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Hot emotions in cold landscapes

Towards spatial-emotional methodologies of interest development.

Why research on Arctic winter tourism can ill afford to ignore the emotion of interest.

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Abstract

The dissertation explores tourist encounters with two Arctic winter tourism contexts in Northern Norway. Through three ethnographic fieldworks on the coastal steamer Hurtigruten, and a small peninsula of eastern Finnmark called Ekkerøy, learning experiences are scrutinized. As tourists visit a region they know relatively little about beforehand, how important is the external scaffolding of these learning experiences? Through analyses of the emotion of interest (Silvia 2006), this work offer new insights for the domain of experience economy in tourism research (Dahl 2013).

A spatial-emotional methodology is introduced combining knowledge from the disciplines of psychology and anthropology. As the candidate is an anthropologist this dissertation is a contribution in the social science domain, despite its obvious reliance upon psychological theory. It is argued that emotions are constructs that includes both heterogeneous and material environments and particular subjectively experiencing bodies (Lazarus 1991). As such, traditional ethnographic approaches to the study of emotions, which mainly emphasized the exogenic (environmental) aspect of the construct of emotion, needs to be expanded to include the endogenic (embodiment, subjective experience, motivation etc.). The dissertation thus contains a multi-method triangulation ethnography and an analytic autoethnography in addressing these demands as such approaches includes both self-reports as well as participant observation over time. Together they provide a temporal approach to the emotion of interest describing complex body-environment interplays that is previously not undertaken in interest research (Silvia 2006, Renninger and Hidi 2015).

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Contents

1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Background	8
1.2 Three contributions.....	11
1.3 Research questions	17
1.4 The reflexive structuring of this summary article	18
1.5 Articles	20
2. Ethnographic sites – Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy	22
2.1 Hurtigruten – A coastal steamer of Northern Norway.....	23
2.1.1 Industrialization as place development: A critical perspective	25
2.2 Ekkerøy – Tourism as a place of reinvention	27
2.2.1 Kiting, free play and place attachment.....	28
3. Towards a cross-disciplinary methodology of interest development.....	31
3.1 Early history of emotions	32
3.2 Psychological scope of emotions.....	33
3.2.1 An appraisal definition of the emotion of interest and the four-phased model of interest development.....	35
3.3 Anthropological scope of emotions.....	40
3.3.1 Three aspects of ethnographic and narrative approaches important for emotion research	42
3.3.2 Important challenges for ethnographic work on emotions.....	44
3.4 Towards a spatial-emotional methodology and an ontology of the flesh.....	49
4. Article I: Interest dynamics on Hurtigruten: A triangulated multi-method ethnography.....	54
4.1 A multi-method triangulation – A different kind of ethnography	54
4.2 Methodological findings.....	57
4.3 Value for practice.....	64
4.4 Working cross-disciplinarily.....	65
5. Article II: An analytic autoethnography of interest development: Kiting on Ekkerøy	66
5.1 Analytic autoethnography.....	66
5.2 Methodological findings.....	69
5.3 Value for practice.....	71
6. Article III: From learning experiences to interest – Learning experiences and a reflexive PhD project.....	73

6.1 Findings	74
6.2 Learning experiences and a switch towards the emotion of interest.....	75
6.3 Three ethical contributions following the emergence of interest methodologies.....	77
7. Conclusions.....	78
References.....	84

List of figures

Figure 1. List of articles

Figure 2. Two maps. To the left – the counties of Troms and Finnmark in Northern Norway. To the right – this region from a global context.

“Emotional landscapes
They puzzle me
Confuse
Can the riddle be solved?
And you push me up to this
State of emergency
How beautiful to be!”

Lyrics from the song Joga (1997) by the artist Björk

1. Introduction

Touristic spaces engage in a form of seduction. Enticing imagery and stories in marketing campaigns create expectations and desires to explore, in this case, Arctic winter landscapes in particular ways (Bærenholdt & Urry 2004). Tourists then travel and engage with different spatialities of the north, which are enacted in certain ways through experience productions of different tourist ventures to meet the expectations and desires of the visiting tourists. This kind of seduction is a process of deliberately enticing a person, to lead them astray, as from a duty, to corrupt or to persuade them to engage in particular activities situated in particular places (Ibid). This PhD project scrutinizes encounters between the enacting spaces of the north and their visiting tourists. How these interrelations constantly change as subjective experiences of interest impact motivations and performativities of the visiting tourists. Interest is defined as a wanting to explore and to become involved, which produces heightened focus and learning, and is often referred to as the curious emotion (Silvia 2008). When engaging with an ‘object’ of interest, a person can become deeply immersed in a meaningful activity. A sense of joy and excitement may emerge, making this state similar to that of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2002). At other times, the object of our desires may be puzzling and elusive, and may produce intense states of wanting if the desired remains unobtainable (Ekeland and Dahl 2016 – article I). As Izard (1991:92-3) wrote, “*interest literally determines the content of our minds and memories, for it plays such a large part in determining what it is we actually perceive, attend to, and remember*”. Therefore, as Björk points out in her lyrics at the beginning of this introduction, spaces, seen as interrelations of people, objects and landscapes (Massey 2005), may produce intense states of interest: an immediate, powerful urge to solve puzzles and confusions – a wonderful state of emergency. Thus, our emotions, interest included, are intrinsically spatial. Particular spaces produce unique versions of interest. Yet, the opposite is also true. We can only have access to different spatialities with our perceptive and meaning-making bodies.

Hence, spaces are always emotional constructs – emotional landscapes. *A spatial-emotional methodology of interest development is one of the main contributions of this dissertation – to open up the concept of emotion relating to interest by combining theories from anthropology and psychology to make new perspectives possible; not only to understand how tourist providers can produce better experiences, but to better understand human experiences and their spatial components.* Emotions, like interest, are ever-present in our lives; they have powerful agencies and without them, we are not connected to the physical world to which we belong, and sociality as we know it would not exist (Damasio 1994). There are few, if any, contributions to tourism research addressing the emotion of interest (Dahl 2014) as a coherent system theory of tourist experiences. This dissertation seeks to close this gap¹.

1.1 Background

Since 2006, there was explosive growth in Arctic winter tourism in Norway (Heimtun and Viken 2015). This development included increased funding for the generic marketing of the main attraction – the northern lights. From 2009–2014, NordNorsk Reiseliv and Innovasjon Norge spent 42 million NOK on marketing. Overnight stays also increased. From 2006 to 2010, Hurtigruten had a 270% increase in visitors, while the city of Tromsø had a 500% increase from 2005 to 2012, a number that further increased the recent years. Additionally, there was an increase in products offered. Tromsø had two tourist providers related to northern lights tourism in 2005. In 2015, on a daily basis, there were over 65 products offering different kinds of experiences related to the northern lights. As destinations in Arctic Norway grew and developed, the production of tourist experiences became increasingly industrialized (Ekeland 2011, Leiper 2008).

Industrialization implies products that are standardized and scripted, with relatively inflexible frames to deal with potentially huge masses of people. Destination development then implies changes in the ways the touristic spaces of the high north enact themselves vis-à-vis the

¹ Interest is a phenomenon that has been approached in different ways in psychology (Silvia 2008, Renninger and Hidi 2011). Whereas there are several contributions to how interest may develop in tourism research (Donn 2010, Dahl 2013), no studies (at this time) focus on interest as an emotion.

increasing numbers of visitors (Bærenholdt & Granås 2008). Thus, changes in enactment also influence the subjective experiences of the tourists and the way they perform in these spaces. Based on the aforementioned numbers, it is argued that Arctic winter tourism and touristic experiences have become increasingly important for the region (Hall and Saarinen 2010). On that note, in the 2012 World Trade Organization annual report on Norway regarding potential avenues for economic growth, they argue that a turn towards an experience economy is inevitable due to an anticipated collapse in the oil industry². The basic idea behind an experience economy is to enhance value by adding an experience dimension while selling a product (Pine and Gilmore 1999). For Norway, a country with high mean wages and an educated populace, an experience economy is argued to be economically sustainable. Thus, research that both enhances the methodological understanding of emotions (like interest), as well as research that helps the industry to design better touristic experiences (Sundbo and Sørensen 2013) has an important role in tourism research in Norway.

The term ‘experience’ in tourism research is broad and can encompass almost everything (Caru and Cova 2003). In this dissertation, a switch towards learning experiences through analyzing the emotion of interest (Silvia 2008) and the way this state may develop (Hidi and Renninger 2006) is undertaken. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, interest as an emotion provides a coherent theoretical framework for applying an appraisal system theory approach (Ellsworth and Scherer 2003), which is perhaps more ‘manageable’ than the ever-reaching experience concept. Secondly, as mentioned before, the emotion of interest has hardly been scrutinized in tourism research. Thirdly, drawing from statistical data from Innovasjon Norge and Hurtigruten³, as well as my own questionnaires, a primary motivation for tourists visiting the region is to learn. It seems prudent then to undertake scholarly ventures that further explore interest and learning and the ways a careful scaffolding of these may result in meaningful pursuits of happiness.

² Oil has been the predominant industry in Norway, making the country one of the richest in the world.

³ The marketing department for Hurtigruten had extensive statistics on tourist motivation; furthermore, during the snow 2015 conference, an industry cluster for winter tourism, statistical data from state DMO visit Norway was shown. They all emphasized learning as part of the prime motivations.

The most pivotal point of this PhD project is to enhance methodological understandings of interest as an emotion and to consider how each spatial context produces unique versions of interest. The conceptualization of interest was drawn from both anthropology and psychology and, despite variance in interest development, it is argued that the emotion is panhuman. Drawing from the empirical data, findings emerge that are of importance for developing Arctic winter tourism.

Two ethnographic sites are chosen. The first site is the coastal steamer *Hurtigruten*, a representative of the emerging cruise tourism (Sletvold 2015), and their ‘hunting the light’ program specially designed for the winter season. Since 2005, the experience production of onboard and off-ship excursions has undergone major changes (Heimtun and Viken 2015). These kinds of experiences are highly industrialized. The second site is the peninsula of Ekkerøy, far northeast in the county of Finnmark, where a milieu surrounding the extreme sport of kiting is emerging. Each year, Varanger Arctic Kite Enduro is arranged in the area, one of the longest and most challenging snow kiting competitions in the world. Whereas *Hurtigruten* has been an institution, a colossus, in tourism and communication in Norway since 1893, Ekkerøy is emerging as a tourism destination after a collapse of the local fisheries in the 1980s. The peninsula is undergoing reinventions (Nyseth and Viken 2009): a process where, for instance, the fishing cabins have been turned into accommodations and the fish plant has been renovated into a restaurant. The local museum, restaurant, bird rock and kiting scene are small scale, flexible and, thus, involve a lesser degree of industrialization than what is found on *Hurtigruten*. Northern Norway is riddled with similar tiny places where small tourist providers operate, yet relatively few studies on this topic have been undertaken (Ekeland and Viken 2015).

The tourist industry of the north wants increased industrialization⁴. However, do we really know enough of what increased industrialization entails in an Arctic experience context? Do we fully comprehend the potential experimental value of smaller places – the smaller tourist ventures in the emerging Arctic winter tourism industry in Northern Norway? These two

⁴ Both Trond Øverås, leader of the regional DMO visit to Tromsø, and Børre Berglund, leader of the cluster Arena lønnsomme vinteropplevelser, expressed this view in various public lectures in 2015.

ethnographies provide insights into dynamics related to interest, which can provide answers to these important questions.

1.2 Three contributions

In the next section, the three overall contributing domains for the field of tourism are discussed: 1) my empirical findings from both Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy; 2) my theoretical expansions of existing interest theories; and 3) my spatial-emotional methodology and its impact on the study of emotions like interest.

- 1) This dissertation consists of three different ethnographic articles. Participant observations, interviews and questionnaires provide complex *empirical findings*. Three fieldwork studies on Hurtigruten from 2009 until 2012 and two articles provide a glimpse into the eventual changes in Hurtigruten's experience production. The empirical findings include a sort of value for practice describing how Hurtigruten can improve their experience design to better trigger and sustain interest. The findings also include an outline of potential dangers, with emphasis on their fickle main attraction – the northern lights. The analytic autoethnography on Ekkerøy and its kiting scene provides insight into a radically different empirical field and completely different interest dynamics. Although, these are only two empirical examples (Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy), and more studies would be beneficial, one can clearly glean how differences in degrees of industrialization impact the enactment of these different touristic spaces and how tourists respond emotionally to and perform in these spaces. Such dynamics could provide important insights into the value of both large and small tourist providers and the impact and role of increasing industrialization.
- 2) My theoretical approach to the emotion of interest draws upon specific discourses in psychology and anthropology. It aims to contribute in the experience economy discourses in tourism, discourses that also have been a huge influence upon my work.

Educational psychologists relating to school education (Dahl 2013) mostly study the phenomenon of interest. In psychology, studies of interest have been conducted for

more than one hundred years (Dewey 1913). I am an anthropologist studying touristic contexts in a region where learning is one of the prime motivations for visiting tourists. According to two of the contemporary positions in educational psychology, interest is intrinsically related to learning (Renninger and Hidi 2011). One approach sees interest as the curious emotion that drives us to explore; while interested, we learn better and faster (Silvia 2006). Another approach focuses on how interest can be developed through learning – how we forge potentially long-lasting relationships with activities or objects of interest (Hidi and Renninger 2006). This dissertation combines notions from both stances to explore the emotion of interest temporally. I work with educational psychologist Tove I. Dahl trying to implement these perspectives in my research design. However, as an anthropologist primarily concerned with ethnographical approaches, I also introduce notions from the anthropology of emotion (Beatty 2014). *One might say that the negotiation between psychological and anthropological perspectives is the central contribution of this PhD project.* I end up in a ‘betwixt and between’ position, where one of the central aims of this dissertation is to show limitations of previous *ethnographic approaches* to the study of emotions and how the particular approach argued here can provide valuable nuances to existing research.

The two traditions have different scopes and aims when it comes to the study of emotion. In psychology, one focuses on illuminating the agency of interest – how it impacts the way we think and how it motivates actions by focusing on the endogenic (what goes on inside the body) and universal aspects of emotions (Lazarus 1991). The endogenic aspect argued in this dissertation draws from an *appraisal systems theory*; it argues that people’s emotions arise from their responses and perceptions of their circumstances (Ellsworth and Scherer 2003), and that these appraisals trigger several other in-body components such as changed physiology, subjective feelings, motivation and facial expressions. One of these components alone does not trigger an emotional episode. It requires a synchronized response from the different components; hence, the system theory⁵.

⁵ Claus Scherer argued in his 2015 ISRE (International Society for Research on Emotion) lecture that further scrutiny of the synchronicity of emotion was needed. As we shall see, this dissertation follows up on this particular notion.

Anthropology, on the other hand, has neglected this endogenic perspective (Beatty 2013). Thin (2009:23), did a survey on how anthropologists approached the study of happiness. The following answer summed up his query: “*We study relations, structures and networks, not motives and feelings*”. Perhaps this is the reason why there are so few studies of emotions in anthropology, and even fewer on happiness? Thin says the following (2009:26): “*The cold-shouldering of well-being (happiness) by anthropologists is itself a bizarre feature of the culture of academic anthropology, one that begs to be analyzed*”. When it comes to interest, a sub-category of happiness research, Anderson (2011) says that there is a black hole in social research. He wonders if anthropologists are so busy being interested in certain topics that they are similar to the proverbial fish that does not know water.

Anthropological contributions on emotions also tend to avoid coherent conceptualizations, which may be a problem (Beatty 2005). Instead, anthropology has focused on how emotions are an intrinsic part of complex meaning systems – they are interwoven in acts of everyday life (Lutz 1988). This focus places an exogenic emphasis on emotions, focusing on performativities in the environment along with a deep context to uncover the meaning of emotion. As I will argue throughout this dissertation, ethnographic approaches that includes dense contexts, temporal interrelations, presented in meaningful sequences that includes narration, dramaturgy and plot, provide vital contributions to the study of emotions. This, however, does not mean we have to exclude the endogenic.

Drawing from psychologist Richard Lazarus (1991) and his Merleau-Pontyan phenomenology, the major contribution of this cross-disciplinary PhD dissertation is to combine the strengths of these disciplinary perspectives: to argue that emotions, like interest, are both exogenic and endogenic. According to Lazarus, understanding the emotion concept implies an equal appreciation of the environment and the feeling body, and the intrinsic ways these are tied together. *This dissertation introduces a spatial-emotional methodology of interest development.* It highlights both the “cultured” environments, or spaces seen as changing, heterogeneous and mobile (Massey 2005), and the processes (Silvia 2008) that occur inside our bodies that together produce an

emotional episode. It also emphasizes the social-material, which includes the agency of both human and non-human actors (Law 2004). *It entails that touristic ethnographies of emotions should not only focus on the performative (Participant observation) aspects of emotion (such approaches explain how certain parts of a physical environment expresses and affect other parts) but should also explore and elaborate upon the qualitative experience of interest through self-reports⁶ (interviews, questionnaires, autoethnography).*

“This implies that ethnographies become texts where both ethnographic sites like Hurtigruten or the kiting scene of Ekkerøy (e)merge alongside with the psychological experience of the emotion of interest. Without rich ethnographic description the emotional loses power. Similarly, without rich accounts of what interest feels like, the subjective elaborations on how this desire to explore is experienced, how interest affects thinking and acting, these performed environments become equally lifeless. Together they inform on each other” (Ekeland and Dahl 2016:29).

