation and head back to my cabin.

7.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I discussed the ways of knowing how to use sound and I linked it to the body – the who. The bodily sensation of sound is part of our everyday lives entangled in us through perception of language, nature, heritage and so on – like lines running through time (Ingold, 2011). In an indigenous context, this tells us how sound is perceived and used as devices for bodily practises (Carolan, 2009; Rodaway, 1994; Salmón, 2000; Whitinui, 2013). In this chapter, I focus on the question of how sonic skills have developed? Finally, I ask how knowledge of sound and soundscapes contribute in shaping the practices in the tundra? I do this by presenting my conversation with Piera's aunt, Siri, about how sound is enlived in our bodies from way before we are born and think about how this presents itself in life after birth and during upbringing. Then I share my experiences of Piera's knowledge presented through some of the practices Piera presents to his guests. In this chapter I address the question:

- Can bringing attention to soundscape become an important quality enhancer of experiences in indigenous tourism, and if so in what way?

> We push the boat out into the *luoppal* (water inlet) and I'm told to jump in. I sit on my knees straight on the *dilljá* (the burden boards) in the middle of the *johkafanas* (river boat). I unload my sound equipment from my backpack and prepare to do sound takes. We head off and I immediately start to record the sound inside and outside the gunwale, along the sides of the boat, inside and outside, front and back, close to the outboard and in the bow.
>
> I try to catch the sounds that might give me the same impression of what his aunt had told me. I visualise her as a *nieidamánná* (young girl) sitting by the stem post of the bow sheltered from the speed wind. The sound is rhythmic and very low pithed and to me it sounds very cosy and comforting, like a lullaby, so I do understand why she likes it. We cross the first *luoppal*, a small lake fenced in by the ridges of the tundra that have tried to stop the water flow. But the river has found its way to get on with her life and has meandered between the ridges.

7.2 Transcending knowledge along lines

Ingold (2002, 2011) rejected the sharp divisions made between human and animals, world and environment, being and existence. He argued that "*organism-and-environment and being-in-the-world offers points of departure for understanding that*

are ontologically equivalent" (Ingold, 2011, p. 41), and he united ecological and phenomenological approaches to knowing in a single paradigm. Gibson (2014) contended that "*…the biophysical ecology of space makes possible an array of* doings, *doings that in turn 'tune' bodies for certain understandings of the natural world."* Building on Gibson's (1978) affordances and Merleau-Ponty (2013), Ingold (2002) purported that the world is sentient. This requires opening up to the world – being embraced by it and resonating one's inner self to its impressions to embark your "*movements along the way of life*" (Ingold, 2011, p. 41).

The world is never complete but continuously surpassing itself through a concrescence of creativity and movement in time (Ingold, 2011). The movement of creation, of life and growth, lies in the essence of time. Time is inscribed in a register where anything lives. In theory, there could be a history of instants, but life continues even after ends meet. The end is just a position on a circle – the circle is continuing beyond the point. Like a wave on the ocean it rolls towards the shore and breaks but afterwards the water withdraws back into the sea to start a new life circulating in the atmosphere.

Ingold (2011) commented that in order to be taken by immobility, we need to view the ends as part of a living process. The living can never become an object because it endures like a growing root endlessly creating itself – "*trailing its history behind it as the past presses against the present*" (Bergson 1911, p. 29 in Ingold, 2011, p. 46). This is a becoming along lines – along "*bundles of lines*" – "*lines of flight*" and "*lines of becoming*" (Deleuze and Guattari, p. 223 and p. 215 in Ingold, 2011, p. 46). Ingold (2011) described these lines as transitive and intransitive senses of production. The line of becoming is transitive and it takes us from a starting point to an end; from birth to death or from materials in nature to a duodji object. The line of flight carries on and on and is intransitive. Ingold (2011, p. 47) stated that we must not lose sight of the rivers by focusing on the banks because if there were no flow in the river there would be no banks created and recreated. The texture of the world is comprised by the entwining of ever-extending trajectories of becoming and we must follow what is going on (Ingold, 2011, p. 48).

We head toward a narrower part of the river. Starr is growing next to the opening of it. It is not very deep and it's like a small stream and not very deep either. "You need to sit still now because I must aim properly to find the exact spot to enter", he says. I'm not moving and hardly breathing. I sit very still in the middle of the boat. I hang the microphone out of the boat to catch the sound of shallow water. I look forward to seeing if we hit the right spot to enter and then I look at him watching him manoeuvre up the river. I can see the bottom about 40 cm down in the water, but some stones are higher up in the water. We pass them by millimetres. "Up the stream it is easy", he says. "Down is worse because then the river controls the speed". I hear the water being pressed between the planks of the wooden boat and the rocks. I can also hear the rocks being moved towards each other by the river as if they are loose but still stuck there. I realise there is water entering the bottom of the boat. I put my equipment in the waterproof bag to save it.

7.3 Ecological bundles of lines

Salmón (2000) notes that to many traditional practitioners of indigenous knowledge the awareness of information available in the world comes after years of practising, sensing, conversing, recalling, reflecting and listening to both nature and other practitioners. This complex process shapes our effects, stored in our body and mind as memories (Edensor, 2010). We can only know nature as bodies-in-nature (Carolan, 2009) as bodies doing nature or as doing in nature inspired by someone, somewhere in a particular way (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977; Edensor, 2010; Ingold, 2002; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). The close relationship between sensation and emotions presents itself by multiple ways of attending to sense impressions and how they contribute to enact reality (Carolan, 2009; Salmón, 2000; Smith & Pijanowski, 2014). It is an ongoing silent conversation between our active bodies and the world (Abram, 1996). In Abram's words:

> *…if human language arises from the perceptual interplay between the body and the world, then this language "belongs" to the animate landscape as much as it "belongs" to ourselves*. (Abram, 1996, p. 91)

Ingold's (2011) lines can be viewed as lines of our life, lines of language that runs through our life, lines of writing, lines of rivers, lines of heritage, lines of sound and so on. All the different types of lines are entangled, they converge and diverge into bundles and are brought forward in time by storytelling, music and embodied memories of

language and practises. Battiste (2008) refers to second-language studies and argued that language is more than sound:

> *Language includes ways of knowing, ways of socialising and non-verbal communication. The spirits of the consciousness that created those languages are remarkably persistent and are still embedded in many Indigenous communities. Indigenous languages have spirits that can be known through the people who understand them and renewing and rebuilding from within the peoples is itself the process of coming to know*. (Battiste, 2008, p. 504)

