



MIKKO ÄIJÄLÄ

**TOURIST LANDSCAPES
AS MULTISPECIES TRAILS**

ACTA ELECTRONICA UNIVERSITATIS LAPPONIENSIS 343

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TOURIST LANDSCAPES AS MULTISPECIES TRAILS
Storying a Mushing Landscape Through Mobile Video Ethnography

Academic dissertation to be publicly defended
with the permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences
at the University of Lapland in lecture room 2 on 30 September 2022 at 12 noon.



LAPIN YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

Rovaniemi 2022

University of Lapland
Faculty of Social Sciences

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Layout: Minna Komppa, Taittotalo PrintOne

Cover: Sanni Harju-Nikula

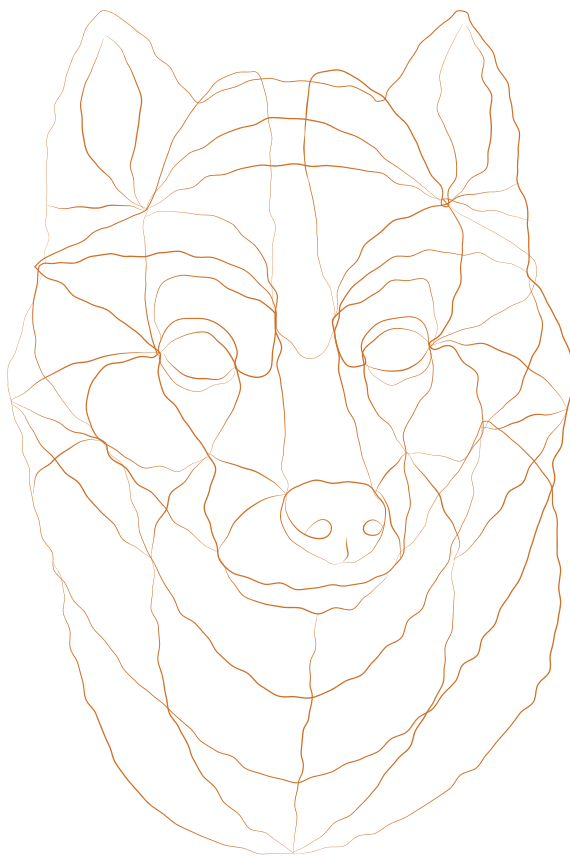
Acta electronica Universitatis Lapponiensis 343

ISBN 978-952-337-326-6

ISSN 1796-6310

Permanent address of the publication: <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-337-326-6>

Dedicated to my furry family



ABSTRACT

Animals are involved in the making of tourist landscapes in many ways, including as tourist attractions themselves, travel companions, culinary experiences and draft animals. One important draft animal particular to Arctic tourism is the sled dog, as mushing has become one of the most popular tourist attractions in the region. My dissertation focuses on the day-to-day living and working encounters that occur between the dogs and humans, specifically the spaces and events emerging from those encounters. The study aims to bring to light the living and moving sled dog–human–place relations that develop as a result of daily experiences, learned practices and shared events. These perspectives lead me to ask: How do sled dogs as agents contribute to the formation of tourist landscapes?

This study is grounded in relational ontology and encompasses the qualitative tradition of inquiry by using mobile video ethnography as its methodology. The research has been conducted from inside tourism spaces by interrogating the everyday spaces and events of moving sled dog–human encounters. The analysis of these encounters presented here is based on taking ‘meshwork’ as a metaphor for the ways that beings relate to each other and develop as agents along the lines of their relationship. On this basis, I work towards developing a theoretical framework and, in particular, forwarding methodological developments for studying the role of animals in tourism.

The landscape covered in this study is one sled dog kennel and its immediate surroundings in Finnish Lapland. The empirical data is based on ethnographic fieldwork—particularly mobile video ethnography, including the filming and audiencing of action camera footage—that took place between summer 2019 and spring 2020. By describing in detail the protocol and practicalities of the mobile video ethnographic process, I aim to embrace the opportunities afforded by moving image methodologies within the field of multispecies tourism. As a result of the ethnographic process, I have crafted a story about a single sled dog safari through attentiveness to the ways the dogs display their agency and insert it into the scene.