Emotion is a term that refers to a class of phenomena, like anger, sadness or interest, which share certain attributes, components or mechanisms (Silvia 2006, Lazarus 1991). Anger, sadness or interest may have huge differences in appraisal structure, physical arousal, and subjective feelings, and in the ways they motivate us to act; however, they all belong to a class called ‘emotions’ and they share certain kinds of characteristics (Izard 2010⁷). From time to time during this summary article and the enclosed articles, I switch between using "interest" as a specific term with certain particularities, and the more generic term, "emotion". There are at least two reasons for this. Firstly, I want to make a comment relevant to the generic concept of emotions, not just interest. Secondly, as there are very few, if no contributions, to the concept of interest in anthropology (Anderson 2011), when referring to research done in this discipline, I need to use the generic term – emotions. As we shall see, the discipline of anthropology uses terms like the more general "emotions" and the more

⁶ The self-report term applied in this dissertation simply refers to any method that involves asking a participant about their feelings, attitudes, beliefs, etc.

⁷ Izard, in this particular article, scrutinizes the extent to which the emotion concept is contested; scholars disagree on the contents of components, on synchronicity and even whether one can distinguish between different emotions.

specific "anger", "sadness" and "fago"⁸, yet they offer little in the way of conceptualizing what these actually represent or how they relate to each other. Contributions in this debate largely stem from cultural constructivism and they tend to deconstruct the emotion concept, thus making it ungeneralizable and merely contextual or cultural (Beatty 2013). This is both a strength and a weakness, as I will argue. We need concepts to become aware of the multiple aspects of emotions, to be able to make distinctions, and to formulate methodological strategies for studying different emotions. However, we also need critical, contextual, interactional and temporal accounts of people leading meaningful lives in complex settings. As such, the well-defined psychological conceptions in this dissertation are thereby enriched, even challenged, in their encounter with the messy spatialities of anthropology.

This is a dissertation for the field of tourism. As such, my critical, cross-disciplinary take on interest needs to be positioned vis-a-vis theoretical discourses pertaining to this particular field. I could have positioned myself theoretically vis-à-vis an emerging literature on emotions in tourism research (Singh 2002, Carnicelli-Filho et al. 2009, Faullant et al. 2011, Robinson and Picard 2012). Instead I chose the experience economy discourse for three reasons.

Firstly, it emphasizes the guest-host relation. How 'controlling' the dynamics between hosts and guests may enhance value, both for the visiting tourists as well as the tourist providers who make a living selling a product (Prebensen 2010). Contributions in this particular discourse are mercantile and quantitative. My critical and qualitative approach to interest provides a different gaze on these dynamics.

Secondly, The growth of the experience economy literature (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982, Pine & Gilmore 1999, Sundbo & Sørensen 2013) incorporates emotions to a great degree (Smørvik 2014). My spatial-emotional methodology aims to enhance the understanding of how interest have powerful agencies in the socio-material interrelations that constitute touristic spaces.

⁸ As we shall see, anthropologist Lutz introduces a cultural-specific emotion called fago that is unique to the Ifaluk people.

Thirdly, my approach to the study of interest has been deeply influenced by these previous discourses. For instance, research by Bærenholdt & Urry (2004) and Sundbo & Bærenholdt (2007) on interactions between tourists and physical environments has influenced content in all articles enclosed. Bitner's (1992) studies of servicescapes, which are manipulated by a service provider, are part of this discourse as well. The emphasis here is the agency of things and landscapes – they are not mere backdrops to be perceived. Prebensen's (2010, et al. 2013) work on co-creation, how the tourists themselves enact the tourist experiences, is also important. For instance, on Hurtigruten, as tourists hunt for the northern light, their stories and their emotional expressions greatly enhance the overall hunting experiences for everyone (article I). Another point here is how tourist experiences can result in powerful place attachment processes (Gross and Brown 2006; Jinbo et al. 2014). The autoethnography on how interest was developed vis-à-vis kiting (article II), describes how becoming deeply interested can result in place attachment processes. Tourist research approaches regarding 'involvement' describe similar processes where degrees of involvement affect how tourists experience destinations (San Martin et al. 2013). Deep involvement is an important aspect of an emerging interest (Silvia 2006). Also, Hansen's (2013) emphasis on tourist experiences as unfolding dramaturgies and the importance of the placement of experience 'peaks' (Kahneman et al. 1997) has also been a great inspiration in article I on interest development. According to Beatty (2014), writing about emotions in anthropology requires the implementation of dramaturgy and a plot to reveal changing emotional circumstances. Lastly, although MacCannel's (1999) work on authentic experiences is not directly addressed in this dissertation, some of his ramifications appear in my discussions of industrial experience production.

- 3) Two different methodologies of interest development emerge in this PhD project, although they both share a spatial-emotional approach. The study of Hurtigruten involves participant observation, interviews and questionnaires using the reflexive practice of triangulation. The combination of methods enables the scholar to glean both the endogenic and exogenic. As we shall see, such an approach enables the scholar to discuss certain methodological points that single method studies cannot. In addition,

triangulation captures potentially more of the multiple aspects of emotions than traditional ethnography. Similarly, an analytical autoethnography also provides a double gaze that is beneficial for the study of interest; the outward gaze of the classical ethnographer (exogenic) and the inward (auto) gaze of the self (endogenic) are combined to provide an account of how interest vis-à-vis extreme sport kiting is developed. Such an account describes how the scholar becomes, through interest development, emotionally entangled with the touristic spaces he or she tries to understand. Both article I and II on interest apply a narrative approach (Beatty 2013); whereas the triangulation study involves different modes of representation (numerical and narrative), the autoethnography combines analytical language with a narrative and evocative writing style to highlight the lyrical, romantic, reflexive and even naïve aspects of the emotion. Thus, I will argue that both methodologies are informative/challenging in different ways, yet both apply a spatial-emotional approach to the study of interest.

1.3 Research questions

There are three research questions; the first emphasizes the empirical contributions, the second the theoretical contributions regarding interest, and the third the methodical contributions. My work shows how intrinsically connected these points are through the introduction of a spatial-emotional methodology.

1. The overarching goal of this dissertation is to show the relevance of studying interest in an Arctic tourism context. As such, two empirical questions become relevant.
Firstly, in what ways can the empirical findings from Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy provide value for practice relating to triggering and sustaining interest? In addition, why is knowledge of such dynamics important in designing good experiences?
Secondly, can these findings also contribute to the ongoing debate about the increased industrialization of touristic experiences in Arctic Northern Norway?

2. In negotiating the different disciplinary traditions of psychology and anthropology, what kind of conceptualizations of interest do we arrive at? What would a methodology that includes the endogenic aspects of psychology and the exogenic emphasis of anthropological ethnography look like? Is it possible to provide rich accounts of socio-material interplays combined with the rendered interest states to determine how these aspects of emotion co-perform?
3. How specifically can multi-method triangulations and analytical autoethnographies provide valuable methodological approaches to the study of interest?

1.4 The reflexive structuring of this summary article

This summary article is written reflexively. It describes the learning experiences that took me from one methodological approach to another. It also describes the constantly changing relationships to my ethnographic sites. Furthermore, the different spatial-emotional methodologies, represented in article I and II, is represented rather thoroughly in order to illuminate the possibilities and challenges with autoethnography and triangulation studies on interest development. As such, the summary article incorporates different kinds of reflexivity. Alveson et al. (2008) identify at least four fluid categories of reflexivity that are combined in different ways throughout this text: 1) reflexivity as multi-perspective practices, 2) reflexivity discussing epistemes that makes phenomena subaltern, 3) reflexive practices in fieldwork and representation, and 4) reflexivity as destabilizing practices. In the next paragraphs, the outline of this summary article is presented mapping out chapter contents and the types of reflexivity handled.

Chapter two introduces the reader to the ethnographic sites of this PhD project. A short historical presentation of Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy is followed by a reflexive gaze on the emotional entanglements (or disentanglements) with these sites and how it impacts understanding and representation. It highlights, for instance, the agency of interest in scholarly work as part of a reflexive practice .

Chapter three is an introduction of the spatial-emotional methodology. It starts with how the notions of the emotional were conceived by early philosophers. This section is followed by the psychological scope of emotion research and conceptualizations of interest. Anthropology,

as a critical discipline, also has a scope of emotions, albeit not regarding interest (Anderson 2011). Apart from outlining how emotions have been studied in this discipline, advantages and challenges in ethnographic work on emotions are discussed. The spatial-emotional methodology draws from both disciplines and provides new ethnographic approaches to interest, specifically, and emotions, more generally. For Alveson et al. (2008), multi-perspective practices that provide novel nuances or approaches to a phenomenon are also an important type of reflexivity, which is one of the main motivations for undertaking this dissertation. Furthermore, as we come to understand the different histories of psychology and anthropology, it becomes evident that emotions are and have been a subaltern research topic in the latter discipline. Hence emerges yet another type of reflexivity as we uncover “*the networks of belief, practices and interests that favor one interpretation over another, and ideally, the way that one interpretation rather than another comes to predominate*” (Collins 1998:297).

Chapter four presents findings from the cross-disciplinary triangulation article on interest development in Hurtigruten (article I). An empirical value for practice follows, along with a section that aims to be reflexive about the process of cross-disciplinary co-authoring. The triangulation study involves a different multi-reflexive approach that provides discussions on both scholarly practice and data production by putting the different data produced by different methods in dialogue with each other (Flick 1992).

Chapter five represents the analytical autoethnography of interest development relating to the extreme sport of kiting in Ekkerøy (article II). An empirical value for practice section is also introduced here. The autoethnography highlights the reflexive practice of the ethnographer:

“Investigators seek ways of demonstrating to their audiences their historical and geographic situatedness, their personal investments in the research, various biases they bring to the work, their surprises and ‘undoings’ in the process of the research endeavor, the ways in which their choices of literature tropes lend rhetorical force to the research report and/or the ways in which they have avoided or suppressed certain points of view” (Gergen and Gergen 2000:1027).

The essence of my work is to show how interest has agency, renders ongoing interrelations and impacts scholarly understanding, performativity and representation.

Chapter six presents article III of this PhD. As this is chronologically the first work of this dissertation, it does not have such a well-developed methodological frame. Drawing on

earlier debates in tourism research, it utilizes the experience term, focusing on just one pivotal part of interest, namely learning. Nevertheless, this article prompted a switch towards the emotion of interest. The chapter represents the reflexive practices (the learning experiences) of this PhD project, and the ‘surprises and undoings’ that occurred, which were vital for my development. The chapter ends with a section on the ethical aspects of my overall research process.

Chapter seven draws together the findings of articles I and II, which both depart from article III to answer the research questions of this dissertation. In negotiating methodological notions from both anthropology and psychology, a critical approach is undertaken in order to produce the spatial-emotional methodology. Discussing weaknesses and strengths in both disciplines is, according to Alveson et al. (2008), reflexivity destabilizing existing knowledge. Chapter three highlights how, historically, anthropologists have tried to deconstruct the perceived essentialist and universal aspects of emotions found in psychology.

1.5 Articles



Figure 1. List of articles

Note that the first two articles are on the emotion of interest, whereas the third (the chronologically first article) is about *learning experiences* drawing on the experience term found in the experience economy debate (Pine and Gilmore 1999). The reflexive writing style in this PhD aims to describe the methodological journey that took me away from the experience realm in tourism towards the conceptual universe of emotions, more specifically, interest. It should be noted that learning is an intrinsic part of interest (at least in most cases); thus, the three articles are intrinsically related.

2. Ethnographic sites – Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy



Figure 2. Two maps. To the left – the counties of Troms and Finnmark in Northern Norway. To the right – this region from a global context.

The ethnographic sites of Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy exist as ontological artifacts in the world in the shape of landscapes and objects relating to these landscapes, as do the people of these spaces, who learn, interpret and create a social reality due to their emotional systems (Damasio 1994). This PhD dissertation focuses on how visitors without much knowledge of their destination try to make sense of spaces, while the same tourist spaces enact themselves in order to appear unique (Bærenholdt and Granås 2008). The sites only emerge as heterogeneous, mobile and emotional constructs as bodies, with particular neurological and physiological makeups interacting with them (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Emotions have agency in many ways here. They structure and motivate thoughts and behavior of the people we, as scholars, try to understand. They structure and motivate the scholar's thoughts and actions in terms of how sites and spaces emerge for the scholar, which colors not only their understanding, but also their representation. This text aims to show the links between emotion concepts and their spatiality, and how emotions, like interest, affect the research process and forms of representation. In the next section, a short historical presentation of the ethnographic sites of Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy is presented. It also explains the author's motivation for choosing these sites and how relations to the sites affect analyses and representations.

2.1 Hurtigruten – A coastal steamer of Northern Norway

Hurtigruten was born of necessity, one might say. Its founder, Richard With, was a businessperson born in Tromsø. He bought the commercial site of Risøyhamn on Andøya with a companion in order to increase commerce in the region, but soon encountered obstacles. In the 1880s, Northern Norway was growing, yet there were problems in transporting the much-needed goods and mail to the northern regions. It was also challenging transporting the fish to the southern regions of the country. During the winter, it could take months for goods or mail to travel from Vesterålen to Trondheim. With wanted to obtain a steamer, so he lobbied to get locals to buy stock in a future ship. In 1881, he had enough money to buy his first steamer. He wanted steam ships to shuttle goods, personnel and mail up and down the Northern Norwegian coast on a daily basis. In 1893, the Norwegian state subsidized With's newly registered company to make the idea a reality. On July 2, 1893, the ship "Vesteraalen" sailed out of the Trondheim harbor heading northwards (Smørvik 2014). By being the first commercial line to sail during the night, Hurtigruten (whose name translates as "the speedy route") decreased the travel time from Trondheim to Tromsø from seven to three days. The concept of Hurtigruten was, perhaps, born out of the need to have the salted herring transported southwards, but it very quickly became much more. From the start, Hurtigruten was a tourist vessel, enabling people along the long stretched coast of Norway to hop on and off as needed to experience the region's many nooks and crannies. With also organized trips to Svalbard. The frequency of the trips created a need for better infrastructure, including living quarters and a weather station. As such, Hurtigruten played a vital part in annexing Svalbard for the kingdom of Norway in an era of polar exploration. Nowadays, Hurtigruten travels from Bergen in the south to Kirkenes in the north: a journey that takes 11 days. However, in both articles enclosed, a smaller trip is studied where tourists hop on in Tromsø after having been flown in from London.

Therefore, Hurtigruten was a hybrid ship, doing its working duties in delivering mail and goods, while also serving as a tourist cruise ship (Ekeland 2011). Over the years, the ships grew to become more like larger cruise ships to provide amenities for the visiting tourists (Slettvoll 2006). Yet, the many winter months represented a low season. In 2006, Hurtigruten started to package special winter programs where the main attraction was the northern lights. They started

providing off-ship excursions and more on-board entertainment sessions. This offensive coincided with the release of Joanna Lumley's BBC documentary called "In the land of the northern lights", which was seen worldwide. Together they prompted a rapid increase in visitors. Article I describes how Hurtigruten enacted itself in order to trigger and arouse or sustain interest and learning among the visiting tourists through Hurtigruten's industrial experience production.

Industrial experience production is a label that describes touristic experiences that involve masses of people and exact repetitions of these experiences on a daily basis (like a Fordian assembly line production) with limited time to consume products, one size fits all ideologies and, thus, no adapted learning and often few activities (Ekeland 2011). Hurtigruten's strategy to increase land-based excursions along the coast has provided many new working places in small fishing communities that are trying to reinvent themselves as tourist destinations. However, it has also prompted these land-based tourist ventures to incorporate the rigid forms of experience production (Sletvold 2015). This emphasis on excursions is another development that propels Hurtigruten more towards a cruise ship concept (Sletvold 2006). Increased marketing and the development of new experiences in a new winter program made Hurtigruten one of the most important drivers for the hugely successful winter tourism development in the region. All the while, Hurtigruten has been subsidized by the Norwegian state invoking the envy and wrath of other cruise line operators. As Hurtigruten's industrialization and earnings increased, and the company grew more cost efficient, it soon became a more attractive option in which international companies could invest. In October 2014, British-based TDR Capital acquired this historical cultural monument of Northern Norway. The purchase of Hurtigruten coincided with Chinese billionaire Huang Nubo's bid for enormous landmasses in Svalbard and Lyngen for the development of tourist attractions. These acts of "neo-colonialization" were met with massive skepticism in the local newspapers. They connected the region to "the new possibilities" related to the opening of the North-West passage and expanding new trading routes from the east. It was also seen as an example of how increased industrialization was associated with a transformation of power: from the local to the global.

2.1.1 Industrialization as place development: A critical perspective

In 2008, I was a lecturer in destination development at UiT, The Arctic University of Norway. The course offered notions of destination planning (Hall 2008), tourist attraction systems (Leiper 1990), destination lifecycles (Butler 2006) and the growth paradigm (Schumpeter 1954) regarding how destinations were marketed and the role of DMO⁹s (Viken and Jacobsen 2014). As I see it, to have an understanding of what tourist destinations are, you need to start with the touristic experience; why do people go to certain places, what are they doing there and why is it meaningful to them (Bærenholdt and Urry 2004)? As destinations grow, what happens to the touristic experiences? Does increased industrialization render subjective experiences of touristic spaces? As experiences change, does branding change as well? Are destinations an interactive system of experience design, marketing and planning (Ellingsen 2013)?