Loss of lines that belonged together creates a particularly challenging situation for indigenous people that have lost their land, languages and practises during political assimilation and government genocides (Battiste, 2008). Battiste and Henderson (2000) argue that indigenous knowledge and subsequent decolonisation cannot be codified and defined. It is so deeply embedded and part of communities' and individual's daily lives that it must be experienced. Brattland, Kramvig, and Verran (2018) proffered that doing research with indigenous representatives or by indigenous researchers is a relational position breaking down epistemically autoreactive images. This means that in order to understand that the lines we talk about along which knowledge is passed are not genealogical (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000). Tradition is not a fixed object handed over, it is a continuously ongoing process (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000) of weaving together pieces of different types of knowledge. I discussed this previously regarding Rudie (1994), as inscribed and embodied knowledge. It becomes a property of the whole human organism-person through a practical engagement with the environment following "a way of life" by negotiating a path through the world (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000). Bjerkli (1996) explained that this "way of life", or "this is how we do it here", refers to knowledge founded in livelihood activities that make a place of the land. Ingold and Kurttila (2000) argued that this meant that a person that is "really traditional" is the one that knows the land like "the back of his hand" and has learnt to know it in the same manner as how a craftsman learns to know his material. He is sensual to the forms and textures and knows how to creatively respond to variations in time and space, hence, is alert to possibilities and dangers by pursuing different kinds of tasks (Ingold & Kurttila, 2000).

7.4 Analysis of practicing sonic skills

I have travelled a lot by myself and have experienced that it is a lot easier to get to know a place through the people living in it. I have realised that I will not be able to even scratch the surface of knowing a place without the insight of local people. Listening to people that have lived in a place for a long time give me more valuable information about a place and the ways of living there than even the best guidebooks. It is hard to generalise about the people with whom I talk, but when I met Siri, Piera's aunt, I could read from her face that she had great histories to tell about the lived life at Vuolit Mollešjohka. Luckily for me, she welcomed me to share some of her histories. The conversation with Siri introduced me to the thinking of how important the sound of the river boat is to her traditional way of knowing. Her story made me aware of several things. First, sometimes silence can be very expressive. I often tend to become empty of words and struggle to find them. Often, if I am with good listeners or experienced people, they fill in the blanks for me and understand more than I need to tell them. Often these people are women and I have thought that this might be because of practices traditionally considered female, like caring for non-speaking children, horses, dogs and so on. Still, I do not think it is connected to gender due to genetically handed down lines, but a learned skill connected to experiences with attentive practices. Secondly, emotions and affect are often attached to sounds and influence how it is perceived and how it affects our body. Thirdly, different sounds afforded me calming nature experiences, memories of people I miss and times that have gone by. They also afforded me information about the place and impressions for my research.

I discovered that it was not so easy to observe how particular sounds were caused by another human's affect. Laughter and silence were the most expressive sounds I found, and they spread easily to others. By observing, I could say that laughter and silence were communal experiences of sound. I guess I could say the same about informal conversations between people that felt safe and trusted one another. I was told that sound helped in different practices, but if I had not been told I would not have discovered it by observing. I would probably not have had a basis for forming questions about specific sounds either, unless I had been told so and had participated in the experience of the practice.

> One of the men told me a story about one time when a visitor with a small group of hunters had stayed out in the tundra for a whole day. They had walked too far, looking for ptarmigans and ended up north of the cabin on the other side of Ĉorotjárvi and the river. It became dark before they reached home, and their GPS ran out of batteries. They had little ideas of where they were and had to call Piera for help. Piera told the tourist to hold his mobile phone out in the air so he could listen to the sounds of the surroundings. He then told them to stay there and he took his car and went out to get them. Everyone was impressed, but Piera acted as if it was the most natural thing to do.

Piera generously shared with me information about his life and the sounds that he found valuable around Vuolit Mollešjohka. He especially pointed out the specific sounds of the rivers. In the piece of ethnography, I incorporated above, I bring forward the story one of Piera's guests told me. By listening to the surroundings over the mobile phone, Piera had localised some lost guests and brought them home safely. When I ask Piera about this, he told me that the rivers can be used as sound marks in the tundra. The river falls are different in steepness and hence sound, and the different sized waters make different sounds, as well as the wind in the landscape and between the ridges and bushes. I get a feeling that he has not reflected upon all the small bits and pieces that make him aware from where a specific key sound comes. I would imagine it would be difficult to present in words this kind of knowledge when it is so deeply embodied within him. This is the land- and soundscape that he has lived in his entire life and the flat and silent tundra might not be that flat and silent to him. He knows as to what to listen and what sounds are significant without constantly thinking about it. It is like walking. Unless you analyse every little sound of your move, you would not be attentive to it. As it is not possible to get into one's head, I have tried to put myself in Piera's shoes to reflect upon how would I possibly think of sounds if I was guiding a researcher through my meahcci? I think I would have zoomed in and out to figure out what was worth mentioning as key sounds. At the same time, I would never know if these sounds made up something that could present a general impression of the coastal way of knowing, or if it was just me. How much of me and the others would overlap, and how much of the outside of overlapping should be included. Traditional knowledge is a floating category made up of partial pieces, hence it needs to be created in cooperation between people that feel connected. This makes me think about what Ingold and Kurttila (2000) argue, that knowledge is local because it is embedded and stored in practises. It is the way of doing things "around here" that refers to traditions in a way

that make the concept "tradition" hard to use. Piera needs to know his ways of doing things locally. He is connected with all the living and performing by the impressions of sound. For instance, he used Sámi words when describing things not easy to describe with Norwegian words, and I was surprised that I knew what he meant without knowing a word Sámi. I even felt it made more sense to the context than if it was described with words from Norwegian. Hence, he showed me that language is more than semiotic signs and that it is surely created through nature linguistics, which provides important insights to the indigenous way of understanding the world (Abram, 1996; Battiste, 2008; Kramvig, 2005; Merleau-Ponty, 2013).

> The net is out, and he throws in the floater. "Now we just have to wait until tomorrow", he says. He sits down and starts the engine again. We head the same way back. The evening sun shines over the lake and I get some nice pictures. When we enter the narrow part, ha tells me to sit further towards the back. I video tape the run on my phone. It becomes a very nice piece of material for me to show his river skills. He tells me he once was handed a pair of Polaroid glasses by a friend. He could see through the water and see all the stones. "I had to throw them away because my intuition was disturbed by the images of the rocks", he says. "You just have to feel the river and float with it. You must not try to read it like a book cause the information cannot be written in words." I know what he means. It's like dancing – you must feel it. Slide along with your dance partner and feel the rhythm of the music. I have often felt the same way as a teacher of practical skills. It is impossible to tell people how to do it because sometimes you actually don't know. You need to show them, and they must develop the skills themselves – watching closely, fetching details, asking for guidance, trying and failing, polishing their skills. After years of practice they become masters to teach others.