The mushing landscape is constantly (re)forming through the constant flow of material and agency in the emergent meshwork of meanings, interests and affects. This flow cannot be fully understood or captured, which brings a significant degree of uncertainty into the planning and producing of tourist safaris. Along with inexperienced tourists, the dogs are significant living beings that embed their agency into sledding encounters, transgressing the material and conceptual boundaries and

spaces created in the planning process. In them mushing landscape, the sled dogs and humans develop within the multispecies trails through which skilful interaction and affective attunement unfold, as well as the rupture of that attunement.

In animal-based tourism, more attention should be paid to the living encounters between nonhuman animals and those people who have a day-to-day living and working relationship with them. Using different 'go along' techniques and technologies sensitively alongside each other in order to understand and acknowledge multispecies trails in planning and developing animal-based tourism services could help us to engage more deeply in tourism activities on animals' own terms. As a result, we could better meet ethical obligations to the animals, respecting their presence in a variety of tourist landscapes.

Keywords: animal-based tourism, multispecies encounters, animal agency, meshwork, landscape, mobile video ethnography, mushing

TIIVISTELMÄ

Väitöskirjani tutkimuskohteena on ei-inhimillisten eläinten toimijuus matkailumaisemissa. Eläimiä hyödynnetään matkailutoiminnan tarkoituksiin monin eri tavoin joko imagollisesti matkakohteiden vetovoimatekijöinä tai konkreettisesti muun muassa matkakumppaneina, ruokaelämysten lähteinä sekä raskasta työtä tekevinä vetoeläiminä. Arktisen alueen matkailussa rekikoiran imagollinen ja konkreettinen merkitys vetoeläimenä on ilmeinen, mutta sen roolia paikallisen matkailumaiseman tuottamisessa ei kuitenkaan tunnusteta ja tunnusteta. Tutkimuksessani tarkastelen matkailutoiminnassa pitkälle määriteltyjä rekikoira-ihminen-maisema suhteita, jotka kuitenkin jatkuvasti muotoutuvat jaettujen kokemusten, opittujen käytäntöjen sekä jokapäiväisten kohtaamisten ristivirtauksessa. Näiden näkökulmien pohjalta kysyn: Miten rekikoirat osallistuvat toimijoina matkailumaisemien muotoutumiseen?

Tutkimukseni lähtökohtana on relationaalinen ontologia, joka perustuu käsitkseen, että oliot, kuten ihmiset ja ei-inhimilliset eläimet, syntyvät ja toimivat monimutkaisissa ja laajoissa sosiaalisissa suhteissa toisiinsa ja ympäristöönsä. Metodologisesti tutkimukseni edustaa etnografista tutkimusperinnettä, jossa keskeistä on ymmärtää tutkittavaa ilmiötä tutkittavien elin- ja toimintaympäristöstä sisältäpäin. Liikkuvaa videoetnografiaa hyödyntämällä olen pyrkinyt pääsemään syvemmälle rekikoirien ja niiden kanssa työskentelevien ihmisten arkisiin kohtaamisiin. Analyysini pohjautuu linjojen (lines) ja niiden muodostaman rihmaston (meshwork) metaforiin, jotka kuvaavat tapoja, kuinka koirat ja ihmiset ovat toimijoina kytköksissä toisiinsa ja myös kehittyvät toimintaympäristössään liikkeen (movement) kautta. Rekikoirien ja ihmisten välisten liikkuvien ja liikuttavien kohtaamisten eri ulottuvuuksia tutkimalla osallistun monilajisen matkailututkimuksen käsitteellisestä ja metodologisesta kehittämisestä käytävään keskusteluun.

Tutkimusaineisto on tuotettu erityisesti liikkuvan videoetnografian avulla Lapis-sijaitsevalta rekikoirakenneliltä kesän 2019 ja kevään 2020 aikavälillä. Keskeinen osa aineistoa on actionkameralla tuotettu filmimateriaali sekä materiaalin katselun myötä syntyneet keskustelut tutkittavien kanssa. Liikkuvaan videoetnografiaan liittyvän prosessin yksityiskohtaisella kuvaamisella pyrin avaamaan niitä mahdollisuuksia, joita liikkuva kuva metodologisena välineenä tuo monilajisten kohtaamisten tutkimiseen matkailututkimuksen kentällä. Etnografisen prosessin tuloksena olen rakentanut tarinan yksittäisestä rekikoirasafarista kiinnittäen huomion siihen, kuinka rekikoirat tuovat toimijuuttaan esiin eri tiloissa ja tapahtumissa ja muovaten siten matkailumaisemaa.