The first step in answering some of these questions entails grasping what tourist experiences are for the tourists themselves by conducting an empirical study.

As I had been working on learning environments in professional football clubs, I wanted to scrutinize theoretically the tourists' learning experiences, a term that had been partially addressed by Pine and Gilmore (1999). The fact that Arvid Viken, my supervisor, wanted me to do a follow up on Hurtigruten and winter tourism provided the ethnographic site. I had, like many northern Norwegians, a rather romantic notion of Hurtigruten. Living in different locations along the coast of Northern Norway, I remember its daily arrival, the joyful commotion it created in the local communities. Hurtigruten also played an important role in the stories I heard, growing up only a few kilometers from Risøyhamn, where Richard With founded the company. Accordingly, Hurtigruten is a cultural institution in Northern Norway. Artists like Kari Bremnes have written songs about it and documentaries have shown the fondness the people of the north have for these ships. However, other previous experiences also influenced my emerging understanding of Hurtigruten. A personal touristic experience in Thailand had an equal impact, as it, in many ways, 'ruined' my romantic notions of Hurtigruten.

⁹ Destination Marketing Organizations

The next paragraph is a description of an industrial experience production encountered, because it came to have a powerful influence upon my work on touristic experience production.

During the making of the movie "The Beach" in 2000 starring Leonardo DiCaprio, 20th Century Fox bulldozed the landscapes of Koh Phi Leh to make it look more like paradise on earth. The natural beauty of the area was not enough – it needed to be enhanced. Nevertheless, after having seen the movie showing this extremely beautiful place, I decided to explore it. The brochures showed fantastic pictures of it, and tours were offered at relatively low prices. The movie depicted the beach in all its solitude, building its mystique. Here, it was virtually impossible to access and it was secret and protected by the locals. The touristic experience of the beach, however, would prove to be different (the following is an excerpt from an ethnographic diary I kept prior to, and throughout the PhD period – Christmas 2008):

We were picked up by buses, hundreds of tourists standing in throngs staring bewildered at each other, and then driven down to the pier. Here, we were shoveled into waiting catamarans, sitting so tightly squeezed that seventy tourists fit into each of these boats. Full throttle, the boat sped out of the harbor to take us to "the beach". Awkwardly, we tried to sit politely without intruding upon the neighboring, fellow adventurer. Half an hour later, we arrived at the site. An ocean of catamarans had already arrived at the beach. The personnel had to use special instruments to make room for us, to squeeze us into a slot so that we could anchor. Then, we were let out. We spilled onto the already packed beach. It was like a Sunday afternoon at Old Trafford¹⁰ watching a football game. A quick calculation looking at the many boats that blocked the view of the beach, I arrived at 4,200 people standing like herring in a barrel on this small beach. Everyone looked slightly shocked, some laughed in disbelief. I felt virtually sick – a complete feeling of disappointment. It was a well-orchestrated circus, a tourist machine to make money, a relentless cold rhythm of Fordian experience production. I just wanted to go home.

In an evening in March 2009, on a biting, cold evening, I walked towards the ship MS Nordlys for my first ethnographic fieldwork in tourism. I saw the English tourists, arriving on

¹⁰ Old Trafford is one of the largest and most famous football (soccer) stadiums in the world: the home of Manchester United.

time after having been shuttled from the airport, pouring out of buses and forming a line waiting to get into the ship. We stood there, freezing, stamping our feet for twenty minutes before the ship swallowed the queue. Inside, there was a rhythm of meal times, excursions and on-board entertainment drilled through repetitions. People crammed together during these measured times of entertainment. I suddenly got a sinking feeling. I have seen this before. This was the machine; this was “The Beach”; it was not at all what I had expected!

Industrialization of experiences is a hot topic nowadays in the development of the Arctic region. Director of regional DMO Visit Tromsø, Trond Øverås¹¹ (2015), argues that it is the only way forward. However, what are the implications of increased industrialization in the larger picture and what are the effects on the touristic experiences? The first case study of Hurtigruten provides a skeptical analysis of industrial experience production in the ways it potentially hinders learning. Undoubtedly, my prior negative emotional experiences with similar setups colored my understanding and representation. I wanted to sketch a picture of the potential dangers of industrialization in the way that it limits emotional experiences and becomes more similar to other industrialized setups around the world. One of the reviewers, prior to publication, called article III “The tale of the prison ship” due to my glum presentation. My point here is vital: creating representations of ethnographic sites as I do here is not a static *ding an sich*. It involves changes where the ethnographer becomes emotionally attached/detached in different ways to these sites, which influences the different stages of the research process, including representation (Ellis 2006, Law 2004). Of course, multi-methods also provide the “native’s” point of view expressed in interviews and questionnaires. These self-report data corroborated the rather glum observational findings. However, as we shall see later, this initial analysis prompted a reflection, a point of departure that would result in changes for my second and third fieldworks on Hurtigruten. The methods changed, the theories changed and the overall conception of what Hurtigruten “was” changed. The ability to reflect on these movements thus became an important part of my anthropological reflexivity.

2.2 Ekkerøy – Tourism as a place of reinvention

Ekkerøy is a small peninsula outside Vadsø, far northeast in Norway’s northernmost and

¹¹ In a lecture at UiT in Peter Hjort’s seminar.

easternmost county called Finnmark. It is only a couple of kilometers long and less than one kilometer wide. Prior to WWII, Ekkerøy had two fish plants, and the harbor was sometimes filled with up to one hundred boats. It had its own shrimp plant and cod liver oil plant (Tjelle 2003). Fishing was the predominant industry, although some people also had land and a few cattle. The area's bird rock was also an ideal place to harvest eggs, despite the dangers of climbing. People living there in the harsh winters used peat for fuel. The peninsula had, in its time, several shops, a postal service and school. Despite its size, Ekkerøy also had a rich cultural life with a music association and sports club where the activities were mainly football and skiing. During WWII, the peninsula was occupied by the Germans who built fortifications. Two large haubitsers were placed on top of Ekkerøy along with anti-aircraft guns. Huge storage facilities and barracks were created inside the rock. These buildings and fortifications changed the physical landscape of Ekkerøy in ways that are still very much visible today.

After the war, the collapse of the local fisheries, due to a centralized state policy, resulted in depopulation. Nowadays, only a handful of people live on the peninsula throughout the year. Fishing and farming no longer exist as a way of living; however, the place has partially reinvented itself as a tourist destination. Ekkerøy has its own museum, and the bird rock that once was used to harvest eggs for eating now attracts the attention of bird watchers from all over Europe. One of the fish plants has been transformed into a restaurant called *Havhesten* with cabins for visiting tourists. The peninsula has two pearly white beaches where people in the region historically used to visit to bathe and play. During the summer, people move into houses that otherwise stand empty the rest of the year. However, the beaches are also used for another activity – kiting. The region has its own kite club, and each year, Varanger Arctic Kite Enduro (VAKE) is held.

2.2.1 Kiting, free play and place attachment

Kiting is an extreme sport where the person straps, him/herself onto a kite shaped like a wing and harnesses the winds to produce lift/pull. Kites come in different sizes and models and kiting can be done on both sea and snow. Whereas VAKE is an event where athletes all around the world come to compete, Ekkerøy is a place where people come to kite due to the scenic beauty of the place and the ideal conditions.

Many publications in tourism research focus on larger, more industrialized, tourist ventures or destinations (Ekeland and Viken 2015). I wanted to explore different contexts and places to understand the emotion of interest better. The obvious challenges with industrialization identified in the articles of this dissertation prompted me to search for different places with alternative performativities. I wanted to participate in activities that were not time limited, that involved free play and adaptive learning that contrasted with the “one size fits all ideologies” in industrialized tourism to fully grasp the dynamics of interest development in ways that were impossible on-board Hurtigruten. Furthermore, after conducting literature reviews in both psychology and anthropology, I became painfully aware that extremely few studies on emotions were qualitative: a view that was verified by my attendance at the 2015 ISRE¹² conference. I wanted to do something that was not quantitative and involved no triangulation. A cross-disciplinary triangulation would involve negotiations where both Dahl (psychologist) and I (anthropologist) would end up doing scholarly practices that were unfamiliar, in a process of “doing difference together” (Verran 2002). I wanted to wallow truly in the reflective practice of ethnography without the stricter scheme of representations of the discipline of psychology. Therefore, I chose analytical autoethnography. The result was a reflexive elaboration on how interest may produce powerful place attachment processes in which the ethnographer emotionally binds him/herself to the spaces he/she tries to understand¹³. Thus, this shift involved a different place, a different method, a different kind of relationship with the ethnographic site and a different kind of theory development. Two different methodologies for studying interest development emerged, and two different relationships between the sites and myself were elaborated on. These, in turn, influenced both understanding, analysis and representation of the data.

These two cases highlight the importance of taking emotions seriously in scholarly reflective practices, as they influence how scholars see, understand and represent socio-material realities. Despite differences in how the scholar attaches to or becomes detached from the different sites, which is a reflexive conundrum, the different analyses also give insight into how different degrees of industrialized experience production impact interest development.

¹² International Society of Research on Emotions - the largest cross-disciplinary seminar on emotions.

¹³ Although similar reflections are made here in the summary article regarding the works on Hurtigruten, such dynamics are only made explicit in article II.

In the next chapter, a methodological approach to the temporality of interest emerges.

3. Towards a cross-disciplinary methodology of interest development

In this chapter, I present my spatial-emotional methodologies of interest development, which provide the meta-theoretical foundations of this dissertation. Here, the conceptual and endogenic emphasis of interest found in psychology merges with the temporal, interactive and narrative emphasis found in anthropology, which places an exogenic emphasis on emotions. This merging is the core of this PhD project, as it results in theoretical, methodical and representational shifts in the study of interest.

At first glance, historical polemics between anthropology and psychology place the disciplines far apart. Yet, as we shall see, both disciplines have similar histories regarding the topic of emotions. In addition, as the discourses have developed, there are ample grounds to find rewarding cross-disciplinary positions for the study of interest. The disciplines of psychology and anthropology both have their subaltern history of emotions. In early psychology, the term ‘emotion’ was sought to be removed from the scholarly discourse, as it did not fit the predominant positivistic and behavioristic stances at the time (Lazarus 1991). Early anthropology was a militantly rationalistic discipline molded from economic theory, which, similarly, had no use for the irrationally deemed emotions (Anderson 2011). The cognitive turn in psychology brought an appraisal and phenomenological approach to the study of emotion that greatly valued both the meaning producing human and a changing environment, which took parts of the discipline away from its previous positivistic position (Arnold 1960, Lazarus 1991). Similarly, with the growth of social constructivism and cultural anthropology, scholars like Mead (1928) and Briggs (1970) started a tale of how emotions were cultural artifacts. Briggs especially wrote powerful, descriptive and narrative representations of the emotional everyday lives of the Utkus in Alaska.

This chapter starts with a short historical sketch of how early philosophers saw emotions, which includes analytical distinctions that seem to have permeated much of Western thinking up to the present day. The psychological scope of emotions research is presented to give the reader an idea of the multitude of contributions that exist in these debates, as well as to identify

predominant topics and methods. Two conceptualizations of interest follow, in which my own work is highly indebted. During the presentation of these conceptualizations, I will raise questions that my ethnographic approach expands upon, drawing from anthropology. This section is followed by the anthropological scope of emotions and a sort of literature review on the anthropology of emotion, as there is no previous anthropological work on interest (Anderson 2011). In this section, we will arrive at the anthropological approach to the emotions that are addressed in this dissertation. Similarly, regarding the psychology presentation, questions will be raised here drawing from psychology where the discipline of anthropology has yet to provide empirical studies. Finally, a section drawing together important theoretical and methodical stances from both disciplines, the methodological approaches of this dissertation, follows. This section introduces four important meta-theoretical points drawing from Lazarus' (1991) use of Merleau-Pontyan (2004) phenomenology as well as perspectives from embodied realism (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), which is at the very heart of my spatial-emotional approach to interest development.

3.1 Early history of emotions

In 400 BC, Plato describes how the heart (a lower organ) may corrupt the head (Price 2010:123): *“Each pleasure and pain... makes the soul corporeal, so that it believes that whatever the body affirms is true. As it shares the opinions and pleasures of the body, it is compelled to share its diet and habits”*. Rather early then, it is asserted in philosophy that emotions impact and have agency upon human thought and action. Plato also moves on to produce a distinction that has permeated Western thought in such a fashion that it still influences contemporary scholarly practice. He argued that the body is animated by a soul that is divided – one rational part and one non-rational part, where emotions belong to the latter (Ibid).

The Medieval period in Western philosophy does not contribute to the debate on emotion, aside from accepting that Christian doctrine bids us to feel and that some feelings are good, while others are a disease. Melancholia, for instance, is a pathological condition of having an excess of black bile (King 2010).

Descartes is the first to use the term emotions, and, like Plato, he argues that they have the agency to move the body and introduces the dichotomy between body and mind, passion and reason (Charland 2010). Although Locke does not spend much time dabbling with emotion, he makes an important contribution. He argues that emotions usually have bodily effects that we do not notice most of the time, implying the unconscious processing aspect of emotion that is later explored during the cognitive turn in psychology (Kahneman 2010, Lazarus 1991). Kant, who is often labeled the father of schema theory, which is clearer in his depiction of the unconscious and the habitual, regards emotions as an illness that results in loss of freedom and self-control (Charland 2010). With Heidegger and his phenomenological approach, two influential points are asserted. Firstly, that emotion attunes us to the physical world. Secondly, that we are always in a mood that impacts our ability to be in the world (Hatzimoysis 2010).

These early contributions on emotions do not provide any clear-cut definitions, although they uncover some of the complexities involved in our thinking about emotions. Contributions here mostly adopt a negative view, as emotions somewhat contaminate the rational mind and should be reined in like an uncontrolled animal. The growth of biologism and Darwin's theory of evolution further provide important contributions to the construct of emotion (Hess & Thibault 2009). For Darwin, emotional expressions are evolved and adaptive. Emotions protect the organism and prepare it for action, thus serving as a universal form of communication: surprise, with its widening of the eyes, improved vision and the gathering of information, while fear improves blood flow and breathing to enable the organism to flee from danger. In the next paragraphs, the multiple aspects of emotions will emerge, thus complicating this picture.

3.2 Psychological scope of emotions

Psychology is the discipline most people think of when they hear the term 'emotion', and with good reason. There are a bewildering number of scholarly contributions on the psychological aspects of emotion. In this section, I will only move to exemplify a sample from different themes. Apart from taking seriously the arduous process of defining the construct of emotion (Ekman 1992, Frijda 2007, Lazarus 1991, Izard 2010), psychologists have scrutinized many different aspects of emotions. Arnold (1960) introduced the term 'appraisal', later applied

by Lazarus (1991) as the evaluative cognitive process that triggers an emotional response. Others, like James (1884), Cannon (1927), Schacter and Singer (1962), Ekman and Friesen (1986), Damasio (1994) and others, have focused more on the physiological component of emotion that involves bodily changes in the nervous system. Izard (1977) argues that each emotion has its unique subjective quality or feeling. The notion that emotions, at least on some occasions, radically change the way people think and act, has also been explored (Scwartz and Bless 1991), Zajonc (1980), Damasio (1994). Ekman (1992) argued, like Darwin, that emotions are universal expressive signals: that each emotion has its specific physical expression that is stable across cultures. The role of emotions in shaping personalities has also been explored (Harker and Keltner 2001).

From these few samples of a humbling amount of contributions, it might appear that psychological contributions tend to focus only on the in-body changes related to emotion. However, Lazarus (1991) is adamant that the basic arena of analysis for the emotion process is the person-environment relationship. Hence, the social (Jenkins and Oatley 1996) and material (Silvia 2006) aspects of emotion are also studied. In addition, sociological contributions (Goffman 2005, Hochschild 1990) along with anthropological notions of socially constructed emotions are acknowledged as important in psychology (Mead 1928, Briggs 1970 and Lutz 1988). Cultural variations in emotions have also been scrutinized in psychology (Mesquita and Frijda 1992). Thus, research on emotions from a psychological perspective includes a rich plethora that enables us to see the multiple aspects of emotions. It is a mature field that has developed over a hundred years. Dewey (1913), for instance, started his research on interest early in the 20th century. However, the study of emotions, nevertheless, tends to be hugely quantitative, or involving experimental approaches where the environments are simplified and controlled, and most contributions focus on the endogenic aspect of emotions. Thus, ethnographic contributions can provide complex, temporal and narrative accounts of the “natural” environments in which we live, which, in turn, give us valuable information on the dynamics of interest.

3.2.1 An appraisal definition of the emotion of interest and the four-phased model of interest development

“Emotions are complex, patterned, organismic reactions to how we think we are doing in our lifelong efforts to survive and flourish and to achieve what we wish for ourselves. Emotions are like no other psychosociobiological construct in that they express the intimate personal meaning of what is happening in our social lives and combine motivational, cognitive, adaptational, and physiological processes into a single complex state (...)” (Lazarus 1991:6).