Some specific practices, like driving the river boat between the *luoppals* of Iešjávri, provided me with another type of information about how sounds can be used and how they are embodied in practical skills. In the rivers, there are shallower parts and an important skill for river boat drivers is to manoeuvre the wooden boat through the streams without destroying the boat or the stem or propeller of the outboard engine. I watched Piera drive up and dance down the stream with the boat. I asked him how he knew where to put the boat, and I guessed he had experienced were the larger rocks were situated. He told me he felt it in his body and that he once got to borrow a pair of polaroid glasses to see into the water. He had to take them off because the vision made him uncertain of his practice. Later, I attended a seminar on traditional boats, and I met a practitioner, who told me the sound of the water between a specific wooden boat and

the rocks on the bottom gave information on depth. He also told me that a lot of those that had been driving with boats had never reflected upon this. It was a tacit knowledge embedded in their bodies and had to be adjusted with new boats and other rivers. This is knowledge that is forwarded through kin-lines and continuously built on and perfected during a long life of practice. You systematise the information of your meahcci and build *čuvget* (enlightenment), by being there, with and in it, for a long time – perceiving, *dovddaipmárdus* (sense impression), and emotionally evaluating, *dovddavásihus* (sense experience) all the small bits and pieces of information, *dovddavaikkuhus* (sense stimuli), that float through time in that place. Practises and stories are conveyed through kin-lines and provide generations with *dáidu* (sense, attitude), *máhttu* (skills) and theoretical knowledge (*oahppu*) that comes together in indigenous knowledge. Caring for his meahcci has provided Piera with knowledge of it and he has learnt from his ancestors as well as through being with his land and doing his tasks in it. Listening is an essential part of developing knowledge and practical skills (Bijsterveld, 2019a, 2019b). It is not enough just to be able to hear the sounds but to be attentive, listen by different modes, reflect upon the results of your ways of doing to incorporate the knowledge as embodied sonic skills (Bijsterveld, 2019b).

I tried to imagine what sonic skills is necessary to drive a riverboat up a shallow stream. Remember, as this is tacit knowledge, I would not ask Piera to begin to reflect over this. This is better done if you have the distance of not having the exact same experience. One must observe and try to connect it to one's own practical experiences. I feel that asking craftsmen and traditional practitioners, how they do it, demonstrates a lack of respect for the incorporated knowledge they have built through a lifetime of doing it. You do not ask people how they live, how they walk, how they sleep. These are natural things you just do and as the skills become embodied you can use your attention span to think about other differences. I have myself experienced that if I try to explain some of the things at which I am skilled to other people, it messes things up. Everyone has their own special body with long and short extremities, with different experience and different attention spans, to mention just a few things. Someday something works, and another day something else, depending on how you feel that day and how the surroundings afford you with information and challenges.

Working with this thesis have made me realise that there are different kinds of tensions between the different ways of knowing and types of knowledge between the Sámi people. I have tried to sort this out by dividing the knowledge into different types of knowledge based on how they are performed in practice. First, there are beliefs, artefacts and practices that are traditional, that is, they exist in and are connected to practise. They are handed down in kin-lines through the stories and the pedagogics of doing. Like the language, the use of the Gákti, ways of gathering and preparing food and taking care of the homeland. There is a public discourse on the division between what is Sámi culture, what is reindeer Sámi culture, North Sámi culture and Sea Sámi culture. The challenge is when you look closer the culture concept does not fit. The divisions are enacted through individual ways of being and doing and local ways of knowing. If you look at the practices as a wood, the Sámi ways of knowing is one tree in the wood, and the North Sami and Sea Sámi doings are branches on that tree. The being of a reindeer Sámi are a smaller branch and each family or Siida (relatives) a twig. The individuals are leaves on the tree turning against the sun to get the right amount of light. How they perform are individual and situational, but they are still dependent upon the rest of the tree with its stem and root system, as well as the sun, the air, water and the rest of the life in the wood.

As I have touched upon several times in this thesis, the world is multiple, and it is dynamically changing as we speak. There are several different Sámi languages, Gákti, ways of hunting, gathering, preparing food and caring for homelands, all created by creative customisation of a continuously changing environment. All you need to know is where to get or make the tools you need and how to use them properly. As such, materials and materiality become entangled concepts (Ingold, 2012). Local knowledge of traditional materials is important. But in the sense of surviving in the tundra, the materials change their materiality to become tools, as the environment is the material with which to work as well as the tools to use in relation to survival. I have not only noticed the importance of having materials in clothes that keep you warm when it is cold and cool while it is hot. Natural materials, like wool and fur, have that character. The sound of natural materials is softer and quieter and does not interfere much with the perceived loudness of the soundscape. The Gákti are made of woven wool and contribute to a softer anthrophonic soundscape. Other materials like goat skin are used

in children's clothing and smaller garments because of its softness and easiness to sew and form. The "pesk" (fur coat) and "skaller" (beaked fur boots) are made of reindeer pelt. These are life savers in winter as they keep you warm and dry. The "skaller" have no soles and it's like walking barefoot. One gets close to the ground and feel sounds of different types of snow and how dense or hollow the snow is, the sound of the ice and of snowmobiles closing. It was a sensation I had forgotten and had not felt since I used this kind of boots as a young girl. By using these kinds of boots, the sensation you have barefooted in summer becomes possible also in wintertime. I guess Ingold would have been satisfied by having this experience related to both material and the sensation of sound through the sole of the foot (Ingold, 2011).

Local knowledge of materials also becomes important in fishing with the wooden boat in the rivers. The wood and the water make a soundscape together with the bottom of a stream and can be used to navigate safely through shallow waters. I will come back to this shortly. Other materials are used to make specific sounds like the "rune" drum made by birch and reindeer leather. There is also a small hammer-like drumstick of birch or reindeer horn used on this. The sound varies with the materials, size and handcraft. That makes each drum specific. Even so they are very much industrialised products sold to tourists as souvenirs. Such kinds of artefacts are useless to the Sámi people, and some view them as a threat to how their quality handcraft is being received. The price of industrially made substitute products are at a price where no one could make a living. Hence, they are undermining Sámi entrepreneurship.