Rekikoirien ja ihmisten välisissä kohtaamisissa syntyvät merkitykset, intressit ja tunteet kietoutuvat monimutkaiseksi rihmastoksi, minkä tuloksena kestäväksi oletusta ja suunnitellusta matkailumaisemasta tulee jatkuvan materian ja toimijuuksien sekoittumisen myötä alati muuntuva, vakiintumaton ”rekikoirailumaisema”. Rekikoirailumaiseman monilajisia polkuja kulkiessa sekä rekikoira että ihminen kehittyvät toimijoina suhteessa toisiinsa ja ympäröivään maisemaan. Nämä risteävät ja yhteenkietoutuneet polut muotoutuvat jatkuvasti niin toimivan monilajisen yhteistyön kuin sen murtumisenkin seurauksena. Matkailijoiden ohella rekikoirat ovat keskeisiä toimijoita, joiden muovaamat odottamattomat polut rikkovat matkailumaiseman ennalta määrättyjä materiaalisia ja käsitteellisiä tiloja ja rajoja.

Monilajisten polkujen jatkuva, ennustamaton, muotoutuminen tuo epävarmuutta eläinmatkailupalvelujen suunnitteluun ja toteutukseen. Jotta epävarmuutta voidaan sietää, tulisi eläinmatkailupalvelujen suunnittelussa kiinnittää enemmän huomiota eläinten ja ihmisten päivittäisissä kohtaamisissa muotoutuviin monilajisiin polkuihin ja sen myötä monilajiseen matkailumaisemaan. Mukana olemiseen (‘go along’) perustuvat menetelmät ja teknologiat luovat apuvälineen monilajisen matkailumaiseman ymmärtämiseen niin, että eläinmatkailupalveluja voidaan suunnitella ja kehittää paremmin myös ei-inhimillisten eläinten ehdoilla. Näin voimme paremmin kohdata eettiset velvollisuutemme myös ei-inhimillisiä matkailutoimijoita kohtaan ja tunnustaa niiden olemassaolo osana lukuisia matkailumaisemia.

Avainsanat: eläinmatkailu, monilajiset kohtaamiset, eläinten toimijuus, rihmasto, maisema, liikkuva video etnografia, rekikoirailu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This doctoral thesis is the result of a long process that developed from its planned straight and regular route into a winding trail. Over its course I have encountered numerous living beings who have helped and supported me in building a solid ground for my own trail as a researcher. Without their passion, patience, encouragement and support, this dissertation would not exist. I would like to acknowledge and express my gratitude to the following beings who contributed to making my trail.

First of all, I owe my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Outi Rantala, José-Carlos García-Rosell and Jarno Valkonen, for their trust, support and dedication throughout my dissertation journey. They helped me to understand how challenging yet rewarding research can be. I am thankful to Outi, who kept all the practical threads in her hands and pushed me forward in times of frustration. I also want to recognise Outi for placing her trust in me and providing guidance on my trail in the landscape of ethnography. I wish to show my appreciation for José-Carlos, who introduced me to the world of multispecies tourism and directed me in weaving the first threads of my journey. Thank you, José-Carlos, for asking me to join in the two animal welfare in tourism projects at the University of Lapland, from which my whole journey originated. I am grateful to Jarno for the countless discussions and reflections about dogs, landscapes and meshworks that helped me immensely in tracing the main thread of my study. I also want to thank Jarno for his support in the final stages of this dissertation.

Thank you also to the pre-examiners of this work. The extensive work of Phillip Vannini, particularly on video ethnographic methodology, was very encouraging, and he supported me in laying my own trail on the ethnographic landscape. I am grateful to Phillip for his generous input on this dissertation and the very constructive critique I will take with me when continuing on this path. It is a privilege to have him as my examiner for the public defence. The work of Brynhild Granås on place, ethnographic methodology, and particularly sled dogs has been an inspiration for me from the very beginning of this journey. I am appreciative to Brynhild for providing me with insightful and constructive comments on my work, which gave me the opportunity to make my trail more solid.