The contemporary position in the ISRE¹⁴ community argues that emotions, as we think of them, consist of multiple components, which, together through some form of *synchronization*, constitute the construct. It is a system theory where none of the components alone is the emotion. The following components are viewed as important: *Appraisal, motivation, physiology, subjective state, feeling or qualia, expression and regulation (meta-emotion)*. Most of these components, the way we think of them, are contested, as is the idea of the synchronization of these components. In the next section, these components will be discussed individually as part of the specific emotion of interest. Then, the idea of synchronization will be addressed. What is addressed here is a sort of appraisal theory of emotion from the likes of Lazarus (1991), Ellsworth and Scherer (2003) and Silvia (2006)¹⁵.

Appraisals

“People’s emotions arise from their perceptions of their circumstances – immediate, imagined, or remembered” (Ellsworth and Scherer 2003:572). Emotions consist of patterns of perception and their correlates in the central and peripheral nervous system (Scherer 2001). Richard Lazarus (1966, 1991), one of the most influential appraisal theorists, argues that the human mind is capable of making subtle distinctions that allow for enormous variability in the

¹⁴ Each year, the ISRE (Conference of the International Society for Research on Emotion) conference is held where the top scholars present and discuss the contemporary stance on emotion research – including the conceptualization.

¹⁵ It should be mentioned here that, throughout the history of psychology, there have been many stances and operationalizations of the term ‘emotion’, including the two-factor theory (Schacter and Singer 1962) and basic emotion theory (Ekman 1992), which will not be addressed in this dissertation. In the next paragraphs, the different emotion components listed above are briefly discussed.

interpretation of the environment, and that human emotions themselves are characterized by enormous variability and subtle distinctions. Later, Lazarus modifies this statement, arguing that each individual emotion has its core relational theme. Anger occurs if a situation is appraised as being a demeaning offense against me or mine, happiness occurs if a situation is appraised as making reasonable progress towards a realization of a goal. Particular body-environment relationships, like that of anger or happiness, are about a judgment of whether a situation is of harm or benefit to the self. They come in themes, like those just described, that will activate the whole emotion sequence – a sequence I am about to describe. Thus, appraisals are perhaps not as enormous in variability as they become reduced to themes. This is a contested point in emotion theory, which will be handled in both articles on interest, where, as we will see, deep context, temporality, interactions and self-reports provide more complexity to the meaning-making processes that prompt emotional processes.

Another difficult point concerns whether appraisals are quick unconscious processes, or if they indeed involve slower, more deliberate and conscious thought (Kahneman 2010). Are we aware that we are appraising the changing circumstances of our environment that impact the self, or is this automatic? As we will see, especially with the emotion of interest, this point is problematic. Whereas most scholars on emotions would agree that appraisals happen quickly, unconsciously and prompt an immediate readiness to handle occurring challenges, interest is more difficult perhaps because it is often a stop, a puzzlement, a slow conscious thinking to cope with novelty or complexity (Kahneman 2010, Silvia 2006).

According to Silvia (2006), the simplest appraisal structure for interest involves a novelty check and a coping potential. A novelty check, borrowing from Berlyne's collative variables (1960), is finding something in a situation complex, novel, uncertain or conflicting. However, interest will not be triggered if the person cannot comprehend this new information. By using previously learned knowledge in making new information comprehensible or physically mastering a task, interest may be triggered. Thus, previous emotional memories (memories are never unemotional) are applied to make sense of the here and now (Jones 2005).

Physiological and neurological changes

As interest is triggered, there are potentially huge changes in the electrical activity of the brain (Janig 2003; Panksepp 2003). This prompts increased attention (McDaniel et al. 2000) and deeper-level processing of new material (Silvia 2006). Interest is argued to have both low and high arousal (Bartsch 2012), depending on the context.

Qualia or feeling

Together with arousal, subjective conscious experiences (feelings) emerge, which are different emotion to emotion. Izard wrote:

“Interest is the feeling of being engaged, caught up, fascinated, curious. There is a feeling of wanting to investigate, become involved, or to extend or expand the self by incorporating new information and having new experiences with the person that has stimulated the interest. In intense interest (...) the person feels animated and enlivened” (1977:216).

The question remains: how generalizable is this feeling? Do different contexts produce not only different intensities but also different qualia of interest? What I hope to show here is how the use of narrative ethnography provides descriptions of how people experience interest because it is a sort of discrete emotion. The reader may sit and wonder: what does interest feel like? Through the two ethnographies enclosed here, I hope to expand on the qualia of interest. On that note, Izard (1991:91) argued that interest often operates in combination with other emotions, as our interest in something is heightened by the emotions we feel when we encounter it. These are important points, and both will be addressed in the articles enclosed.

Motivation

Emotions motivate actions (Frijda 2007) and influence thinking (Schwartz and Bless 1991) in ways that make our human bodies highly adaptable to a changing environment (Lazarus 1991). Interest is an urge to explore certain elements of a physical world and to become involved. It provides a feeling of well-being while we efficiently learn new things,

adapt to new practices and change our value system (Hidi and Renninger 2006). The important point here is how different emotions, interest included, abruptly change how we think and act; they are an intrinsic part of human rationality (Damasio 1994, Lazarus 1991).

Expressions

Borrowing from Ekman (1991), Silvia (2006) argues that interest has distinctive, universal, facial expressions often associated with concentration or focus – furrowed brows and dilated or constricted pupils. He also argues that vocal expressions of interest show themselves with quicker rates of speech and a wider range of sound frequency. However, contemporary stances argue that there are difficulties in identifying distinct facial or bodily expressions connected to the different emotions – people express things differently, they mask their expressions either as part of cultural practices (Wikan 1990) or other forms of impression management (Goffman 2005). For Scheff (1997), observations may produce a deep context that can indeed uncover links between what Wikan (1990) calls emotional experience and emotional expressions, and how they might deviate from each other.

Meta-emotion and emotion regulation

The emotion process is complex and involves a high degree of intellectual sophistication

“It starts with a monitoring and cognitive representation of environmental events. Then events are appraised with regard to personal concerns. Events judged relevant for personal concern elicit an affective reaction that may include physiological changes, spontaneous expression and subjective feelings. Finally, the affective reaction results in an effort (or at least a desire or motivation) to maintain or change the emotion eliciting situation. Optimally, coping efforts produce the desired changes, so that the process alters its own antecedent conditions” (Bartsch et al. 2008:14).

Mangold et al. (2001) propose that emotions can become objects of appraisal, thereby eliciting meta-emotions. These are emotions about one’s own emotions. According to this view, the emotion process is the same in primary emotion and in meta-emotion, and only the object of appraisal differs: appraisals of environmental events evoke primary emotions, whereas

appraisals of one's own emotions incite meta-emotions. For instance, wanting (interest) an elusive object can elicit a frustrated/angry meta-emotion, which may result in increased wanting-efforts to obtain the object. Thus, we constantly monitor and appraise our primary emotions, and we may use our meta-emotions to regulate the former. Happiness, for instance, that evokes a guilt or disgust related meta-emotion, may be sought and eradicated. It is argued that we seek to regulate ourselves to produce emotional equilibrium or homeostasis (Cummins 2016); however, sometimes, our emotions propel us further away from such a state (Ekeland 2009). Persons might be experiencing anxiety and have a meta-emotion, like fear, which further enhances the primary emotion of anxiety. Thus, we are not always able to manage or regulate our emotions towards equilibrium. To complicate things further, trait approaches to meta-emotions show that people are radically different (Gottman et al. 1997). Some like it hot, while others could do without the highs and the lows of emotion; some are extremely adept at regulating their own emotions, while others are not.

In summary, appraisals of an event relevant to the self may trigger the onset of an emotion that implies a synchronized arrangement of components mentioned above. We experience this emotional process or episode, and then quickly revert to a more 'neutral' state. Emotions are often thought of as quick, and more or less automatic, while moods are more long lasting and closely related to a person's traits (Oatley et al. 2006). However, how quick are emotions really? In the case of interest, we will pose interesting questions by presenting the enclosed articles. Furthermore, are we generally "going in neutral" most of the time, or are we always under some affective spell that implies meta-emotions, re-appraisals and, thus, new action tendencies? The questions are many, and articles I and II provide possible answers.

In the next paragraph, interest as a developmental phenomenon will be briefly discussed introducing Hidi and Renningers' (2006) four-phased model of interest development. As the emotion of interest is rarely studied temporally (Silvia 2006), this model provides important accounts of the transformative power of interest and the integral role of learning.

Hidi and Renninger (2006) explore yet another aspect of interest – how we come to forge meaningful relationships with objects of interest that might last a lifetime. They see

interest as a motivational variable with cognitive and affective components, thus applying a different conceptualization than that of emotions. Succinctly, they say that interest consists of three key variables; knowledge, value and positive affect (Dahl 2014). In their four-phased model of interest development (2006), they argue that interest can be triggered in a situation towards one specific object. At first, people often have little knowledge of the object, and it has yet to become meaningful to them. What assures re-engagement with the object is the onset of positive affect: a sense of well-being. In the early phases of interest development, this relationship is fickle and interest might wane. However, external support might scaffold learning and, thus, improve the object's meaningfulness to a person. As people re-engage with their objects of interest, they increase their knowledge of them and they become more important to the self. Hence, the theory explains how one affective state might drive us to learn and explore, thereby binding us emotionally to objects and activities we may ultimately spend or whole lives exploring. A critical notion here is that the more developed knowledge, value and positive affect is, the deeper the subjective experience of interest¹⁶. *In this PhD dissertation, the developmental approach is incorporated into the emotion approach to see how emotions drive people to explore, how people may develop deep relationships with 'objects' of interest and how the emotion changes as learning and meaningfulness increases vis-à-vis an object.* Thus, Hidi and Renninger's (2006) approach is helpful when the temporal dimension of the emotion of interest is studied.

Developmental and emotional approaches are two of the most popular contemporary stances in educational psychology in studying interest. For a more coherent historical elaboration on how interest has been studied in psychology, see Renninger and Hidi (2011). Most of the empirical studies undertaken on this phenomenon have been done in school learning situations.

3.3 Anthropological scope of emotions

“The goal of [ethnography]... is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life. To realize his vision of his world... what concerns him most intimately, that is, the hold which life has on him. In

¹⁶ Knowledge on this topic constantly emerges. I discussed this with Ann Renninger on one occasion (2015), and she was not sure that the subjective state actually changed. However, from the dynamic emotion perspective argued in this dissertation, the evidence suggests rather strong changes.

each culture, the values are slightly different; people aspire after different aims, follow different impulses, yearn after a different form of happiness. To study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behavior and mentality without the subjective desire of feeling by what these people live, of realizing the substance of their happiness... is ...to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to obtain from the study of man” (Malinowski 1922:25).

Malinowski is often referred to as the ‘founder’ of modern anthropology and ethnographic methodology. This excerpt from ‘Argonauts of the western pacific’ predicted that emotions (happiness) would have a pivotal place in future ethnographies. Thus far, he is wrong. This review concerns anthropological ethnographies that specifically contribute to discourses on emotion¹⁷. This focus has two implications. Firstly, ethnographies that implicitly deal with emotions without contributing somewhat conceptually are discarded. In addition, anthropological work on emotions that merely applies interviews also has less emphasis¹⁸. Secondly, the so-called affective turn in social sciences includes irreconcilable perspectives, which often results in misunderstandings (Thrift 2009). Deleuze and Guattari’s (1988) affect term, for instance, has little to do with feelings or the emotional, and has a very different meaning than that found in psychology. Thus, my work revolves around a small number of publications often referred to as *the anthropology of emotion*. This branch includes contributions from Mead (1949), Briggs (1970), Rosaldo (1980), Lutz (1988) and Wikan (1990). According to Beatty (2013), there have been few contributions on emotions in anthropology after the 1990s¹⁹.

This chapter has two ambitions. Firstly, to shortly describe how ethnographic approaches bring valuable perspectives to the table concerning emotion research. Secondly, from my hybrid position, to point to challenges of past ethnographic attempts and show how my work moves to deal with these challenges.

¹⁷ Four literature reviews are used: 1) Beatty (2013) on the anthropology of emotion, 2) Anderson (2011) on a broader perspective on cognitive anthropology, 3) Thrift (2009) on the irreconcilable perspectives in the affective turn, and 4) Milton and Svasek’s book ‘Mixed Emotions’.

¹⁸ According to Beatty (2013), works of Rosaldo (1980) and Lutz (1988) rely mostly on interviews and focus on a sapir-whofian notion that language structures thoughts and feelings – that the absence or presence of certain linguistic structures also results in different phenomenological experience of emotions. D’Andrade (1994) refutes this position saying, just because the Eskimos do not have words for anger or that the Ifaluks have unique words for compassion (fago) does not mean that people experience the world in phenomenologically different ways.

¹⁹ Milton and Svasek’s (2005) ‘Mixed Emotions’ is one example of a contribution after the 1990s.

3.3.1 Three aspects of ethnographic and narrative approaches important for emotion research

In the following paragraph, the subsequent three points will be discussed: 1) the pivotal role of context/culture for emotional experience, 2) emotions and anthropological reflexivity, and 3) representation.

- 1) For ethnographies, contexts, or the exogenic aspect of emotions, become vital through narration: “*The fitting together of actions, responses, expressions, and language in a temporal sequence that respects particularities – in a word, narrative-explains what the passionate actor herself cannot see or say*” (Beatty 2013:420). Emotions can be learned, and they differ from culture to culture (Hotchkiss 1980). According to Briggs (1970), the Christian ideology of the Eskimos of Chantry inlet in Alaska scorned expressions of anger. As such, expressions, even the terminology of anger, are rare amongst these Utkus. According to Lutz (1988), the Ifaluk’s cultural notion of fago is unique for this Micronesian atoll. Thus, people are socialized into complex meaning systems that modify emotional experience and performativity, even regarding the formation of personalities (Mead 1928). The way I read, especially the early contributions to the anthropology of emotion, from my hybrid position, is a constructivist critique of the static, natural and universal emotional states/expressions seemingly argued in psychology. Here, in the words of Lutz (1988:8):

“If it is assumed that emotion is simply a biopsychological event and that each emotion is universal and linked neatly to a facial expression (of which even careful and intentional masking leaves unmistakable cues), the process of emotional understanding across cultural boundaries becomes a simple one of reading faces or looking for ‘leaks’ from the inner pool of emotional experience; one looks for the occurrence or non-occurrence of particular emotions whose meaning is considered unproblematic. If, However, emotion is seen as woven in complex ways into cultural meaning systems and social interaction, and experienced as ‘intensely meaningful’ then the problem becomes one of translating between two different cultural views and enactments of that which is real and good and proper”.

For these contributions, cultures appear as homogenous, and emotions as social constructions (Milton 2005). On the other hand, Wikan (1990) focuses on idiosyncrasies and individuals that have different positions in Balinese culture²⁰. Although she argues that, in Balinese culture, there are social sanctions for individuals that express sadness or sorrow openly, her analysis follows individuals like Suriati (a young girl of low status, yet with possibilities for upward mobility) and displays how she socially manages her emotions. She hides her true feelings of sorrow after having lost her boyfriend to disease. Outwardly, she shows only happiness, true to cultural form. Wikan's divisions between emotional experiences and emotional expressions (and how they differ) are a critique of Ekman's (1992) basic emotion theory and the universality of emotional expressions. With its emphasis on idiosyncrasies, it is also a critique of the homogeneity of cultures. These contributions highlight the importance of understanding/describing how particular contexts may produce particular, even unique, emotional experiences. These are notions that have long permeated into the psychological pedigree on emotions (Mesquita and Frijda 1992). Both articles on interest enclosed describe how different contexts produce very different types of interest development.

2) It is fitting to start this chapter with Malinowski. He kept a diary on his own thoughts and feelings while doing fieldwork, and spoke of feelings of confinement, sexual desires, frustration etc. When this diary was published after his death, it produced a shockwave in the professional community. It told a tale of the influence of the anthropologist's own emotional agency on his or her work. Briggs' (1970) 'Never in Anger' is written reflexively on the absence of anger, both in expressions and in words, among the Eskimo's of the Chantrey Inlet in Alaska. She reflects on her role as a 'Kapluna daughter' adopted into an Eskimo family with her Western upbringing. All the tension she created with her ignorance and willful ways, and all the frustrations she felt are reflected upon. Briggs (1970:6) says the following: *"I describe the feelings that I myself had in particular situations. The justification for this is that I was an intrinsic*

²⁰ Wikan was married to one of the most famous anthropologists to come out of Norway, Fredrik Barth. His actor-oriented view and polemics against cultural anthropology surely influenced her, as they conducted fieldwork in Bali together (Wikan 1990).

part of the research situation". Notions that the ethnographer performs the realities he or she reports on (Hess 2001) have become central in contemporary anthropology, but here, Briggs is greatly ahead of her time. Her almost autoethnographical monography on emotions in Utku culture, in my opinion, is one of the best works on emotion in anthropology. Article II, the autoethnography on interest development is my homage to Briggs, yet I try to take it one step further, analyzing the ways interest shapes the ongoing interrelations, my understandings and performativities and, in the end, my representations. As such, anthropological reflexivity become vital in ethnographic studies of emotion. One rarely finds such reflexive gazes in psychological contributions, which are dominated by quantitative and controlled experimental approaches.