Local knowledge of sounds might teach you to pay attention to key sounds in your surroundings, and how to care for those sounds. You look after the fire by listening to the crackling sound of burning wood and the windy draught up the chimney. You listen to the voices of your guests to care if they are anxious, sleepy, hungry or having a good time. You listen to the bells of the sheep or the reindeers if they are grazing comfortably or running around scared of predators. The knowledge of how you use your voice and when, is important in places where you are often by yourself. You do not shout unless you are in danger, because if you do that too often no one will know when to rescue you if it becomes serious. There are also other safety procedures connected to sound. You listen to the sound of the snow and ice to sense if it is going to bare the weight of you.

Navigating by sound is a well-known practice in indigenous communities (Carolan, 2009; Carpenter, 1973; Ingold & Kurttila, 2000; Rodaway, 1994; Salmón, 2000).

To develop such a close relationship with the soundscape of your surrounding you need to live with it and live in it. This is true for Piera who has lived and practised at Vuolit Mollešjohka for more than half a century. The rivers and lakes, the ridges and hills, the living life, and how water and wind flow through the landscape has embodied a soundscape with sound marks tacitly embodied within him. Being without this experience he would not have been able to develop his knowledge of the place; hence, he would have had little to offer the type of tourists that visit. His best sales argument is the knowledge he has and the way he is able to use it to host and care for visitors. To the guests that do not want to be seen as tourists, it is more acceptable to have your knowledge compared with Piera's, even though it means he has access to superior knowledge, because you respect the way he has gained his knowledge. It takes a lifetime to build such knowledge and you know that this knowledge is continuously improved and built upon by staying with the surroundings. You can never be another person's body, and you can never hold another person's knowledge of the world. You can just walk along and try to experience it and try to build on your own knowledge from that. This is what Piera offers. An insight to his ways of knowing sounds by showing us by participating in his practices, not by putting words on it that would complicate things and maybe make the transferring of experience come out wrongly. I will dig deeper into this in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 – *Ávvir* (to care for)

With your contribution and my contribution, the people will thrive.

Maori quote (Whitinui, 2013)

In Piera's kitchen he is serving coffee and waffles to everyone. A four-wheeler stops outside, and a policeman enters. He has been around in the tundra checking up on the hunters since this is the first day of hunting for small game. Two visiting *verddes* of Piera enter the kitchen. They shake the officer's hand and greet him as they know him from earlier. They tell us that they have been hunting on the other side of the river today. One of the men is laughing about today's events. "*My pal here and his dog are similarly stressed so it is an adventure to watch them cooperate or compete in the hunting*." He laughs so much that he is not able to talk about his experience. His friend takes over and lets us in on today's hunting story with a great deal of self-irony: "*I have not trained my dog properly. At the time when he took the stand and the ptarmigan raised, I hurried to shoot before he started to run after it. That would have been extremely dangerous to the dog. So, I yelled "NO" and took a shot. Then I threw away the shotgun and started to race him to be the first to get hold of the bird. I took a leap before the dog got it, and I fell into a ditch with the dog on top of me. But I got hold of the bird*." I look at the others around the kitchen. His friend is almost chocking with laughter. "*I'm peeing myself*" he says. It is hard to stop laughing as the main person himself continues to feed the story with details about the partnerships between his dog and himself and how they have reflected his own life when hunting. "*The dog needs a few days up here as well before we calm ourselves together*.", he says.

The police officer says thanks for the coffee, waffles and the story before he heads out. He chuckles as he walks out the door. The others head back to their cabin to get ready for a sauna and dinner. One of the *verddes* suddenly comes running in front of the window in the nude and jumps in the river. Piera laughs and say: "*I wonder what I would have told the authorities if they showed up here right now, I have a doctor taking a bath in the fresh-water inlet of the cabin. My oh my, these guys.*" I laugh. "*The events are really topping off right now*", I say. "*Those two are more of a danger to themselves than the game*", he replies, "*and they bring humour and life into this batch of men. These two guys are not here for the hunting as much as for the companionship and good memories. I like that kind of visitors.*"

8.1 Introduction

Verran (2013) is particularly concerned with encounters between different traditions of knowledge. No easy translation can be done. Only partial connections between tourism and indigenous ways of knowing are possible. Verran (1998) argued that we must practise in a way that make us stay with this troubling difference and discontent that we find as tension between such differences. Listening offers an expanded vision of partiality with respect to our ongoing aim to understand each other's metaphysical worlds. Even if it scares us, frictions offer, a fruitful setting where we can create new knowledge together (Verran, 2013). This friction can also be found in Sámi tourism between tourists and hosts, as described in chapter 2.2. and between hosts and tourism management. Brattland et al. (2018) argue that being careful, partial participants should be done through practice and collective learning activities. This is something that can be used more extensively in Sámi tourism as well.

In the previous chapters, I drew on an indigenous pedagogy to develop sonic competence by following a Sámi tourism practitioner. I started Chapter 5 by presenting the basic ability to hear. It gave us "hard "information about sound and the ability to know "what" makes sound and from "where" it comes. Next, I attended to knowledge of listening and gave examples of more analytical ways of achieving sonic skills. In the previous chapter, I linked these abilities and skills to the practitioner, the sonic craftsman. To sum it all up in a tourism context, I introduce another side of the pedagogics of doing – the knowing of "when" to use your skills in an everyday creative and dynamic way in tourism. I do this by connecting sound to care as it materialises in the verdde tourism concept at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu. Sound is matter that moves and it can give you information about relations between different kind of matter. It shows the effect of materiality and it can be used to make a difference to how and when you care. I want to address the following question in this chapter:

- How and when do sound become important to care in relation to traditional knowledge in Sámi tourism?

8.2 The sound of care

8.2.1 Caring for the colonial past

Piera tells me about his first meeting with public school. His voice is calm, and he speaks slowly. "*It was August 1969*", he says and sight. "*I was soon to become seven years old. My father took my siblings and me for a two days ride by tractor over the mountains to Karasjok. I had never left home before. Now I had to stay in boarding school until December."* He remembers how he was looking forward to learning how to read and write and to tasting food they didn't have at home, especially Salami that his brother had told him about. But his expectations were not met. He didn't know one word of Norwegian and now he had to do his homework in a foreign language. He really felt like a failure. He also tells me his elder brother was beaten if he spoke Sámi, and that it was really har to watch. It hurts inside the marrow of my bones as he tells me this. My intuition tells me there are worse things in his story that he doesn't tell me, and he don't have to. The periods of silence, the depth of his voice and how his breathing is forwarded between the words. I recognise anxiety and sadness in his voice. I know that he is telling the truth and the truth is horrible to know. I want to cry but get so angry that my head hurt. I know that the Norwegian government has said that they are sorry but how does that help and who does that really help?