I am also indebted to my dear colleagues at the Multidimensional Tourism Institute (MTI), the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Lapland and elsewhere in academia. My research communities have offered me valuable support in different forums: workshops, seminars, and many conversations over coffee, to mention only

some. I wish to highlight especially Titta Jylkäs, Vèssal Rajab, Tytti Vuorikari for the fruitful discussions and their invaluable input as co-authors in one of the articles of this dissertation. My sincere thanks to Päivi Hanni-Vaara, Elina Hutton, Salla Jutila, Aulikki Laitinen-Tolonen, Petra Paloniemi, Kati Rahikainen, Minna Sipponen and Pasi Satokangas for commenting on my work and for the inspiring discussions about (academic) life we had during PhD writing camp meetings, whether on the university premises or at Pyhätunturi. I appreciate Minni Haanpää and Tarja Salmela, with whom I had the pleasure of working in the early stages of my journey. Minni also devoted her time to helping me with the practicalities of working with video clips. I want to recognise Vesa Markuksela for several discussions about doing research in the more-than-human world. I am likewise grateful to Jaana Ojuva, who kindly offered her help in finding innovative ways to disseminate the results of my journey. I also seek to express my gratefulness to all my colleagues at MTI and my home faculty, who have created an inspiring and comfortable working atmosphere.

Little of this journey would have been possible without financial support. I am thankful for the Doctoral School at the University of Lapland, where I worked as a junior researcher. I wish to acknowledge coordinator Annukka Jakkula, who kindly offered her help with all the technicalities, particularly in relation to publishing this dissertation. I also appreciate executive assistant Henna-Leena Mäntylä and rector Antti Syväjärvi for organising the Esko Riepula grant for me for finalising my dissertation.

There are also individuals outside academia who deserve to be acknowledged. I want to thank the people and dogs at Bearhill Husky for giving me the opportunity to undertake my fieldwork. Without them, this journey would not have been possible. I especially appreciate Hanne-Mari Valtonen and Antti Kotajärvi for investing their time and energy into participating my research. I also give thanks to Sanni Harju-Nikula for the covers and dog illustrations of this book.

I want to say a special thanks to my family and close relatives. My most profound gratitude goes to my parents, Vappu and Väinö, who have always been supportive of the trail I have chosen. An earnest thanks goes to them for taking care of my dogs when I was occupied on the final steps of this journey. Finally, I want recognise my furry family, Aapa and Mella, for their positive coexistence and taking my mind off this dissertation when needed.

Rovaniemi, July 25, 2022

Mikko Äijälä

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS AND THE AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Article I: Äijälä, M. (2020). Relational encounters: Agency in sled dog–human relations. *Kuckuck*, 35(1), 22–26.

This article was developed and written solely by the author.

Article II: Äijälä, M. (2021). Mobile video ethnography for evoking animals in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 89, [103203].

This article was developed and written solely by the author.

Article III: Äijälä, M. (forthcoming). Landscapes as multispecies matters: The mushing landscape in the making in Finnish Lapland. *Society & Animals*.

This article was developed and written solely by the author.

Article IV: Äijälä, M., Jylkäs, T., Rajab, V., & Vuorikari, T. (2021). Designing future wildlife tourism experiences: On agency in human–sled dog encounters. In G. Bertella (Ed.), *Wildlife Tourism Futures: Encounters with Wild, Captive and Artificial Animals* (pp. 126–139). Channel view publications.

I had primary responsibility for the general idea and development of this book chapter. The empirical material that was used was collected by me and analysed together with my co-authors. I focused on the sections about sled dogs and agency, while my co-authors delivered insightful comments about them. My co-authors provided the ideas and content for the sections about service design, including the visualisations. I spearheaded the publishing process of the book chapter.