3) Emotions tend to be represented analytically, often numerically in graphs and tables. Psychologist Oatley (2012) calls for an analysis that includes forms of representations that involve narration, dramaturgies and plots – which are both evocative and poetic. Emotions may then emerge as powerful, magical and wonderfully naïve (Ellis and Bochner 2006). Law (2004) argues that a neat ordering of events may result in simplifications and that incorporating multiple aspects of emotions is important in ethnography. Ethnographies are especially well suited to produce evocative narratives that include a dramaturgy and a plot (Beatty 2013). Both articles on interest development involve narration, whereas especially the autoethnographical analysis aims to emphasize evocation.

I have just delved carefully into aspects of ethnographic emotion research that have important implications, and which is taken seriously in contemporary emotions research. However, it is equally important to identify aspects of ethnographic emotion research that are perhaps not so well developed.

3.3.2 Important challenges for ethnographic work on emotions

From my hybrid position, keeping some of the notions found in psychology in mind, I identify four important areas where current ethnography could improve. 1) Few, if any, current

contributions incorporate the embodied (endogenic) aspects of emotions. 2) Most contributions emphasize culture, or the social aspect of emotion, whereas other forms of materialities are ignored. 3) Emotions wind up being a sort of by-product of culture, rather than having agencies of their own. 4) A lack of conceptualization not only makes discourses difficult, it may hinder shaping methodologies that open up for the multiplicity of emotions.

1) As with affect, embodiment has a very different meaning in anthropology and psychology (Beatty 2013). In psychology, embodiment involves an appreciation of the physiological component of emotions: what, for instance, interest feels like and how it motivates thought and action. Beatty (2013:414) says, *“In anthropology, embodiment leaves physiology untouched, nerves unjangled. It denotes an antipositivist perspective on “lived experience” and “being-in-the world” that draws heavily upon phenomenology”*²¹. Avoiding the endogenic component of emotions is a “problem” for anthropology, as it limits our understanding of a complex phenomenon. Lazarus (1991) argues that anthropological studies tend to have an overreaching emphasis on the exogenic aspect of emotion. One important by-product of emphasizing what interest feels like, the amount of arousal, etc., is that you come to realize the powerful ways in which the emotion has agency (motivation) on thinking and acting.

2) In anthropological literature, it is often argued that, while engaging in social rituals, cultural knowledge is activated and determines how a person feels (Shore 1996). Understanding complex and particular cultural expressions, one comes to understand the emotional content. Thus, emotions quickly become cultural by-products where the cultural meaning is actually of importance rather than the emotion. Emotions rather enhance the cultural experience and socialization in a particular culture (Geertz 1973). I have tried in previous publications to argue that emotions have agencies of their own – they shape how we think and act, and how we meet people and interact with them (Ekeland 2009). Emotions can, therefore, produce new social forms; they are not merely produced by them. As such, emotions have powerful social-material agencies. This is, of course, a point that is vividly emphasized in psychology. Here, in the ethnographies presented, the emotion of interest drives us to explore – to engage in new

²¹ It should be noted that most current emotion theories in psychology draw upon phenomenological principles.

practices and break out of the monotonous habits of everyday life. Thus, these studies are about social change and learning new things, prompted by interest.

3) Milton (2005) argues that there has been an excessive focus on the cultural or social aspects of emotions. Landscapes became mere backdrops and the agency of ‘things’ not really mentioned. Therefore, the exogenic emphasis in the anthropology of emotion is not actually environment per se, as opposed to sociality. My approach to emotions displaces the culture concept with a space concept that is indebted to Massey (2005). She emphasizes how people, objects and landscapes engage in ongoing interrelations where both the human and non-human have agency. Touristic spaces, like Hurtigruten or Ekkerøy, are heterogeneous; they consist of a multitude of people with different backgrounds and different knowledge. People also share a degree of knowledge, being part of a globalized network of knowledge, and these spaces can be highly mobile. Vital for my analysis is the way interest has agency in these developing interrelations. How interest development indeed is space making. We cannot have access to materialities in the world, or spaces, without our meaning-making bodies that are largely powered by emotions like interest. Likewise, the particular, developing interrelations (spaces) have profound effects on the emotional experience. Dynamic spaces and the emotional experiences that have agency co-perform. Jones (2005:206) puts it differently:

“Each spatialized, felt, moment or sequence of the now-being-laid-down is, (more or less) mapped into our bodies and minds to become a vast store of past geographies which shape who we are and the ongoing process of life. The becoming-of-the-now is not distinct from this vast volume of experience, it emerges from it, and is colored by it, in ways we know and ways we don’t know. If we are all vast repositories of past emotional-spatial experiences then the spatiality of humanness becomes even deeper in extent and significance”

As we shall see, both types of interest development described in my work (the wanting schismogenesis on-board Hurtigruten, or the space entanglement processes taking place on Ekkerøy) embrace a space concept (exogenic) that is largely dependent on a meaning-making body in which the subjective emotional experience plays a vital role (endogenic).

4) Hence, emotions emerge as hugely context dependent, where particular contexts produce particular emotions that are not so easily generalized or perhaps understood. The critical and deconstructive discipline of anthropology also went to work on the emotion concept. Beatty (2013), arguing in the lines of Schweder (1994), criticizes the rigid system theory of emotions: the fact that it follows a sequence involving appraisal, physical activation, feeling and motivation, and that there is indeed synchronicity among these components. Using an ethnographic methodology, that included descriptions of interactions displayed temporally and narratively, Beatty argues that certain cultural performances in Bali prompt different emotional sequences, not involving the “whole” emotion. Whereas one in the West would respond to public scolding by feeling ashamed, the Balinese, Beatty (2013) argues, feel more a physical pain. As such, anthropological studies of emotions quickly run the risk of a type of relativism where everything becomes context: emotional experiences and performativities are contextually or culturally unique, and the very concepts become deconstructed and appear different from context to context. Anthropology is a critical discipline, often dedicated to the diversity or heterogeneity of ‘cultural’ expressions; yet, in order to describe this diversity, can we still hold on to conceptualizations of emotions that survive across different contexts? Myers (1973:343) seems to think so, as he argues, “*The range and quality of emotional experience is potentially the same for all human beings... socialization selects, elaborates, and emphasizes certain qualitative aspects from this range*”. My work follows the lines of Myers, arguing that universal and spatial specific emotional experience do not have to be mutually exclusive – they can, indeed, be both, as we shall see in both ethnographies enclosed.

This brings me back to the main point of this paragraph – the need for conceptualizing emotions in anthropology. To be able to engage in more comprehensive discourses, to work cross-disciplinarily, to drive home the point that there is more to emotions than mere context, and then, to my last and, perhaps, most important point: well-conceived methodologies, methodic performativities, require robust and multifaceted theorization. Let me dwell on this point. I claim, as Lazarus does, that anthropology has neglected the endogenic aspect of emotions resulting in an overreaching emphasis on the exogenic – or, more precisely, the social aspect of emotions. Put crudely, one might say that it results in a simplification of the emotion concept, even a form of misrepresentation (Law 2004). As it stands as a traditional narrative,

ethnography is well suited for the study of emotions as long as one ignores what Malinowski calls the subjective desire of feeling. However, the moment we start to embrace the endogenic aspects of emotions, traditional ethnography quickly becomes ill-suited for its task. Firstly, there is a need for increased focus. The minutiae of facial and body expressions must be seen in context, that is, the particular relation described: the particular situation at a specific time in history (Scheff 1997). For me, this implies, for instance, the use of film sequences to capture details, along with pictures that enable me to produce verbatim representations of the here and now (McDougal 1998). Such a focus can empower ethnographic methodologies in our study of emotions. Secondly, there is a need for self-reports to elaborate on the subjective experience of interest, the level of arousal, etc. in order to better capture the endogenic aspects. This is one crucial learning experience that results in the particular methodologies developed in my work (a multi-method triangulation and analytic autoethnography), and the formation of the spatial-emotional methodology introduced in the next chapter. This methodological point is mostly missing in anthropological analyses. Therefore, our cross-disciplinary work, which yields a more multifaceted conceptualization, influenced, methodic performativity, makes it more suited to the task. The opposite is also true. Ethnography can imply a process (Charmaz 2008) where new theoretical content emerges through methodical performativities. In article I, we originally began exploring Hidi and Renninger's (2006) model of interest development, yet the empirical data strongly suggested that quite different interest dynamics were taking place in this ethnographic site. We had to formulate new theoretical content to describe this. Hence, theory and method overlap and merge to have an impact on each other (Førde et al. 2012). Sometimes they are difficult to separate; hence, the need for a methodology that reflects their merging and interactive nature (Madge et al. 1997).

Summing up, one might say that my ethnographic studies of interest include a narrative and temporal emphasis on socio-material contexts as well as an embodiment that includes subjective experiences and physical arousal. They stress the need for conceptualization, and designing methodologies enables researchers to grasp the multiple facets of interest. This also enables the scholar to show how emotions, like interest, have agency in multiple ways, for instance, how emotions impact scholarly practices and representations. The latter implies analytic language (conceptualization), narration and dramaturgy, evocative language, as well

as the more traditional statistical representations. In the next chapter, four important meta-theoretical points that draw together the psychological and anthropological perspectives are discussed before the empirical studies are presented.

3.4 Towards a spatial-emotional methodology and an ontology of the flesh

Drawing from embodied realism (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), and a phenomenology relating to emotions derived from Lazarus' (1991) use of Merleau-Ponty (2004), the next section discusses four important meta-theoretical points. My philosophy of science is, and needs to be, closely grounded in the emotion concept. The four points discussed are as follows. 1) All thinking, acting and learning are impacted in various ways by different kinds of emotions. 2) Emotionally driven learning and the relationship between the perceiver and the perceived. 3) Emotions – innate and universal or learned? 4) The spatial-emotional methodology of interest development.

1) *“Embodied realism, as we understand it, is the view that the locus of experience, meaning and thought, is the ongoing series of embodied organism-environment interactions that constitute our understandings of the world”* (Lakoff and Johnson 2002:249). Here, active bodies engage with the world and impact a physical reality; yet this reality, in turn, impacts us. In this process, knowledge is produced and learning occurs. Lakoff and Johnson's (2002:247) realism implies the following when talking about learning: *“You need to explain how creatures with our peculiar neural and physiological makeup can experience meaning, can conceptualize, and can reason abstractly. And in such an account, the body is implicated every step of the way”*. This dissertation focuses on the role of emotions in such a venture, especially interest, in the formation of new knowledge. According to Zajonc (1980), all thinking, doing and learning is contaminated by emotional content. Each emotion, whether anger, sadness or interest, makes a peculiar footprint and has different agencies in the ongoing body-environment interactions (Izard 2010). Hence, the dualism between passion and reason is abandoned – they merge. Cognition and affect, body and mind melt, into interactive systems that are indeed hard to separate (Anderson 2011).

2) In this dissertation, it is argued that learning is driven by a motivational urge to explore triggered by interest (Hidi and Renninger 2006). Interest drives our bodies to acquire new information and to participate in challenging activities that require coping. In these emotional engagements with a socio-material environment, our bodies change to adapt to these new circumstances – our bodies learn. Some neurons in our brains change, they form improved relationships with other neurons and, in some cases, with muscles (Dooidge 2007). The human body displays an amazing plasticity as it physically renders itself to overcome changes in the environment and to adapt to this novelty. When we engage with new socio-material environments through activities, we apply previous spatial-emotional memories (including muscle memory) to make sense of and to cope with the here and now (Jones 2005). Sometimes, we may have become so entrenched in routines that changing – adapting to a new situation – may appear difficult (Ekeland 2009). Drawing from Kahneman (2010), as interest drives us to adapt to new things, there is a conscious, deliberate and *slow thinking* involved solving the conundrum. There is a period of trial and error before (hopefully) one achieves mastery of the task. Eventually, through repetition, the task becomes automated, which implies that performing the task may be done largely without conscious effort (*fast thinking*). As you keep engaging in an activity in a socio-material environment, interest is deepened, which implies increased focus, more immersion and improved capacity for learning (Silvia 2006). The relationship towards the object of interest becomes improved, as ‘it’ becomes increasingly meaningful to you. Therefore, learning is, at least in the contexts explored here, an emotional entanglement process to certain people and things in the environment where the subject impacts the socio-material environment and vice versa.

Therefore, this dissertation describes entanglement processes with ‘things’, the non-human actors as materialities. They have agency upon the constantly changing interrelations. The particle of the sun that collides with our atmosphere and creates northern lights, and the powerful and uncontrollable kite or the different physical landscapes of Ekkerøy or Hurtigruten are all examples of vital, non-human, co-performers of the unfolding interrelations of interest development. ‘Things’ can become truly important for us as lifelong pursuits of happiness, and, as we play with them, and they play with us, they change our meaning-making bodies.

When we interact or play with other human beings, the process is similar but different, as all normal humans have the capacity to feel, which is the foundation of sociality. When we engage with other humans, our vast plethora of previous spatial-emotional experiences enables us to understand others, to have empathy and create social bonds (Damasio 1994). Our sophisticated bodies apply these previous spatial-emotional experiences while making very subtle interpretations of other people and the situation (Scheff 1997). By answering questions like, what are the facial expressions and body postures of the person before me? What is my history with this person? What kind of relation is this? What is the specific setting (culture) where this relation takes place, and what period in history does this interplay occur? etc., the tiniest parts are connected to the larger wholes (Ibid), which allows us to partially connect to another human being (Verran 2007). This implies that we have access to how others see the world and how their different emotional states render their behavior and perception. This dissertation, at least article II, describes how interest results also in an entanglement with other human beings and how increased knowledge and affection drastically improve one's ability to see and understand others. Similarly, it also describes how the "ethnographic I" becomes changed by interest through participation in these developing interrelations. *Thus, a crucial finding presented in my work is how contexts are ordered through the agency of emotions like interest.* Therefore, contexts are not just constellations of people, landscapes and things that produce unique emotional experiences.

Damasio (1994) shows that people with damaged frontal lobes have a decreased ability to understand others, as their emotional system is impaired. They do not feel empathy, cannot read other people or respond appropriately, and sometimes are passive, preventing social bonds from being forged. Without emotions, sociality cannot exist, and sociality implies partial connections to other human bodies.

Drawing from Merleau-Ponty (2004) and his ontology of the flesh, it appears that the relation between materialities in the world and the perceiving body is not one of true detachment. It is more an interaction where the perceiver and the perceived impact each other, and even merge. Through engagements in interrelations, emotions emerge that change our basic perception, which renders how we come to perceive shapes in the world (Niedenthal &

Setterlund 1994) or the appearance of colors (Christianson & Loftus 1991). Shore (1996) goes further, arguing that engaging in socio-material environments as a form of emotional learning does not merely imply rendered neurons, but profound changes in our nervous systems: changes that render basic feats of perception. He argues that some cultures, modeled by certain socio-material environments, lack depth perception, the ability to perceive two-dimensional art, etc. There is a reason I mention this mutual interaction between a feeling and perceiving body and its many socio-material environments – it opens up to us an understanding of emotions as an entanglement between the perceiver and the perceived, and how they (through emotional episodes) become deeply entwined.

3) Before we go further in exploring a spatial-emotional approach to interest development, there is one last conundrum to be addressed. Are emotions universal and panhuman (Ekman 1991) or are they learned in a way that makes them unrecognizable across contexts (Lutz 1988)? This PhD dissertation offers contrasting evidence on this question. Article I, as we will see, offers interesting findings on how large heterogeneous groups can come together in unfolding body-environment interactions on Hurtigruten that eventually produce very similar experiences of interest (using questionnaires). Ironically then, you have an ethnography arguing for the universality of interest. However, the autoethnography (article II), naturally argues that interest is a personal and unique place-making process. It should be mentioned that both articles, while also including the agency of things, reveal how sociality enhances interest. The conclusion one can draw from this small sample of studies, in accord with Myers (1973) mentioned earlier, is that interest is both universal (all humans have a general capacity for interest); however, different contexts and variance in spatial-emotional memories of the participants will yield differences in how interest is experienced.

Although most people are born with the capacity to feel, there is great variance in how people experience emotions and how they are able to regulate said emotions (Bartsch et al. 2008). Some people are not easily interested, whereas others are easily drawn by this curious emotion into new situations. These individual changes impact personal interest development. *In this regard, it is important to mention that the studies enclosed here are studies of changing states, rather than personality traits.*

My point here is just to argue how dynamic and interactional emotionally driven learning is – how our bodies and our socio-material environments become entangled in so many different ways. It is a fluid and changeable flux that is amazingly sophisticated, and my ambition with this dissertation is merely to focus on the agency of interest – how it shapes socio-material interrelations and vice versa.

4)“*Emotions then are not merely in the individual, nor in the environment, it is an emergent condition; there must be a conjunction of an environment with certain attributes and a person with certain attributes, which together produce a relational meaning*” (Lazarus 1991:12). In the study of interest, the focus on the human body – the subjective feeling, the physiological changes, the emotional state’s impact on cognition, etc. – must be combined with an equally rigorous focus on the environment. The latter implies the unfolding of history depicted narratively including a dramaturgy and plot, the characters in the play and their trajectories, and the agencies of objects and landscapes (Beatty 2014, Massey 2005, Scheff 1997). The feeling body tells us something of the external world, how the self perceives it and how it is ordered; similarly, the unfolding of this external world, movements of people, objects and landscapes, sequentially, can tell us why the body feels the way it does. In the study of emotions, the body and the environment inform each other. This is the core of what I call *the spatial-emotional methodology of interest development*, and why the methods chosen involve both participant observations and self-reports. This interactional approach between body and environment provides a different, more nuanced take on the temporality of emotions than previously described in anthropology with its emphasis on the exogenic and social aspect of emotions. It also highlights the ethnographic focus on dynamic contexts that may challenge the less contextual-dynamic approaches found in psychology (Silvia 2006) while maintaining an across-context conceptualization.