The Sámi people has undergone at least two centuries of repression. with inscription in the laws in the 18th Century. Their rights to land that they had inhabited for centuries was taken away (Ravna, 2011), the right to own non-relative reindeer (NO: sytingsrein, SÁ: *geahččoboazu)* as a kin in the *verddevuotha* system was banned (NOU 2007: 14), in addition to speaking the Sámi language and the performing of *joik* (the traditional Sámi musical expression). They were forced into a Norwegian colonial system with Norwegian language and ways of knowing, being and doing. Piera tells me several stories about how authorities have affected his life. From his first days of boarding school to his practices in a tourism business in the tundra today. These are not unknown stories to me. I have heard them from my grandparents, and I have read about them in the literature. The common property that indigenous people lived in was colonialised by Europeans. There was a division in understanding of how to relate to property. John Locke argued in 1960 that nomadic communities did not have the right to own land because this right was enacted through working the land with your body (Ravna 2011). The historian Munch wrote in 1852, that Norway was inhabited, but not built before the arrival of the Europeans (NOU 2007: 14). The Sámi following the reindeer had both *lávvus* for shorter stays along the migration route of reindeers, and additional summer and winter housing. Along the coast, the Sámi that followed the fish, slept under their

boats for shorter stays and had additional fisher houses shared with colleagues in winter. When migration was necessary for longer periods, they moved their wooden houses along and rebuilt them in fjords and on islands close to the fishing fields. That way it is not easy to relocate Sámi settlements along the migration routes. It does not mean it did not exist. We just have to rethink migration patterns of the Sámi in relation to time. It also means that the colonialising arguments "that no one, or too few, lived there, so we claimed sovereignty of non-inhabited land and sea" is based on the wrong stories. Throughout this thesis I have showed how Piera work the land through his embodied skills inherited and improved along kinlines. It doesn't affect the land as much as industrial ways of working the land has, hence it isn't easily traceable. It doesn't mean it doesn't exist. We just have to show for it in other ways than through the visual. The materiality of matter that isn't seen could be traced by sounds and experiencing sustainable ways of being and doing without leaving traces. Leave no trace (LNT) is a contemporary slogan in many segments of tourism (Turner 2002). Sámi and other indigenous people have practised this for thousands of years and it has later been held against them. This is where the sound of storytelling and the sound of the storytellers could have contributed to a different analysis of what was fact and what was fiction in the stories of the colonial nations.

To learn from this, I believe storytelling about the colonialization of Sápmi must be brought forward in a tourism context and spread. The way Piera tells about his experiences that happened as late as in the 1970's, and some implications that are still present today, tells me that colonialization is not over. I myself experience it every day as a Sea Sámi that has lost the right to fish commercially and to provide our family business with fish that we process in a traditional way and with respect to the fish. The stories about the ways of knowing, being and doing of indigenous people in Sápmi must be told and researchers need to contribute to make them heard. In the municipality of Hammerfest there was a huge debate when The Museum of Reconstruction after the second world war was built. The argument was that most tourists in Hammerfest are German, and we should not make them feel sorry for what their ancestors had done. It turned out that Germans are visiting and remembering the works of a mad man, Hitler, not a mad nation (own conversation with tourists). Esborg (2012) argues that this museum gives priority to diversity in narratives, and that these narratives deals with

diversity within the framework of multicultural cooperation. I will argue that The Verdde tourism concept at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu does the same and that Piera's stories and the way he tells them give valuable contributions to the decolonialisation of Sápmi.

8.2.2 Caring for different ways of knowing

I guess owning the land that Piera used would have given him greater freedom, but it would have costed him a lot to buy the entire property of his *meahcci*. We are talking about a *meahcci* covering large areas. I am not sure that Piera would have liked that kind of ownership to the land. The important thing is that the County Administration of Finnmark and FeFo understand the needs and ways of the people who live and care for the nature and people of the tundra. As I mentioned in the methodology chapter (chapter 3), there is much to investigate in the space between authority and caring (Joks & Law, 2017b; Verran, 1998, 2013). The what, whom and how to care also needs to consider incorporating the where, because if you enter Piera's kitchen as an official you are under the care of Piera. He offers homemade coffee and waffles with locally picked cloudberries to policemen and other officials passing by. Does Piera do this to gain something from the officials? No, this is not how the system of *verddevuohta* function. You do not "go overboard" in caring. Coffee and something to eat is the least you offer someone passing by. And there needs to be some laws and regulations to the practices of others passing by as they might not care about this area and depend upon it as much as Piera and his family do. The question is how we mediate between the TEK/LEK and official management. In this way of being, Piera has the possibility to tell the officials exactly what he thinks if he feels that something is wrong and unjust. This is respected by the experienced officer that does not feel insulted because he knows that "this is the way things are around here". It comes through years of experience and mutual respect for each other's ways and beings. The power is hence balanced through these quiet encounters with respectful conversations, storytelling and laughter over coffee and waffles with local cloudberries. A policeman I know, once told me that this is what becomes the steepest part of learning for fresh officials in Finnmark. Making and preparing this meal gives Piera status as a caring man. His experiences with different types of people passing through also give him a position to mediate between different ways of knowing.

Juohke jávri, juohke jogaš dahje eatnu addá váljit bohtosa ja
veahkki máŋgalágan ávkálaš guolis, nu ahte ii nealgo.

Lilienskiolds Speculum Boreales 1701
Every lake, every stream or river gives so generously of its surplus and
helps with so many kinds of useful fish, that hunger might be avoided.

8.2.3 Caring for traditional ways of knowing

Life at Vuolit Mollesjohka is all about caring. It is caring for the *meahcci* and the life that moves within it and through it and caring about how they go together. A host is a caretaker and as a Sámi host you can care by being a *verdde*. A verdde does not have to be human. It can also be an animal, a river, a landscape, a soundscape, or anything else non-human that you cooperate with trough the *verddevuotha* system. Believing that everything is connected means that when you take care of something outside your body you also take care of the inside. You feel well and know that taking care make the environments abundant and the surplus will be shared amongst those who are in need. This is the circulation of matter in reciprocal relationships. When Piera provides a golden eagle with fish he had in surplus; he cares for the eagle as a relation on the tundra. At the same time, he knows that the eagle does not eat that much and might leave the reindeer calves unharmed. He has no warranty, but he does his best to facilitate for a preferred result. This is a practise that is not easy to trace the results of. It is so complicated in its nature that a discussion about cause and effect is irrelevant and being replaced by the disposition of powers in natural science (Anjum and Mumford 2010). This means that relations between matter is not a necessity, but a possibility disposed by authority. The sonic skills can be taught to you, but you have the authority to use it and pass it on to your kins.