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1 INTRODUCTION

When entering the kennel, one can immediately sense that it is designed around tourism and the dogs. The facilities include a large parking lot and many rather new buildings. There is also a construction project in progress that will result in a big wooden hut where tourists will be taken after safaris to warm up and hear about life at the kennel. All the facilities are densely built and kept as neat and clean as possible for the tourists. These facilities are also designed for the housing and maintenance of the dogs. The dog yard, which encompasses pens, a running fence and an exercise device, is the largest facility. One cannot avoid the presence of the dogs, and barking and howling often resounds if somebody is passing between the pens. There are dogs with various appearances, including different colours, fur types and ears. The majority of them are Alaskan Huskies, and they do not have a uniform appearance. More importantly, they are eager to do their work. When a safari is about to start, the noise is almost deafening as around a hundred sled dogs bark either for joy that they are going on a safari or in objection to being left out. Although cleaning is done continuously, one still must watch each step for dog faeces. Some of the young dogs in particular are a bit too energetic, though they are altogether friendly. During and after a safari, the noise level drops radically, and it is human noises that fill the air as tourists ask questions and the mushers make new dog teams for the next tourist group. This cycle is repeated several times a day every day of the week during peak season, which takes place around Christmas time.

Tourism as a relational and multispecies phenomenon

Countless individual animals representing several species are involved in today's tourism industry. Animals interface with tourism in many ways, whether they are used as tourist attractions, wildlife conservation tools, travel companions, culinary experiences or symbols for destinations around the world (Fennell, 2012; Markwell, 2015; Äijälä, García-Rosell & Haanpää, 2016). Animal-based activities differ from more conventional tourism encounters, as they are affected by the designated presence of a variety of nonhuman animals and their charisma. These activities are also separate from leisure contexts in the sense that both parties are exposed to the policies and practices of the tourism industry and the related production of suitable tourism environments. Commercial tourism services expose nonhuman animals to encounters taking place in outdoor spaces, focusing on the production of experiences

for tourists at pre-set dates and times regardless of weather or other unmanageable factors (Rantala, Valtonen & Markuksela, 2011). Within this framework, it is natural to think that nonhuman animals are involved in tourism activities without the opportunity to consent to their involvement. Even if they were fully aware of the complexities involved in the regulation of tourism engagements, they lack the equal freedom to choose, as they are subjected to human values (Dashper, 2014).

Despite these usually asymmetric and unequal power relations, a variety of nonhuman animals engage with, interfere in and inhabit tourism spaces and experiences, often in a highly unplanned manner (e.g. Benali & Ren, 2019; Granås, 2018; Valtonen, Salmela & Rantala, 2020). Although these encounters are entangled with the precise places where humans and nonhuman animals perform their specific roles, nonhuman animals can have an influence beyond the physical bounds of the spaces where they are immediately present. Animal presences and absences in cultural texts (e.g. brochures, souvenirs) spark global phenomena, like the attention paid to animal welfare in tourism in both practical and academic contexts.

Tourism's occurrence contributes to shape our understanding of our place in the world through relational encounters between humans and nonhumans wherein their roles and characteristics are co-constituted (Jóhannesson, Ren & van der Duim, 2015; Äijälä, 2019). Hence, tourism offers a fruitful context to explore human–animal encounters, as it is a relational phenomenon in which the boundaries of animals' spaces and activities are quite strict, given that they are accepted into the tourism sphere in subordinate roles under the rules and control of humans. Studying commercialised human–animal encounters, and particularly animals' transgression of material and conceptual boundaries and spaces (Philo & Wilbert, 2000), can bring new insights to the discussion surrounding the use of animals in tourism. As Coulter (2016) notes, these insights can evoke spaces and events that could be sites of compassion, devotion and opportunities to act more ethically.

This is not the first study to lay out the groundwork for analysing animals' roles in tourism. There is a growing body of knowledge about the place of animals within tourism spaces, experiences, practices and structures, whether they present as tourist attractions, wildlife conservation tools, travel companions or meat to be eaten (Cohen, 2009; Fennell, 2012; Markwell, 2015). Tourism scholars have acknowledged that the presence of innumerable species of nonhuman animals—including dogs (Bertella, 2014; Granås, 2018), horses (Notzke, 2019), various forms of charismatic wildlife (Cloke & Perkins, 2005; Cohen, 2015; Yudina & Grimwood, 2016) and insects (Benali & Ren, 2019; Valtonen et al., 2020)—matters for tourism, as these animals engage with, interfere in and inhabit tourism spaces and practices in multiple ways. Indeed, earlier studies have even demonstrated that sled dogs can be considered agents that shape tourist landscapes (Bertella, 2014; Granås, 2018). As these studies show, tourism is clearly an animal matter, concerning questions of ethics and welfare, as well as tourist encounters and their management (Äijälä et al., 2016).