4. Article I: Interest dynamics on Hurtigruten: A triangulated multi-method ethnography

Article I describes how Hurtigruten seductively works, trying to trigger and sustain interest in different ways. The visiting tourists, before they arrive on the ship, are already interested particularly in seeing the northern lights. Thus, through a multi-method design using triangulation, numerous encounters between Hurtigruten's experience production and these tourists are accounted for, describing certain dynamics of interest development that are of importance for an emerging hunting the light tourism of the north. The chapter starts with an introduction to the study design, methods and triangulation, as such insights are pivotal in understanding the empirically-based methodological findings. An account of the methodological findings then follows. Firstly, triangulation offers important new knowledge pertaining to the methodic aspects on the study of interest. Secondly, findings pertaining to existing theories and, thus, an expansion of these are discussed. These findings are discussed in their own section, illuminating ways in which empirical data, theory and methods are entwined, underlining the importance of reflexive methodologies. These sections are then followed by a 'value for practice' part that focuses on how this social science research can benefit a tourism industry in the north that thrives on offering a hunting of the light experience. Lastly, the cross-disciplinary aspect of this paper is addressed; how Dahl (psychologist) and Ekeland (anthropologist) have worked together and negotiated the contents of this article to such an extent that it becomes something of a 'betwixt and between'.

4.1 A multi-method triangulation – A different kind of ethnography

Triangulation implies the use of two or more methods to understand the same phenomenon (Denzin 1970). The different knowledge producing practices (methods) and the data they yield are put in dialogue with each other, allowing multiple connections to the phenomenon as well as increased reflexivity (Flick 1992). Reflexivity is of crucial importance to the use of multiple methods. Without reflexivity, the use of multiple methods can make more of a mess of knowledge practices and the data they produce, rather than enhancing knowledge (Hesse-Biber 2012). Ethnographic triangulation implies an emphasis on participant observation. This allows

the scholar to report on how a concept, in this case, interest, is performed, highlighting particular relations, situated at particular times in history including a dramaturgy and a plot (Scheff 1997, Beatty 2014). Here, participant observation is not about being socialized into homogenous meaning systems, rather than mobile, heterogeneous ethnographic sites (Hess 2001). Crucial for ethnographic approaches to studies of emotions, like interest, is the ability to provide thick descriptions of what Hurtigruten is and the practices that occur there, and then put these occurrences in a wider historical context in which they occur, combining the smallest parts (in this case, emotional expressions in people) with the larger wholes (Hurtigruten in a larger economic-political setting) (Scheff 1997).

The self-reports in this article were initiated on pre-set occasions during the trip after advice from Hurtigruten's leading personnel.

The questionnaires were handed out midway through the trip. They had two important purposes methodologically. Firstly, through Dahl's (2013) operationalization of Hidi and Renningers four-phased model of interest development, they were used to comment on the relationship between interest and its component parts of new knowledge, meaningfulness and positive emotions. We predicted that meaningfulness would have the steepest slope in relation to low and high feelings of interest. Positive emotion was predicted to have the shallowest slope, with new knowledge in between. Secondly, the questionnaire enabled us to capture the here and now 'snapshot' of the level of interest the tourists we followed experienced. As we studied 120 tourists that were flown in from London to Tromsø to embark on a four-day journey from Tromsø, and to Kirkenes and back again, it was a challenge, through observation, to capture individual emotional expressions. It became more of a group dynamic approach. However, questionnaires enabled us to capture nuances in individual experiences of interest at that given time on the journey.

The interviews were conducted at the end of the trip. They were semi-structured and somewhat matched with the questionnaire content so that some of the same concepts could be considered from multiple perspectives. A crucial point here is that I did not steer the conversation, apart from asking pre-determined questions; thus, the tourists freely associated

the kind of memories that came to mind. As we shall see, this provided important and fascinating data. Ten people were chosen based on obtaining a broad sample of gender, age and travel affinity.

Before the findings are presented, it was important to report on the different data, and how they seemed to be irreconcilable and, at other times, complementary.

It became evident relatively soon, through participant observation, that Hurtigruten offered two different types of experiences that impacted interest development differently. On one hand, Hurtigruten offered scripted experiences on-board, like tasting dried cod and watching live king crabs, and off-board excursions, like dogsledding or the North Cape excursion; the latter was argued to be the northernmost point in mainland Europe. In accordance with previous studies (Ekeland 2011), the industrial experience production poorly triggered and sustained interest. There was too little distribution of information distributed at the right time, too little time to explore and too many people participating in the same activities; the 'one size fits all ideologies' hindered individually-adaptive learning. On the other hand, Hurtigruten was an ongoing hunt for the elusive northern lights. As we will see, being one of the most important findings of this article, the pursuit of seeing a natural occurrence produced entirely different dynamics for interest development, eventually resulting in extremely powerful states of interest, even awe. However, the occurrence of the northern lights at a particular time of the journey mattered in terms of the tourist's overall experience of the cruise.

The questionnaires were skewed on the high scale of interest with a mean of 6.14 on a 1–7 Likert scale. The high-interest states consisted of the following relation between the measured factors: value and positive emotions had the highest mean scores (steepest slopes), whereas new knowledge was high, but significantly lower than value and positive emotion. This was not what we expected (keeping Hidi and Renningers model in mind) when we predicted that new knowledge would have a steeper slope than positive emotion. We expected that learning would be critically important to develop a high level of interest, yet our data suggested otherwise.

The interviews were conducted 20 hours later. Here, the tourists uniformly expressed rather intense states of boredom – a state that was negatively correlated with high interest!

Thus, this was the conundrum of triangulation; how do you make sense of these data? In what way could we possibly explain two sets of data that showed negative expressions of interest and two sets that showed intense states of interest? In the next section, the findings of this article are presented along with our piecing together of empirical data in context.

4.2 Methodological findings

Listed in the table below is a summary of the main findings in this article. The left column shows the findings of this article, whereas the right column represents how these findings pertain to existing theory, in both psychology and anthropology. Note that the first three points represents findings pertaining to the method of triangulation, and the last seven are findings pertaining to interest development. As argued above, theory and method tend to be intertwined in many ways; yet, for the sake of analytical order, they are represented distinctly. Each point in the table is discussed chronologically below.

Empirical findings of article I	Existing theory
1) Triangulation allows both endogenic and exogenic aspects to be described, which allows multiple aspects of interest to emerge	Few, if any, previous ethnographic triangulation studies on interest development from an emotion perspective have been undertaken
2) Introduces important methodological distinctions between the experiencing selves and the remembering selves	A point not explicitly made by Silvia (2006) or Renninger and Hidi (2011)
3) Multiple forms of representation	Statistical and experimental methods are predominant
1) Wanting schismogenesis as a hunt for an elusive interest object prompts negative emotions	Re-engaging with an interest object increases positive emotion, value and learning
2) Learning something new is of less importance than predicted	Learning is vital for interest development
3) Interest development is relatively short lived; it is only a matter of days before it ends abruptly	Interest development may last for years, even a lifetime, yet it may also end abruptly

4) Identified synchronicity between emotion components enhances interest agency	Few, if any, previous studies on interest focus much on synchronicity
5) Emotional episodes may be prolonged meaning-making processes	Emotional episodes are mostly seen as very brief, even largely unconscious
6) Our heterogeneous group experienced very similar experiences of interest	Emotions can be seen as universal and similar across contexts (psych). Different contexts produce different experiences of emotions; also, people are positioned differently, resulting in different emotional experiences of the same event (anthro)
7) This ethnography on the emotion of interest includes conceptualizations	There are few, if any, ethnographies on interest in psychology and anthropology; in anthropology, conceptualization is mostly lacking

Table 1. Representations of findings in article I

The theoretical expansions are intrinsically tied to the methodical ones; together, they constituted a certain ethnographic methodology for the study of emotions. A triangulation study consisting of participant observation, interviews and questionnaires offered at least three vital contributions to the study of emotions, with interest being one.

Firstly, multi-methods like these capture both the endogenic and exogenic properties of the emotion experience. According to Scheff (1997), participant observation does not only allow us to record and report on the appearance and performativites of the environment, it provides crucial contextual and temporal data helpful for comprehending and gleaning endogenic changes, synchronicity included, when combined with other methods. Thus, self-reports are equally important. Interviews can provide rich accounts on peoples' emotional experiences and how they see the world, which offers important endogenic insights and informs the ethnographer on exogenic perspectives. Similarly, questionnaires provide numerical representations of the experience of interest from a potentially large group. It should be mentioned here that questionnaires could be used in many ways. Sequential analysis can measure the development of learning and levels of interest if these questionnaires are filled out at different intervals during the journey. Three rounds of answering questionnaires would be needed to begin to have proper sequential data. Other technologies could be applied to help capture the endogenic components of emotions, like facecams, which could read facial

expressions, or heart monitors, which glean arousal levels. MRI's could measure changes in electrical activity in the brain during an emotional episode. Thus, despite the many possibilities of triangulation, there are obviously challenges related to getting even fuller pictures of emotional experiences. We can only have partial access to the physiological aspect of emotions, for instance (Mol 2002). Nevertheless, such an ethnographic triangulation study highlights the complex and dynamic nature of emotions. Thus, it provides a more nuanced understanding of the concept than previous anthropological studies that mainly emphasize the exogenic aspect of emotions. In psychology, on the other hand, few temporal studies of the emotion of interest exist, and even fewer scrutinize different complex, natural contexts (Silvia 2006).

Secondly, a triangulation study enables the scholar to scrutinize how emotions impact thinking and acting, and allows for important analytical distinctions. In this article, borrowing from Kahneman et al. (1997), the concepts of 'remembering' and 'experiencing selves' are used in the study of emotions. The theory says that what the tourists do and feel is not necessarily the same as what they say they feel. Emotions affect how tourists respond in interviews and on questionnaires, making them misrepresent how they actually felt in prior sequences of the trip. Two examples of this: the questionnaires were handed out right after the peak experience of seeing the northern lights. The answers were euphoric, and the data skewed. The tourists were asked to judge the overall trip experiences, yet all the queuing, the huge masses of people, the little time to explore and the one size fits all ideologies of the scripted activities not related to hunting the light were 'forgotten'. Similarly, 20 hours later, when the tourists were agitatedly bored, all ten tourists interviewed 'forgot' to report on the amazing northern lights experience. Instead, they reported on how the trip felt confining, how there was little time to explore, the annoying huge masses of people, etc. Thus, in accord with the overall message of this article, and the whole dissertation, it seems that emotions affect which memories are activated during an interview/questionnaire session – not having observational data can, thus, result in huge misrepresentations. Researchers need to distinguish between the experiencing and remembering self in the study of emotions, or in any social science topic, to see how they potentially deviate. This is only possible through triangulation.

Thirdly, triangulation studies provide different ways of representing interest. The narrative and dramaturgical plot of ethnography may produce temporal and more poetic representations of concepts that mostly are represented statistically in emotions literature. In this particular study, the emphasis is on group rather than individual expressions, which implies a certain loss of idiosyncrasies and interest as a personally experienced emotion. Interviews provide personal accounts of interest experiences. Questionnaires provide statistical representations that can unveil the more complex architectural aspects of the emotion from a larger sample of participants. They can also provide possibilities to capture great personal differences in the way interest is experienced. Thus, triangulation studies can yield different ways of representing interest, also by embracing both group and individual accounts.

The next paragraphs contain seven theoretical findings pertaining to interest development. Firstly, rather than a model of interest development that focuses on how *repeated engagements* with an interest object leads to increased positive emotion, improved knowledge, increased value and the onset of positive emotions, the hunt for the light – *seeking the interest object* – produces very different dynamics. Interest is described as an emotion that involves a subjective desire to explore – a feeling of wanting (Izard 1977, Silvia 2006, Litman 2005). When people hunt/seek interest objects that are elusive, resulting in jilted pursuits, this wanting increases (Shiv and Kahn 2010). Increased states of interest motivate certain behaviors and affect how we anticipate future outcomes (Huron 2007). On Hurtigruten, this resulted in intensified hunting performativities. The tourists, at least some of them, patrolled the boat every hour in search of the northern lights. In addition, during dinners or social encounters, the tourists expressed an increased worry that they would not be able to see the lights this trip. Thus, repeated jilted pursuits affected anticipation in a negative manner. As time slowly dwindled away, the tourists appeared more apprehensive, tense and even frustrated; they started to broadcast increasingly this frustration, thus affecting other tourists who felt similarly. Thus, people's anticipations and impressions of what went on were reinforced by others on-board the ship, further increasing this wanting – this interest.

This article argues that, more or less, people are constantly engaged in a sort of emotional regulation by monitoring the environment and assessing how it is influencing the self

(D'Andrade 1995). One way of explaining this process is using meta-emotions (Bartsch et al. 2008). How do these tourists feel about their strong onset of wanting? When their desires were oriented toward an elusive object, they seemed to become frustrated and sad, yet their desires to see the lights were only enhanced – it became almost an obsession.

Here, it is prudent to question whether a strong state of interest tends to be a positive emotion. Hidi and Renninger (2006) mention that, although most interest development requires positive emotions, some contexts also include negative emotions. This scenario also argues against this common notion, claiming that the body wants to regulate itself towards a neutral state – to produce homeostasis (Cummins 2016). In some contexts, the human body engages in environments where the particular emotion produces a focus (a motivation) that further enhances the current emotion: in this case, interest. Whereas homeostasis is tied to the body's regulation (a feeling of hunger when your blood sugar is low, the onset of fever when you have an infection, etc.) (Vittersø & Sørholt 2011), this article introduces the term schismogenesis (Bateson 1972). Think of the heater in your apartment. You set the temperature (bias) at 19°C. When the temperature in the environment drops below the set limit, the heater turns itself up; when it becomes too high, it turns itself off. Now think of the following scenario. As the room gets hotter (the tourists' increased broadcasting of their emotions, the dwindling time, etc.) the heater (how interest results in more bleak anticipations of future outcomes, which further enhances the emotion) gets exponentially hotter – it becomes an unhealthy vicious circle between the body and the environment, which mutually enforce each other – a wanting schismogenesis²². This phenomenon has been slightly touched upon in the realm of meta-emotion research (Bartsch et al. 2008). One can say that the absence of the northern lights prompted the wanting schizogenesis that prevented the tourists from regulating this emotional discomfort, this tension, themselves. However, changes in the circumstances abruptly rendered these states, giving release, and eventually reverting these strong states of interest to more normal ones.

²² A wanting schismogenesis describes the body-environment interactions that are at the heart of the spatial-emotional methodology.

Suddenly, on day two, the northern lights exploded in the night sky. The scenes that unfolded underline the environmental tension on-board the ship. The alarm went off, and tourists came running down the stairs. At one point, several of them stumbled headlong down the stairs and fell into a large pile. Others came running, wide eyed, wearing only a T-shirt into the frigid wind and -7°C weather. Moments later, all the tourists onboard the ship were gathered in the stern watching the spectacle. One guide humorously observed that this group of several hundred tourists was ‘more efficient than any lot of highly trained elite soldiers that he had ever seen’. Hurtigruten turned off all the lights on-board, and we were in the middle of nowhere – in total darkness. Overhead, the aurora borealis danced vividly across the night sky. Five hundred or so tourists stood in total silence watching the spectacle, some with tears streaming down their cheeks.

Secondly, what seemed evident from this kind of interest development was that the role of new knowledge was less important. The tourists did not learn anything particularly new about the northern lights, it was the wanting schismogenesis that drove the scenario forward. Thus, it seems, in contradiction to Hidi and Renninger’s (2006) findings, that interest can be developed without a huge presence of new knowledge. Such a scenario, therefore, provides an alternative to Hidi and Renninger’s (2006) model of interest development, which emphasizes learning. The relationships between the interest variables captured by the questionnaires taken only a short period after the tourists had seen the lights corroborate this theory with its new knowledge variable having the shallowest slope in relation to interest, and with positive emotion and meaningfulness having the steepest slopes. Meaningfulness becomes very strong in a wanting schismogenesis, as the object almost becomes an obsession endowed with immense value. The strong positive emotion scores could be explained as the tourists had just seen the northern lights and were euphoric. The observational data also corroborated the high mean scores of interest in the questionnaires.

Thirdly, this interest pursuit was short lived. Shortly after seeing the lights, the tourists stopped their hunting performativities and just sat down and became less active²³. This would

²³ It should be mentioned here that Renninger and Hidi (2015) distinguish between interest and curiosity; they describe a curious person as motivated to search for a missing piece of information to close a knowledge-gap. This is different from interest, which is triggered and then sustained: it does not cease to be of interest usually.

explain why the tourists become agitatedly bored towards the end of the trip, as their main desire for partaking in the trip had been quenched. The on-board scripted experiences did little to trigger interest for northern lights (or anything else for that matter) towards the end of the trip. Here, observations and interviews were in agreement. Thus, it would seem that this theory of interest development and changing states (endogenic), along with a thick exogenic representation of context, provided plausible explanations for events that occurred on-board the ship.