There are no words in this language to explain how your caring has brought you experience and skills of caring. In the North Sámi language, there are some essential details I noticed when I searched for words describing traditional knowledge, knowledge of traditions, routines and skills. The word *árbet* means to inherit, the word *vierru* means routine, custom, habit, and the word *diethu* means information, knowledge, knowingness and message. By putting them together the word

árbevierrudiethu describes a knowledge of traditions. I guess this is the type of knowledge Rudie (1994) described as inscribed. It is knowledge that is transferred through written material, a recipe trying to explain Sámi ways of knowing, like TEK (Joks & Law, 2017b). If we pick out the routine, custom and habit from the word, you have the word *árbediethu* when talking about traditional knowledge. As I understand it, this is locally customised knowledge being brought to you from birth (*eapmi*) from your relatives, your herd (*eallu*). When you have lived and practiced that knowledge through your particular way of living (*eallinvuohki*), it becomes *báikediethu*, like LEK (Kramvig, 2005; Law & Joks, 2017). Taking a position where tacit knowledge is not valued because it is not skilled enough is like acknowledging the first ornithologists that presented birdsongs using pictures. If you had not heard the song before, it would give you very little information, but it does not mean that the bird's song did not exist. Having respect for those things that you are not able to experience is important in an indigenous context. That is why sonic skills are so important in this context.

I tell them about the discussion Piera, and I had about *Verdde* tourism and ask if they think that would have been a good idea. Everyone except one agrees about the idea. "*You know that from this year Piera could have bought hunting licenses from FeFo for his customers, but he didn't realise it before it was too late. Being a non-native to Finnmark I must wait before I can buy my hunting license for the Tundra. Then, I have to line up for registration to a specific area. Often, all the good spaces are sold out to people from Finnmark. If Piera is the one to decide who's to hunt and who's not to, I would have to stay friends with him on a condition that he would provide me with a license. That would do something to our friendship – it would be conditional. What if he decided not to apply for licenses or got licenses that he decided not to use? He doesn't even like ptarmigan hunting. He could suddenly have a governing role in this. I am Norwegian and so are people in Finnmark. Why does it matter where we come from within this country?"* Piera is in the kitchen making waffles. I don't know how to respond to this without having more information about the regulation. The other guys are silent first, and then they change the subject.

Piera will have access to apply for hunting licences next season. It is not possible to predict how this will turn out. I can relate to the worries about how it will turn out and how it will affect the power relation between the friendship between the host and his guests. I also understand the argument about not having equal rights within the same country but then again have we ever? In the south of Norway much more land is on private hands. The FeFo property is a shared common trying to respect common needs

and the ability to live together. It could have been divided and sold, but then everyone would have lost some of their access to something. It is a matter of how you think access should be divided and provided. Other ways of being and doing in Norway differ a lot from this political perspective.

8.2.6 Caring for *verddes*

Østmo (2013) refers to conversations with people all over Sápmi expressing a strong wish that "most" of their Sámi knowledge and understanding nature should be widely mediated. The word "most" is telling us you do not disclose details about your meahcci should it destroy your own potential to live, like where the cloudberries and the best fishing grounds are. It also concerns the right to use, or more specifically misuse Sámi practices for economic gain in an inauthentic and disrespectful manner. The *verddevuotha* system give an opportunity to host and gain respect for traditional ways of knowing. Piera has local access not only to knowledge but also resources like fish, berries and reindeer meat. He provides his guests with what he harvests from his *meahcci*. The guests who have visited the lodge for years know the cooking skills of Piera. He has hosted famous chefs like Arne Brimi, who wanted to learn how to hunt and prepare reindeer in a traditional Sámi manner. When you kill an animal, you care for it to become properly consumed and part of the life cycle. You use as much of the animal as you can, not only the meat, but also the marrow in the bones, the bones themselves, the tendons, the skin and the fur. Very little is left unused and the leftover entrails are fed to the birds. You eat what you need to get through the season of hunting, fishing and gathering. The rest of the food is preserved by smoking, drying and freezing. Exchanging local products was initial of the *verddevuohta* system. With all the restrictions on hunting, fishing and gathering, Piera offers people to come along as he does his daily harvesting.

For outsiders to breach the divide between nature and culture and for indigenous people to their knowledge, "*small-scale techniques*" must be added practically and experimentally to the specific situation. Attentive listening could be such a technique. The challenge comes when you bring tourists into this picture. Does all tourists care? What can be done to make careful encounters in tourism? How do we bring together different ways of caring and enlighten those who don't care, to "*go on well together*

practically in difference" (Verran, 1998, 2013)? We need to use unusual and unknown methods and encourage ourselves to know the reality of the world in new ways by thinking, performing, practising and relating. These are the methods of our body (Law, 2004). Through "*private emotions*" and "*techniques of deliberate imprecisions*" we open up "*to* [a] *world of sensibilities, passions, intuitions, fears and betrayals"* (Law, 2004, p. 3). Care is actively seeking to improve life, and Piera's Verdde tourism provides this. To be able to care, one is dependent upon being attuned attentively and adaptable to tinkering through an embodied engagement with the world. This involves embodied practices, not only as a domain of salvage but more important as modes, styles and ways of working in a logic of care (Mol et al., 2010). *Verddes* also care for Piera and some of them want to contribute by helping with chores like setting the table and carry wood. Piera lets them contribute and this reinforces the relationship between him and his guests. The guests I met also know Piera's family as they have also helped around the lodge for years. Piera's wife has an additional job in Karasjok, and the youngest two children are still at school. They all contribute whenever possible. In this informal way conversation is a necessary tool and listening to more than speaking also becomes a skill of the trained host.

I have tried to zoom in on this challenge by dividing the chapters into categories of hearing, listening, living and caring because I wanted you to notice the difference and how it enhances the sonic skills that are necessary to give good care, in this case through hosting the lodge. Visitors and guests just passing by hear the soundscape of Vuolit Mollešjohka. Relatives, *verddes* and friends that have connected to the place have learned to listen and be guided by sounds. Family that have lived and are living at Vuolit Mollešjohka are embedded in the soundscape through their bodies. Even though this differ, they are part of it; not living at, in or with the land- and soundscape – they are Vuolit Mollešjohka. This makes the lodge more than a place to stay and it is not possible to compete with such a nicely woven fabric of TEK and LEK of soundscapes in relation to caring. This is a valued skill in some professions, such as nursing, medicine, mechanics, engineering, and ornithology (Bijsterveld, 2019b).