Tourism scholars have thus established a theoretical background against which to understand human–animal relations in tourism. However, in these theorisations, living animals have remained rather ‘shadowy presences’ (Philo, 2005). I here begin to address some of the resulting gaps in our understandings of tourism as a relational and multispecies phenomenon by focusing on sled dog–human encounters. As an extension of previous tourism literature, I move beyond categorisations of tourism animals and considerations of animal agency based on our shared sentience, our mutual place in the world or any other similarly abstract philosophical argument; instead, I focus on actual day-to-day living and working relationships and interactions (Granås, 2018; see also Johnston, 2008).

Earlier studies have tended to rely on traditional research methods, such as interviews, dialogue and observation, thus neglecting the actual encounters and privileging the human agents involved in tourism (Bertella, 2014; Cloke & Perkins, 2005; Notzke, 2019). My aim is therefore also to access, render knowable and comprehend the intimate and intangible spaces and times related to touristic mushing, their situatedness in particular environments and the processes through which they come into being in ways that transform animal–human–place relations. Additionally, I intend to consider how this intimate relationship could be acknowledged in future tourism development. My endeavour seeks new paths into the discussion about relational human–animal encounters in tourism by disentangling the relations between working sled dogs, humans and the backdrop, namely the surrounding landscape, against which touristic encounters take place (Gray, 2014; Jones, 2013).

The methodological choices I have made derive from the qualitative tradition of inquiry. As Rantala (2011) argues, ethnographic approaches and actual participation allow researchers to gain information about the tacit dimensions of tourism encounters. This notion is crucial also in relation to encounters between humans and the nonhuman world (Rantala, 2019; see also Jæger & Viken, 2014). Drawing on and combining methodological developments in animal geography (Buller, 2015; Lorimer, 2010) and mobile ethnography (Urry, 2007), I explore mobile video ethnography (Brown & Banks, 2015; Spinney, 2011; Vannini, 2017) as a method of evoking and analysing the lively presence of sled dogs in tourist landscapes. Mobile video ethnography conducted using action cameras is a potential route to accessing and comprehending the embodied, nonrepresentational spaces of the relational and fluid encounters between dogs and people.

The site of knowledge production in this ethnographic study is animal agency as it is conceptualised in partial conjunction with actor–network theory (ANT) as a more-than-human ontology for rethinking human-centredness (Benali & Ren, 2019; Danby, Dashper & Finkel, 2019), emphasising relational practice (Sayes, 2014; Urbanik, 2012) and revealing multiplicities (Brown & Dille, 2012; Law & Mol, 2008). Recently, ANT and relationality have been applied to tourism

research to demonstrate the performativity of nonhumans in the ongoing ordering of tourism spaces and practices (Chakraborty, 2021; Ren, 2011). As Jóhannesson et al. (2015) suggest, spatiality allows for the exploration of spaces and encounters that co-constitute the roles and characteristics of related agents, taking tourism as a relational phenomenon. Leisure scholars have likewise explored multispecies leisure, aiming to bring animals into their research (Danby et al., 2019; Dashper, 2020; Markuksela & Valtonen, 2019).

At the intersection of animal-based tourism and ethnography, we have a lot to learn about how living beings become involved in ways of life through webs of social relations. By mobilising interrelated theoretical ideas about animal–human–place relations alongside the mobile multispecies ethnographic approach, I attempt to determine how sled dogs contribute to the ongoing formation of a tourist landscape. This main inquiry is divided into three sub-questions:

1. How do we account for sled dogs as living agents?
2. How do sled dogs insert their agency into animal–human–place relations?
3. How do we acknowledge sled dogs' agency in future tourism development and management?

To answer these questions, I draw in particular on work from the fields of (animal) geography and anthropology that seeks to take the inherent difference between living beings and non-living objects as its point of departure, establishing a framework for understanding the ways in which relationality might develop. My attempt to grasp these questions and write about sled dog agency within mushing landscapes is in good company. Bruno Latour, a sociologist of science, proposed ANT (2005), which opened the door for theories of the social in which nonhumans play a central role. ANT, as a more-than-human ontology, led me to consider the sled dog–human–place trinary as having a strong sense of relationality, emphasising relational practice and nonhuman agency in tourism as well (Ren, 2011; Valkonen, 2009). As van der Duim (2007, p. 972) argues, “Without the non-human, tourism would not last a second.” Touristic mushing would not endure without the combination of dogs, mushers and materials, including towlines, collars, harnesses and so on (see also Michael, 2000). Both the dogs and the humans are co-constituted through their reciprocal relations and in the relations they have with their surroundings.