Fourthly, one of the most central motivations for studying emotions is to elaborate on how changing interrelations or spaces result in changes in the endogenic emotion components, and to show that there is, in fact, synchronicity among these. In the case of the wanting schismogenesis, changes in the environments are described, as are changes in how people appraise or anticipate, how the qualia changes as wanting increases, how motivation to see the lights becomes more pronounced and how expressions become more visible as a result of increased broadcasting. *Thus, synchronicity becomes evident through the spatial-emotional unfolding of interest; the subjective feeling of wanting becomes enhanced, it results in more pronounced hunting performativities and increased broadcasting – again the endogenic and exogenic aspects of interest co-perform in the wanting schismogenesis.* Hence, the most vital point of this PhD project emerges; the emotion of interest has powerful agency in host-guest interrelations. Central to this dynamic is the role of meta-emotions for emotion regulation. The analysis offers a body-environment exploration that shows changes in both, as well as offering evidence of synchronization.

Fifthly, this analysis highlights an increased number of prolonged emotional episodes of interest and the ways that the emotional state becomes enhanced through body-environment interrelations. Many studies on emotions see interest as abrupt, quick and a more or less automatic response, rather than also involving slow, conscious thought and meaning making.

In this case, they would label the dynamics on Hurtigruten with curiosity. Silvia (2008) argues that interest and curiosity are the same; he calls interest the curious emotion. In this dissertation, we apply the latter understanding.

Sixthly, these data provide a certain conundrum for contemporary anthropological research on emotions. Evidence suggests that heterogeneous groups may come together to “hunt for the light” on Hurtigruten and experience shared, very similar and powerful wanting schismogenesis. Our skewed questionnaire data show that there is indeed little difference in how the tourists experience interest. Such a finding points to certain important universal dynamics of interest development shared amongst a heterogeneous group.

Seventhly, as an ethnography, this contribution provides a complex conceptualization of interest, which is lacking in anthropological works on emotion.

4.3 Value for practice

Such an emphasis on the fickle main attraction of the northern lights may result in potentially devastating emotional dynamics in tourist groups, as the unfolding dramaturgy is out of Hurtigruten’s control. Our data showed, as in article III, that the controllable and scripted experiences Hurtigruten’s offered were largely ineffective in triggering and sustaining interest. If then, as is the case in this particular context, the tourists see the northern lights midway through the journey, Hurtigruten is unable to prevent the group from falling into intense boredom. The light-hunting performativities were intensely meaningful and their appearance provided a very powerful interest peak. When the tourists saw the light in its entire splendor, their desires seemed quenched, and they stopped hunting, as the emotionally driven meaning behind these acts was gone. What was left was the ineffective, industrial, scripted experiences, which resulted in powerful states of boredom only 20 hours after seeing the light; the tourists could not wait to get off the ship. According to Kahneman et al. (1997), tourist providers should aim to produce a peak experience at the end of the trip. Again, this pertains to the differences between the remembering self and the experiencing self. Trips that end in boredom are remembered overall as being negative. The experiencing self of the here and now might have had fantastic experiences throughout the trip, including seeing the northern lights. Yet, when the trip ends on a low note, the remembering self, the one who makes future decisions, labels it as negative. On that note, it should be mentioned that, when I interviewed five of the tourists in London in a debrief four months later, they had few positive memories of the trip and none wanted to visit Hurtigruten again. One way to solve this is to place an emphasis on the

controllable experiences, trying to enhance them and especially creating a memorable experience at the end of the trip.

4.4 Working cross-disciplinarily

I wrote this article with educational psychologist Tove I Dahl. We come from two disciplines that perhaps emphasize different disciplinary approaches to both theory and method. Whereas Tove applies statistical approaches that require much theoretical work and operationalization of questionnaires prior to the fieldwork experience, I focus on participant observations and a form of grounded theory work. Both disciplinary approaches are negotiated in article I. Whereas an ethnographic approach prefers to use temporal accounts, often displayed narratively with a dramaturgy and plot, psychological approaches strongly prefer detail in these interactions. Both Tove and I are somewhat “forced” to perform our disciplines rather differently as we navigate both practices and theoretical and methodical content. In addition, Tove has access to a different theoretical vault than do I. She suggested using, for instance, the peak end rule, theory and distinction between the remembering self and the experiencing self, which fits nicely into my anthropological universe and shows the powerful ways emotions have agency upon knowledge and knowing. In this article, interest is represented numerically through charts, models and figures, it is represented narratively through dramaturgy and plot and it is represented as subjective elaborations through interviews. Such negotiations make the article a hybrid, as it is not just an ethnography, yet not quite a psychological study. One can say that the way knowledge in this dissertation is understood, produced, analyzed and presented is greatly influenced by the different disciplinary interfaces of psychology and anthropology and the dynamics between Tove and myself.

5. Article II: An analytic autoethnography of interest development: Kiting on Ekkerøy

Article II describes how interest driven encounters with people, objects and landscapes relating to the extreme sport of kiting can result in powerful place attachment processes, as well as a lifelong relationship with kiting. This chapter begins with an introduction to analytical autoethnography as ways of studying and representing interest. As with article I, the theoretical and methodical findings are presented separately, yet their entwined relationships become apparent. Lastly, a value for practice section is presented.

5.1 Analytic autoethnography

Autoethnography provides an ethnographic gaze on an external world from the perspective of the self (Auto) (Boylorn and Orbe 2015). Accounts of the temporal performativities of different materialities are provided along with how the ‘ethnographic I’²⁴ experiences interest and performs the realities on which he/she reports. Similar to triangulation, such a method provides this double account of self-reports and participant observation, which are crucial to the study of emotion, as we have just seen: to have access to performativities represented narratively, while also providing self-reports. The important questions are; can autoethnography maintain the distinction between the experiencing self and the remembering self, or do they somehow muddleheadedly merge as the subject of all knowledge pours out of the ethnographer’s own body? And, can analytic autoethnography run the risk of becoming a narcissistic venture that is an abrogation of scholarly practice (Delamont 2009), or can it also efficiently deal with the ongoing interrelations?

Analytical autoethnography combines two different modes of representation (Anderson 2006). One is analytical, where theoretical positions are discussed. The other aims to be evocative. Emotions in the psychological literature have predominately been represented statistically or are otherwise non-evocative (Oatley 2012). An evocative approach also

²⁴ The ‘ethnographic I’ is a title of one of Carolyn Ellis’ (2006) works on autoethnography, and refers here to the position of the author in the text, from the ethnographic I’s perspective.

represents emotions as even romantic and naïve (Ellis 2006), thus enhancing the narrative tradition in anthropology (Beatty 2014).

Each year VAKE is arranged in the very northeast of Finnmark County in Norway. It is said to be the longest and most challenging snow-kiting race in the world. After having done studies on northern-light tourism on-board Hurtigruten, I was ready to explore different types of Arctic winter tourism in Norway. I wanted to participate in a challenging activity and explore this race, yet I did not know anything about the extreme sport kiting or the VAKE race. Living in Alta, I accidentally met Trine, one of the people who arranged the race. Inspired by the participatory tradition in anthropology and colleagues of mine that learned base-jumping to complete their study of emotions²⁵, I decided that I had to learn the basics of kiting. Thus, Trine and I traveled to Ekkerøy and its twin beaches for four days to get to know the region and to be introduced to kiting.

Theories on interest development in psychology often become too neat to connect to the more messy ethnographic sites of anthropology. Notions, like *interest, are triggered in one situation, while one particular subject has one particular interest object, and “external support” may serve to scaffold learning and, thus, sustain and develop interest* (Hidi and Renninger 2006), are challenged. Drawing from Massey (2005) and her interrelational approach to space, it becomes evident that people continuously engage vis-à-vis multiple interest relations. Trine takes me hiking, we visit Havhesten, an old fish plant that has been transformed into a restaurant, we go fishing, and we cook a three-course meal for Hanne, one of Trine's friends. Thus, we explore different spaces of Ekkerøy with different performativities and, as we do this, relations change due to interest. I learn of the different landscapes, hear their stories, I meet Hanne and her uncle Roald and, across these different space-times, Trine functions as a guide. Then, standing on the beach on day three, I have already become infatuated with the many spaces of Ekkerøy and her people. When we unpack the kites, I have gotten to know Trine, the unafraid, turquoise-eyed blonde, whose home is only minutes away from this peninsula. Not taking into account how “objects” of interest (the many landscapes of Ekkerøy and Trine and her friends) have emerged during these three days would be to misrepresent the

²⁵ Audun Hetland conducted a study of emotions in base jumpers where he himself jumped off a cliff – so to speak.

temporality of interest. Thus, people engage with several objects of interest at the same time, interest is fluid, and these objects may have synergetic effects on interest development. One example of this is how Trine coaches me in my first kiting session and, thus, improves my learning such that my interest is enhanced vis-à-vis kiting. She is not merely “external support”: she is an interest “object”. The kite is uncontrollable and powerful, and it sometimes crashes me into the pearly white sand. Through this performativity, I also learn more about Trine. You might say that the kite enables a deepening of my relationship with Trine.

The article describes how interest is an emotional entanglement with different spaces of Ekkerøy. As such, interest is used as a conceptual framework to describe place attachment processes or belonging. Crucial here is the realization that, as interest drives you to explore different aspects of a physical reality, double learning occurs. You learn of the landscapes, people and objects in these changeable interrelations that constitute space, but you also learn of what is important to the self. Having an interest developed means that certain objects, like the kite, people like Trine or the different landscapes of Ekkerøy, become increasingly meaningful to the self – even to the point where it completely condenses your value system (Hidi and Renninger 2006). The article introduces the concept of *Hireath*, places of the past that have a very powerful hold on people and produce a longing or yearning to experience these again. As such, the entanglement process describes the emergence of Ekkerøy as a Hireath of the ethnographic I. In this article, the term spatial-emotional epistemology is introduced, illuminating the interconnectedness between body and environment, argued by Lazarus (1991), all seen through the lens of interest. In addition, this contribution stresses how interest becomes deepened, its qualia (subjective experience or feeling) renders as it changes phenomenologically, while the interrelations mature.

In this specific context, interest development explains how the ethnographic I becomes entangled with the ethnographic site on which he/she aims to report. The ethnographic practices are thus shrouded in the reflexive gaze of interest: They make explicit how ethnographers are not just calculating machines, but people who get attached to the places they study, how this attachment happens and how it impacts the representation of both Ekkerøy and the concept of interest.

5.2 Methodological findings

Similar to article I, article II presents its methodological findings in the table below. Again, the left column represents the article's findings, and the right column provides how these findings relate to existing theoretical or methodical content. The first three points pertain to methodical contributions, whereas the last four pertain to interest development.

Empirical findings of article II	Existing theory
1) An analytical autoethnography provides descriptions of endogenic and exogenic aspects of interest, as well as component synergy	There are few, if any, previous autoethnographies on the emotion of interest. Also, in emotion research, there tends to be too little focus on component synchronicity (Scherer 2015)
2) Reflexive accounts of how interest impacts scholarly practice and representation	There are few, if any, previous anthropological contributions on interest
3) Evocative and narrative writing style combined with analytical language	There are few, if any, previous contributions on interest that apply evocative or narrative modes of representation
1) Introduces a spatial-emotional approach to interest development (temporality)	Psychology tends to neglect the temporal dimension regarding the emotion of interest (Silvia 2006); also, contexts are often controlled or simplified. Anthropology tends to disregard the endogenic dimension.
2) Triggering is fluid and temporal	Triggering is situational
3) Interest development is a synergy between multiple interest objects	Interest is oriented towards one object
4) Interest development is personal and unique	Research tends to be more focused on the universal dynamics of interest development

Table 2. Representations of the findings of article II

In many ways, analytical autoethnography is situated on the other scale of scholarly practice where perhaps triangulation studies appear more substantial because of corroborating methods as well as the potentially large sample of participants. However, this particular method and form of representation also maintains this double gaze on changing environments and the multiple endogenic components that, through synchronicity, constitute emotions.

Firstly, autoethnographies provide highly personalized emotional accounts of interest development. From the perspective of the self, the changing environments and changing endogenic components are sought, analyzed and represented. A crucial warning for such studies, however, is, as exemplified in the triangulation, an inability to separate the experiencing and remembering selves. Although pictures and field notes aim to capture the here and now, such ethnographies are always represented in hindsight.

Secondly, autoethnographies give accounts of how emotional entanglements with the spaces we seek to understand also impact these spaces. We perform the realities we report on. This is especially the case with ethnographies relating to the emotion of interest – an emotion that improves relations to objects, landscapes and people. Through narrative and temporal accounts, these changing relationships emerge. As such, it becomes a powerful account of how ethnographers' emotional bonds with what is studied impact understanding and representation

Thirdly, the narrative and evocative language of autoethnography can create powerful poetry about emotions, the way they can appear romantic and hopelessly naïve when people experience powerful states of interest. This is important, as interest might make the world appear wonderful or magical, not just dryly represented through statistical reports. The latter is of importance, as contributions on emotions are predominantly quantitative or experimental in emotions research, mostly focusing on the endogenic aspects.

The analytical autoethnography on the extreme sport of kiting has four distinct theoretical contributions:

Firstly, it introduces the term spatial-emotional epistemology where the connections between heterogeneous and mobile touristic spaces and endogenic components are discussed explicitly.

Secondly, the article argues that triggering interest is more fluid and temporal and that it does not merely belong to a particular situation, which Hidi and Renninger (2006) postulate. Interest emerges across interrelations, through space-time, in tangible and intangible ways

where past spatial-emotional memories seep into and color the here and now. For instance, getting to know Trine, the bird rock and Havhesten influenced the kiting scenario, as the “ethnographic I” had already become deeply interested in several of the co-performers in the ongoing interrelations.

Thirdly, interest development happens as a synergy between several interest objects where these objects serve to enhance the learning of each other. This is an argument against the contemporary stance, claiming that one subject has one object (Hidi and Renninger 2006). Similarly, Hidi and Renninger’s model is, in many ways, re-affirmed in this study, showing how continuous re-engagements with an object result in dual knowledge formation: one part learns of the external world, including the multiple sides of Trine, my kiting companion, and skills regarding steering the kite, and one part expands the internal value system of the self. The latter results in an emotional attachment to these interest ‘objects’ and potentially changes one’s identity, which is important to the self, even to the point where such places become Hireath’s.

Fourthly, this article highlights the emotion of interest as personal. Encounters of the here and now are made comprehensible by drawing from unique, personal spatial-emotional memories of the past. This autoethnography describes interest as place attachment dynamics through personal place making. The unfolding space-time (exogenic) is described alongside the synchronized emotion components of interest and is vital for describing these personal spatial-emotional entanglements. The latter contrasts the shared, even homogenous emotional experiences that take place on Hurtigruten.

5.3 Value for practice

Quite unlike the wanting schismogenesis, this article introduces dynamics related to interest that create potential lasting changes in a person. In contexts that, where there is a lesser degree of industrialization, there is more time, more exploration and the external support is more efficient implementing adaptive learning; thus, knowledge/skill acquisition is greatly improved. In this context, learning is pivotal for the development of interest. An increased awareness of this kind of interest development can produce very powerful emotional-transformative states, which provide strong desires to return. It could be noted that, although this article introduces a

very positive dramaturgy and even optimal states of learning (flow), many small tourist providers of the north seem to be unaware of the importance of learning. Since 2008, I have studied different tourist providers in the Arctic (Norway, Finland and Iceland); most of the time, I have found severe lacks in orchestrating learning, just as the two studies of Hurtigruten show. Thus, such knowledge shown in this dissertation could be beneficial for the industry – both small and large ventures.

6. Article III: From learning experiences to interest – Learning experiences and a reflexive PhD project

In this PhD project, I conducted three fieldwork studies on Hurtigruten from 2009 until the end of 2012. Article III, which will be introduced shortly, had an entirely different methodological approach than articles I and II. Drawing from rather early theories revolving around Pine and Gilmore's (1999) 'The Experience Economy', the role of learning for touristic experiences was scrutinized. There were simply no contributions on interest in the field of tourism at that time. In short, learning implies the acquisition of new knowledge or practices, or reinforcing already learned knowledge or practices (Ekeland 2011); it implies the rendering of neurons and their connectivity as the body adapts to new information or practices (Doidge 2007). In this article, different forms of learning are discussed such as observational learning, learning by doing and social learning. By analyzing the different forms of learning that occur on and off the ship, the overall conditions of learning are discussed. Does Hurtigruten fail in producing effective learning, thus making such cruises merely an exercise in hedonistic enjoyment, or does learning make these cruises a eudemonic voyage, where the self is expanded as a form of self-realization?

I aimed to understand the touristic learning experiences understood using open-ended questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. However, for the article, mostly participant observation data were used. Only some sections in the article referred to interviews and questionnaires, and triangulation was not applied.

The cruise lasted roughly four days and there were over 400 tourists on-board the ship. The observations were undertaken during idle times and while the tourists participated in on-board entertainment sessions and off-ship excursions. During these four days, I participated in all social activities on and off the ship, switching between modes of immersion and detached observation. After each session, field notes were written. Towards the end of the trip, the general understanding of my data was discussed with the seasoned guides on-board the ship.