Caring is a way of life at Vuolit Mollešjohka and gives respect to the family that hosts the Duottarstophu in a way that goes deeper than ordinary host-guest relationships. This

forms the basis of their new tourism concept, *Verdde* tourism. Being in the middle of the tundra, they have to start caring for guests long before they arrive at the lodge. Some of the *verddes*, they keep in contact with the entire year and visit them from time to time. It is a reciprocal relationship and sound contributes to the dynamics of perspectives from what is visible and what is not. The senses are central to the relationship between power and caring as they are transformed through practices (Remme, 2014). Practising *jávredikšun* to everything human or non-human passing through the meahcci is essential to *verdde* tourism and it is the way things are done at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu in affiliation with traditional and localised knowledge. The soundscape of Vuolit Mollešjohka is a world of many worlds. The knowledge developed here is the property of Piera and his family and cannot be moved from this place without losing part of its validity. This is important in developing the reputation of *Verdde* tourism at Vuolit Mollešjohka Duottarstophu as a forceful contributor of decolonisation of Sápmi through Sámi tourism.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

Figure 4. The yellow wagtail sitting between the leaves of a mountain birch (Photo: E.-J. Kvalsvik 2018).

When we are shown, we come to know.
When we know, we come to understand.
When we understand, all will be well.

Old Māori saying (in Whitinui, 2013, p. 482)

Sound is movement of matter and a useful source of imressions of the world. It gives us information about geography, biology and antropology, and I would add technology. The more developed our listening is the more skilled the practise of listening will be. This does not only concern indigenous tourism, but all forms of tourism. What is special in indigenous tourism is that there is no nature-culture divide. Culture is enacted through ways of knowing nature, being in nature and doing everyday tasks in nature in a way that becomes nature. Sound is hence an actor in thenetwork of indigenous practices. Sound shows us the effect of matter and how nature materialises itself as culture in indigenous people. Nothing becomes a coincidence because everything is constantly moving in a dynamic relationship and comes along when its time has come.

In my initial ethnography in the Introduction chapter (p. 7) and in chapter 5 about hearing (p. 41), I introduced the meeting of the sound of the rustling leaves of the mountain birch and the yellow wagtail. These two sounds had much to contribute to the message underpinned in this thesis. First, the sound of the wagtail presents the sound of a complex collection of birds challenging the concept of species. This relates to the implications of the UN consideration of who is indigenous people and to the Sámi people, who's community is challenged by static definitions. All life forms are dynamic,

and the truth is partial. You cannot classify the yellow wagtail by its appearance, but the practices and sounds have similar patterns. Regarded as a primitive way of flying and a primitive sound, it is still clear and easily recognisable, qualities that are becoming ever more valued in a messy world. The wagtail has an important role in intermediating between insects and plants. They eat insects and produce nitrogen in abundance for the trees they inhabit. In return the tree provides shelter and pollen for more insects to come. Hence, the yellow wagtail practices sustainable *jávredikšun* to its *meahcci*.

Then there is the sound of the leaves of the tree in my tree metaphor where I left each Sámi or Sámi family as moving leaves in a tree. The movement is dynamic and changes according to changes in the wind. It is necessary to change to be able to live within the everchanging environment. If you stop moving with, and try to move against, you will have problems hanging on. Trees prepare for harder climates by shedding their leaves and wrapping up life in sprouts in autumn, like people, who hunt and gather for winter and then wrap up inside houses. They will all appear in spring for sun and warm weather to nourish their bodies again. Every act is individual and situational according to seasonal changes in the environment. Leaves on a tree are not alone in the world, they hang together on the tree and some leaves cover each other partially and have a partial experience of the environment. Trees are also known to communicate and provide for each other. Together they make up the tree with its stem and roots. The roots provide nutrition and water, but it is up to the leaf to perceive the environment and take advantage of what is needed to grow. By growing, it gives something back to the tree so that the whole tree can grow. Like the entire Sámi people. The individual tree gives back to the forest so that it can grow strong and breathe the world, reducing carbon dioxide and providing oxygen, like the Sámi provide other indigenous communities with nourishment to fight for their rights. They also believe that the tree nourishes them when they are alive, and when they die, they return to the soil and nourish the trees. Everything goes into an eternal ecological cycle.

Piera' s concept of Verdde tourism are (re)establishing bits and pieces of what colonisation has taken from the Sámi people. He shows his care for the past, the present and the future and bring them together in a tourism context. My studies of the soundscape have found that without sound I would not have heard these stories and

have not been able to experience the traditional skills Piera has developed to mastery – a mastery of caring for those that passes by. Verdde tourism is hence a form of jávredikšun that make caring an important ecological tool.

9.1 Final thoughts

In my research on soundscapes I have found that the sound and the characteristics of sound shows the effect that materiality of sound enact. This effect is highlighted by attending to sounds in embodied soundscapes. I have also found that by noticing what is not seen with our eyes we can enable authority to be given to different ways of knowing. I have also briefly mentioned how the Verdde tourism concept is a sustainable tourism concept that enable the practitioners to forward their stories, ways of knowing, being and doing their traditions and rebuild what has been repressed. All these aspects are things that I was not able to investigate further within the scope of this thesis, but I hope to pick them up in my further research if I have the opportunity.

Chapter 10 – Reference literature

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Chapter 11 – Appendix

The following words have been used to enlighten my work. I have not used all of them in the written text, and not all words in the text are presented. These are words I had to investigate to develop my own analytical view and to understand Sámi ways of knowing.