There were several weaknesses in this methodic approach. Firstly, I was not familiar with the ethnographic site, as it was my first fieldwork on Hurtigruten. As a result, interviews, questionnaires and observational data were not aligned and, thus, served as poor vehicles for

triangulation. I had to rely on observations more than self-reports for the emerging aspects of the trip. Secondly, as there were few studies at this time scrutinizing the learning experiences of tourists, the theoretical framework was not well developed, which was reflected in the design of the methods.

6.1 Findings

At this point and earlier, Arctic winter tourism was in its infancy. Usually, the winter was a low season for Hurtigruten's ships. I remember previously taking Hurtigruten during the winter months, and it had virtually no passengers – it was a ghost ship. Hurtigruten's focus on hunting the light tourism and Joanna Lumley's documentary on the subject were to change this picture drastically. One of the empirical findings was that Hurtigruten was pivotal as an early provider of winter tourism programs, offering a range of experiences in comfortable surroundings. The ship was part working ship and part cruise ship. The working-ship activities were regulated by the Norwegian state – they were to deliver passengers, goods and mail promptly, and certain ports of call were mentioned in this agreement. Thus, the strict regimes of the working ship affected the options for off-ship excursions, as one of the longest stops along the route was in Tromsø, lasting approximately four hours. However, its role as a historical working ship created an aura of authenticity in the touristic experience. Furthermore, the ships in Hurtigruten's fleet, especially the older ones, lacked the amenities of the larger cruise ships. Therefore, Hurtigruten's nature as a hybrid ship (neither a cruise ship nor really a working ship) influenced its industrial experience production. This industrialized experience production was immensely scripted; thus, the experiences were repeated in the exact same way, making them repetitive. The strict time schedules of the working ship further inhibited exploration, especially in the off-ship excursions; all experiences were guided by a "one size fits all" ideology – there were no adaptive learning measures taken. The ship offered few activities, making most experiences rather passive, where the tourists became spectators.

In short, the predominant type of learning on-board the ship was observational learning. The tourists observed landscapes, heard lectures or watched movies. There were very few experiences in which the tourists actively took part, shaping the experience in learning by doing. Social learning was not observed during any session. This article showed how entertainment experiences that turn the tourists into spectators limited participation and interaction,

subsequently inhibiting learning possibilities. It described what industrial experience production looked like when masses of people participated at the same time in activities that were highly repetitive and scripted with a “one size fits all” ideology. It also touched upon the importance of giving information at the right time, of combining lectures that informed of activities that were to take place – that, if done correctly, could enhance the activity. It presented the notion of learning synergies, which was later embraced in my work on interest; inadequate information, too little time to explore and “one size fits all” ideologies greatly limited learning. Furthermore, the lack of activities resulted in relatively monotonous learning experiences. These notions, although analyzed before having any knowledge of interest and interest development, was closely related to interest.

The article’s predominant contribution was putting learning on the experience agenda for Arctic winter tourism, which was in its early phase of development. The article argued the importance of time-relevant delivery of information to enhance certain activities by combining passive and active experiences, and how this produced a form of learning synergy. A crucial point here, however, was that only the controlled, scripted experiences were studied, not the main motivation, namely hunting the light. Hence, in light of article I, this contribution only described parts of what constituted the site of Hurtigruten.

6.2 Learning experiences and a switch towards the emotion of interest

One thing I learned while writing this article was that the term “experience”, as argued by Caru and Cova (2003), was too broad a concept for a socio-material analysis. This realization with an emerging desire to return to emotions pushed me in a slightly different direction. My previous work revolved around learning environments in professional football clubs where performance anxiety produced certain social forms, or the emergence of a new culture (Ekeland 2009). There were four important implications of these early learning experiences for my subsequent steps in this dissertation.

Firstly, I wanted to explore specifically the relation between emotion and learning. By pure luck perhaps, or due to Arvid Viken’s insights, I was introduced to Tove Irene Dahl, an educational psychologist who studied interest. Her focus was the developmental approach influenced by the likes of Hidi and Renninger (2006). However, she also introduced me to

research on the concept of interest as an emotion, which fit extraordinarily well with my previous work on learning, both in professional football clubs (Ekeland 2009) and on Hurtigruten (2011).

Secondly, although having three data sets, I realized that no real triangulation was applied. In the study of such a complex construct as interest, triangulation could prove to yield important insights. As we have seen, the implication of the triangulation study presented, has relevance for scholars study emotions. A triangulation approach also resulted in a different way of representing Hurtigruten: an ethnographic site becoming aware of the multiple ways of dealing with experience production.

Thirdly, I had, by this time, become aware of my own negative attitudes that seeped into the first analysis and article on Hurtigruten. In my second and third fieldworks, I was more conscious of observing and documenting multiple aspects of the Hurtigruten experience, including the more positive aspects.

Fourthly, a conscious choice of different methodologies as ways of understanding and representing a phenomenon emerged. Triangulation captured elements of interest that any singular method could not. It was also a full-fledged cross-disciplinary venture, where many negotiations had to be undertaken for us to agree upon a methodological form and analytical content. In previous publications, I urged the field of anthropology to conduct more cross-disciplinary work to enhance the theoretical substance on knowledge and knowing (Ekeland 2009), following the cues of Borofsky (1994); it was immensely exciting to get to follow this advice. My ethnographic triangulation offered a different mode for representing interest compared with autoethnography, which included both interviews and questionnaires. An autoethnography on interest relating to kiting provided yet another methodology and form of representation. It allowed me to embrace the advice of one of the most predominant scholars on emotion (Oakley 2012): to apply the rich, temporal and descriptive language in a poetical ethnography advocated by Ellis (2006), which also provided honest reflexivity. In summary, the initial study of Hurtigruten and tourist learning experiences opened me up to more focused and detailed approaches to the emotion of interest.

6.3 Three ethical contributions following the emergence of interest methodologies

There are three ethical points I would like to highlight. Firstly, working with a subaltern concept, like emotion, which has been historically neglected in anthropology, is important (Law 2004). Understanding emotions results in a different way of understanding knowing and knowledge. By working cross-disciplinarily with psychologists, new methodological perspectives that have largely been deemed unimportant by anthropology, despite Malinowski's early insistence upon the importance of emotions, are studied. These perspectives emphasize the agency of emotions and their endogenic and exogenic aspects. This way of working with emotions requires the scholar to conceptualize the concept, a feat that somehow is missing in other anthropological studies of emotions. Such knowledge may very well alter the way we think about ethnographic practice and the importance of emotions like interest.

Secondly, this dissertation embraces a messy methodology in an attempt to enhance reflexivity. It explains how theoretical understandings influence methodical performativities and vice versa – how theory and method, thus, (e)merge – how ethnographic sites engage the scholar, emotionally rendering him/her. Similarly, emotions, like interest, render performativity and the interrelations in which the ethnographer is a co-performer. Thus, it is important to write reflexively to reveal how theory, methods and relations to sites continuously change understandings and representations of both a phenomenon (interest) and sites (Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy). These ethnographies should be transparent and honest, focusing on the role of emotions (interest) in scholarly reflexive practices.

The third point is about giving something back to the communities we, as scholars, study. I have been working with Hurtigruten since 2008. I have discussed observations and presented findings to the leading personnel of the company. Some of the tourists have also been presented the findings and have had the opportunity to give personal feedback. In terms of the autoethnography, all 'informants' in the article have read the text and have given feedback, thus, in a way, co-writing the article. I hope to visit VAKE upon the conclusion of my PhD and talk about some of the overall findings of this dissertation.

7. Conclusions

In this concluding chapter, the research questions of the dissertation are answered. The first questions pertained to the empirical implications of increased knowledge of interest development for emerging Arctic winter tourism in the region. The second questions pertained to the theoretical implications of developing a spatial-emotional methodology of interest development. The third question elaborated on how triangulation and analytic autoethnography as methodic approaches could provide valuable methodological knowledge. Let's start with the first question.

1. The overarching goal of this dissertation is to show the relevance of studying interest in an Arctic tourism context. As such, two empirical questions become relevant. Firstly, in what ways can the empirical findings from Hurtigruten and Ekkerøy provide value for practice relating to triggering and sustaining interest? In addition, why is knowledge of such dynamics important in designing good experiences? Secondly, can these findings also contribute to the ongoing debate about the increased industrialization of touristic experiences in Arctic Northern Norway?

This dissertation offers two critical methodological perspectives on the dynamics of interest development, departing from the initial study of learning experiences. Two ethnographic sites were chosen: Hurtigruten as a representative of cruise tourism involving huge masses of people, standardization and time efficiency, and Ekkerøy as a representative of smaller scale tourism with fewer people and flexible and adaptive learning, where time is not regulated. It is crucial to point out that these are just two examples. As such, generalizations are problematic. Furthermore, whereas Hurtigruten, at least at the beginning, triggered a form of 'disgust' that impacted representation (Ekeland 2011), Ekkerøy was a tale of place attachment, a falling in love with ethnographic spaces (Ekeland 2015). Thus, I do not want to engage in a normative comparison between the two.

I have argued throughout this dissertation that interest development, in its different variations, captures interrelations between enacting and seducing tourist spaces and curious travelers in an important way. 'Hunting the light' experiences are the predominant form of tourism during the winter months. By exploring a kind of interest dynamic (wanting schismogenesis) that explains why such experiences are so powerful, magical and awe

inspiring, one comes to understand the immense relevance of interest in this particular context. When we also know that learning new things is one of the prime motivators of the visiting tourists, knowledge of how to trigger and sustain interest becomes important. Interest, as a primordial urge to explore, learn and become involved, may be triggered and allowed to flourish given the right temporal circumstances. My tale of place attachment as a kind of double learning process in Ekkerøy provides an example of this.

In summary, our value for practice argues that there are different dynamics of interest development. Hurtigruten, with its high industrialization, has major challenges in both triggering and sustaining interest in a Hidi and Renninger (2006) understanding of the term; there are too many people, too little time to explore and too little adaptive learning. This kind of interest development needs to take into account the idiosyncrasies of people, their coping potential, need for time and relevant information, which requires flexibility. Hence, smaller tourist ventures with fewer tourists and little industrialization are perhaps better suited for this task. The wanting schismogenesis relating to 'hunting the light' tourism is better suited for industrialized settings, as huge masses of people can actually enhance these dynamics. However, combining these two types of interest development, as Hurtigruten tries to do, can result in early peaks and intense boredom, as the serendipitous northern lights have a life of their own. Thus, designing controllable peak experiences at the end of the trip, as we suggest, may be challenging for highly industrialized setups like Hurtigruten.

As Arctic winter tourism in Norway continues to grow, it becomes evident that we need both big industrialized ventures and attractions, as well as smaller, more flexible providers. We need touristic spaces that can trigger and maintain interest states for the larger masses of people arriving in the region. However, an increasing amount of tourists do not want to be a part of mass touristic events and experiences (Viken 2009), some of whom are represented among our Hurtigruten tourists. Hence, we also need tourist spaces for a diversity of needs and interests. In this dissertation, we show some of the challenges Hurtigruten, as an industrialized experience provider, faces in triggering and sustaining a learning driven interest. Such sites also quickly run the risk of becoming very similar to other industrialized setups around the world.

Industrialization is a cost efficient way of taming and controlling tourist experiences. The strategy has produced rapid growth for Hurtigruten. As Hurtigruten grows, land-based partners were needed. As such, it enabled the growth of several tourism providers in the region; however, it also produced local conflicts (Ekeland 2011). For example, when their ship docks in villages and cities in the region, the huge masses of people spill onto the streets, contributing to the local economy. However, these cities and villages are small, the presence of throngs of tourists renders the spaces, and social sustainability becomes an issue. One last point concerns the history of the region. Northern Norway has been subjected to both stigma and a centralization process. Therefore, when Hurtigruten, as a proud cultural institution, was purchased by an English company, it was not only seen as a transformation of power from the local to the global, but as an act of neo-colonialization. Industrialization and growth imply a stronger neo-liberal presence where both local power and morality may become diluted, which is an especially sensitive topic in this particular region. My point is, industrialization processes, although coveted by many regional tourist actors, needs careful consideration, as the rewards may eventually be outweighed by the risks as we stake a direction for future touristic spaces in Arctic Norway (Jentoft, Nergård and Røvik 2012).

2. In negotiating the different disciplinary traditions of psychology and anthropology, what kind of conceptualizations of interest do we arrive at? What would a methodology that includes the endogenic aspects of psychology and the exogenic emphasis of anthropological ethnography look like? Is it possible to provide rich accounts of socio-material interplays combined with the rendered interest states to determine how these aspects of emotion co-perform?

Two different methodologies of interest development were described in this dissertation: the wanting schismogenesis and interest development as a place attachment process – both highlighting the powerful agency of interest. Lazarus (1991) once wrote that, by understanding the subjective state, the feeling of, say, interest, its intensities and qualia, one would have a good understanding of that body's particular circumstances or environment. Anthropologists, on the other hand, would argue the opposite; by understanding complex interrelations and their temporal contexts displayed narratively, one could grasp emotional content (Beatty 2013). I argue that emotions are temporal creatures, as their endogenic and exogenic components continually co-perform. The emotion components and their synchronicity, along with densely

thick ethnographic contexts, constitute emotions. My position has some implications. There are no pure divisions between cognition and affect or passion and rationality; rather, there are continuous interactional systems (Anderson 2011). In anthropology, the emphasis has been the social. My switch towards a space concept (Massey 2005) also incorporates other kinds of materialities as vital co-performers in the emerging interrelations. In psychology, few studies emphasize the temporality of the emotion of interest (Silvia 2006). Drawing from Hidi and Renninger (2006), I argue that temporality is vital for understanding the flux of emotional episodes, and that these episodes can be prolonged. My approach highlights the human body as a highly sophisticated meaning-producing organism, which appreciates complex and different contexts by drawing from previous spatial-emotional experiences. This allows for potentially great, idiosyncratic variance in attributions as well as variance in the subjective experience of interest. However, it can also result in scenarios where large heterogenic groups come together and have very similar experiences of interest. Despite variance, interest remains panhuman, recognized by this wanting to explore. Hence, emotions are something more than mere contexts and, as such, they would benefit from a developing conceptualization. Lastly, the kind of knowledge that emerges here begs the question: can we really, in social science debates, continue to ignore the agencies of different emotions in our analyses of knowing and knowledge? It has been my ambition with this dissertation to highlight the importance of studying emotions in anthropology and to show how ethnographies can add to such discourses.

3. How specifically can multi-method triangulations and analytical autoethnographies provide valuable methodological approaches to the study of interest?

One important point made was how emerging conceptualization impacts choice of method, particular methodical performativities as well as representation and vice versa. Although sharing the spatial-emotional components, the methodologies of analytic autoethnography and cross-disciplinary triangulation provided contrasting performativities and representation. My idea was that different approaches would open up to the diversities of interest. I had never before undertaken either autoethnography, or triangulation approaches. Both methods, in different ways, allowed (partial) narrative, temporal, endogenic and exogenic connections. However, the ethnographic practices required a special need for detail to connect the tiniest parts (facial expressions, body postures and interactions), with the greatest wholes (temporality,

particular contexts, and the macro processes pertaining to, for instance, Hurtigruten's industrialization process) (Scheff 1997). In both fieldworks, I took many pictures to help me recall, and to aid this emphasis on detail. During my last fieldwork on Hurtigruten, every on-board entertainment session and off-ship excursion was filmed using an iPhone 4s. The analytic autoethnography's strength was being able to reflect on changes in subjective interest states, described evocatively, while maintaining a gaze on the ongoing interrelations – showing how the two co-performed. The challenges included writing critically about reflexive practice, avoiding too much self-focus and the fact that the analysis rested on the subjective experiences (made during recall) of the author only. The triangulation's strength was being able to be reflexive about scholarly practices as well as putting different methods and their data in dialogue with each other in ways that single methods could not. As such, different types of reflexivity provided a more complex understanding of particular interest dynamics. The dangers here were many. One was a lack of reflexivity, the knowledge producing process, which compounded the weakness of each method rather than enhanced its strengths through triangulation (Hesse-Biber 2012). In summary, analytic autoethnography and cross-disciplinary triangulation are vastly different approaches to the emotion of interest, yet they maintain a double gaze on both temporalities of bodies and environments.

This four-year research project has resulted in giant methodological leaps from a blurry methodology regarding learning experiences towards these two different spatial-emotional methodologies of interest development. This cross-disciplinary work has provided one of the first ethnographical approaches on the emotion of interest for the multi-disciplinary field of tourism. As an anthropologist, or at least departing from anthropology, knowledge from the neighboring discipline of psychology has been used to search for new ways of conceptualizing the emotion of interest, as well as providing new methodical performativities in studying this phenomenon. This dissertation also incorporates different forms of representations of interest. In sum, the dissertation aims to show cross-disciplinary work can create fractures and departures from a knowledge production in anthropology that too long has discarded emotions, to produce new ways of conceptualizing knowledge and knowing.

Emotions like interest have powerful influences on all strategic thoughts and acts we, as humans, perform to survive in a challenging world, or in our pursuits of happiness. Interest, in many ways, elaborates on how people attach themselves to objects, activities, people and landscapes, which have the potential to become intensely meaningful for them. However, interest may also be an emerging longing for the unobtainable meaningful. As such, interest development describes processes that should be at the heart of anthropology. As a cross-disciplinary exercise, this dissertation aims to primarily uncover the concept of interest in all its complexity and multiplicity, which should empower future ethnographic work on emotions in social sciences.

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