North Sámi	Norwegian	English
Jietna	Lyd	Sound
Jietnagovva	Lydbilde	Soundscape
Jeagadit	Å lyde (transitivt)	To sound (transitive)
Ĉuodjat	Å lyde, å klinge	To sound, to resound
Skillat	Å klinge, klirre	To resound, clink, clash, jingle
Šuokŋa	Klang	Clink, jingle
Gilkkas	Klang	Sound
Guldalit	Å lytte (transitivt)	Listen (transitive)
Gullat	Å høre (transitivt)	To hear (transitive)
Gulastit	Å høre	To hear
Gullostallat	Høres litt av og til	Sometimes it sounds
Duogašjienat	Bakgrunnslyd	Background sound
Lotka	Stillhet	Silence
Šlapma	Bulder, brus, støy	Bouldering, noise
Baján	Brake, tordne, torden	Boulder, thundering, thunder
Julkit	Dundre	Bouldering
Jullat	Drønne	Thuds, roar
Juhcat	Bruse, suse	Hurtling
Jurrat	Dure	Hum
Šuvihit	Suse	Whizzing
Šuvvat	Å suse (intransitivt)	To whiz
Šuvva	Sus	A whiz
Márrat	Bruse, dure	Hurtling, humming
Skoahčat	Rasle	Rustle
Šnjirrat	Sprake	Crackle
Šnjirgut	Vrinske	Neighing
Šnjivvat	Hvine	Squeal
Reaškkas	Latter	Laughter
Ĉierrut	Gråte	Weep
Ganjaldit	Gråte	Cry
Bárgut	Hulke, raute, skrike,	Sob, moo, scream, squeak
Gihčat	Knirke	Squeak
Lahcat	Knake	Squeak

North Sámi	Norwegian	English
Dolla	Bål	Camp fire
Jierbmi	Fornuft	Sense
Jierggalaš, jierpmálaš	Fornuftig	Sensible
Dovdu	Erfaring, følelse	Experience, feeling
Dovdda	Sans	Sense
Dovddaipmárdus	Persepsjon	Perception
Dovddavásihus	Emosjon	Emotion
Dovddaváikkuhus	Stimuli	Stimulus
Dovddiidit	Lære å kjenne	Learn to know
Dáidu	Forstand	Sense
Diethu	Beskjed, informasjon,	Message, information
Máhttu	Ferdighet, kvalifikasjon	Skill, qualification
Oahppa	Lære kunnskap	Learn knowledge
Oahppu	Opplæring, utdanning	Learning, education
Vásáhusdiethu	Erfaring	Experience
Oahppalat	Lære	Learn
Oahpit	Undervise	Teaching
Oahppat	Se etter fangst	Look for catch
Vierru	Rutine, skikk, vane	Routine, custom, habit
Báikediehtu	Lokalkunnskap	Local knowledge
Beassat	Få anledning til	Have the opportunity
Lonohallat	Bytte, skifte, utveksle	Change, exchange
Fidnooahppi	Lærling	Apprentice
Meašttir	Mester	Master
Oahpistit	Guide (verb)	Guiding
Oaivadit	Veilede	Supervise
Neavva, ráddi	Råd	Advise
Ráđđeaddi	Rådgiver	Advisor
Mánnastit	Fortelle	Tell
Muitaladdat, muitalit	Fortelle, formidle	Tell, convey
Muitaleaddji	Forteller	Storyteller
Máinnastandáidda	Fortellerkunst	Storytelling
Čuvget	Belyse, opplyse	Enlighten
Meinnet	Mening	Meaning
Oaivil	Mening	Meaning
Oaivilsisdoallu	Meningsinnhold	Meaning
Oaivillonohallan	Meningsutveksling	Exchange of meaning
Konverseret	Konversere	Conversating

North Sámi	Norwegian	English
Háleštit	Snakke sammen	Talking together
Ságastallat	Snakke sammen	Talking together
Ságastallan, ságastil, sáhka	Samtale	Conversation
Hállat, hoallat, hupinat	Snakke, prate	Speak, talk
Sáhkkái, sáhkkii	Snakkesalig	Talkative
Mealtit	Snakke over seg	Too talkative
Ságastallanbealli	Samtalepartner	Conversation partner
Siskálastit	Inkorporere	Incorporate
Árbevierru	Tradisjon	Tradition
Árbevierrudiehtu	Tradisjonskunnskap	Knowledge of traditions
Árbediehtu	Tradisjonell kunnskap	Traditional knowledge
Árbet	Arve	Inherit, heritage
Árbemahtu	Tradisjonell ferdighet	Traditional skills
Árbevierrumahtu	Tradisjonsferdighet	Knowledge of traditional skills
Halddešeapmi	Forvaltning	Management
Hálddašit	Administrere, forvalte, rå	Manage, administer, decide
Eallinvuohi	Levesett	Ways of living
Eapmi	Fra fødselen	From birth
Eadmi	Mor	Mother
Eallu	Flokk, reinflokk	Herd, reindeer herd
Fuolki	Slektning	Relative
Čanastat	Bånd	Band
Cednot, čadnasit, čatnat	Binde, knytte til	Tie
Gođđit	Knytte, strikke, veve	Tie knit, weave
Báddi	Tau	Rope
Vuođđu	Fundament	Basis
Fuolkevuođačanastat	Slektsbånd	Kinlines
Sohkabáddi, sohkadovdu	Slektsbånd	Family ties
Fuolkevuohta	Slektskap	Kin
Vuohttit	Spore, finne spor	Track, find tracks
Earlágán	Annerledes, forskjellig	Different
Earlágánvuohta	Ulikhet	Difference
Iešguđet	Forskjellig, ulik	Different
Iešguđetlágánvuohta	Ulikhet, særegenhet	Distinctiveness
Lágan	Slik, slags	Such, sort
Vuohi	Måte, metode	Way, method
Duohtavuohta	Sannhet	Truth
Vuohttut	Vogger	Rocking

North Sámi	Norwegian	English
Verdde	Gjestevenn, vert, kamerat	Friend, host, guest
Verddevuohta	Samarbeid mellom venner	Cooperation between friends
Birrajođaldat	Sirkulasjon	Cirkulation
Jávredikšun	Forvalte innsjøer	Lake management
Jávre	Innsjø	Lake
Dikšun	Forvaltning, ivaretakelse	Management, caretaking
Detalaš, ovttalaš	Enhetlig	Uniform
Dolla	Bål	Camp fire
Beroštit, fuollat, liikostit	Bry seg om	Care about
Ávvir, beroštupmi	Omsorg	Care
Fuolaheapmi, fuolahus, fuolla	Omsorg	Care
Duottarstohpu	Fjellstue	Mountain lodge
Duottar	Vidde	Tundra
Duottarstohpuatnu	Fjellstuedrift	Lodging
Eanadieđa	Geografi	Geography
Eanadat	Terreng	Terrain
Eanahapmi	Terrengform	Type of terrain
Eana	Eiendom, jord, jorde, land	Property, earth, land, field
Luondi	Naturkarakter	Character of nature
Meahcci	Næringsegn, hjem	Nurture land
Beaska	Pesk	Coat of reindeer fur
Gállot	Skalle	Fur boots
Gákti	Kofte	Sámi traditional wear