Yet there is something specific about (dog) life that separates dogs as agents from non-living objects, like the towline (Hodgetts & Hester, 2017; Tsing, 2014). To be able to contemplate this distinction, I take the lead of anthropologist Tim Ingold, whose ideas have been perhaps the most influential for me. Ingold's (2011; 2015; 2016) insistence that we attend to life in motion as it takes place along the lines of a meshwork has become a great inspiration. Ingold (2011) argues that animals' coupling of movement and perception and their skilled development in an environment

qualifies them as agents, distinguishing them from mere inanimate objects (Nimmo, 2011). Touristic mushing would not last very long if the combination of dogs and humans did not grow at all in relation to each other and their environment. This development does not take place in a vacuum, and the surrounding material and conceptual tourist landscapes affect how these combinations come to be and play out.

It is tempting to think of the kennel and its surroundings as mostly unchanging imprints of cultural schemata, with tourism plans and practices adding more layers to them (see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018). This framework does not quite satisfy me, though, as the dogs would have only a limited role, if any, in these kinds of processes. Again, the work of Ingold (2015) guides me to a nonrepresentational approach that highlights the relational character of the landscape, positing that the landscape emerges from and is largely shaped by condensations of activity within a relational field (see also Olwig, 2008; Vannini & Vannini, 2018).

The work of geographers on animals' transgressions against human placements through movement encourages me to consider the doing of the landscape by humans and animals (Brown; 2014; Jones, 2013; Lulka, 2004). In relation to dog-human encounters, studies on how landscapes are dog-human accomplishments (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Laurier, Maze & Lundin, 2006) have helped immensely. Hence, the mushing landscape and the ways that the combinations of dogs and humans as living beings create and relate to it constitute a trinary rather than a dualistic relation (Gray, 2014). Here, I do not take the 'relation' as a connection between pre-located entities but rather as a path traced through the terrain of lived experience. Every relation is thus one line in a meshwork of interwoven trails (Ingold, 2016).

The ontological manoeuvring needed to draw attention to the shared doing of the landscape has epistemological consequences, accessing and turning attention to issues of "embodiment, performance, skill and affect as relational and distributed forces and competencies" (Lorimer, 2010, p. 238). The work of Phillip Vannini on non-representational ethnography (2015) and his reflections on video-based mobile methods with an action camera (2017; Vannini & Stewart, 2017) have aided me immensely in tackling methodological challenges. Katrina M. Brown and her colleagues' work (e.g. Brown & Banks, 2015) on conducting mobile video ethnography in a multispecies setting likewise broaden the methodological opportunities available for evoking the intimate and intangible spaces of multispecies encounters.

These are just a few of the scholars who have been influential for me. I draw on this unfolding literature to establish a framework for understanding the sled dogs' contribution to the formation of the mushing landscape and, through mobile video ethnography, to rework the possibility of animating the multispecies trails within it. I here take tourist landscapes as outplays of intersecting flows of material and agency wherein the human and nonhuman combine and recombine (Jones, 2013).

Through mobile video ethnography I focus on the everyday, moving sled dog–human encounters taking place throughout events that have multiple and even chaotic pathways of engagement (see also Brown & Banks, 2015). For me, in line with Johnston (2008), this method is a way knowing about and knowing with the dogs based not in abstract philosophical terms, such as our shared sentience, but in the actual living and working relationship they form with humans as a result of daily experience, learned practices and mutual events.

I turn my attention to the mushing landscape in order to contribute to ongoing debates about animals' role in tourism (e.g. Fennell, 2012; Granås, 2018; Markwell, 2015) and tourism's positioning as a relational phenomenon that co-constitutes the roles and characteristics of related agents (Jóhannesson et al. 2015; Rantala, 2019; Valkonen, 2009). Moreover, I enter the mushing landscape to demonstrate how mobile multispecies video ethnography allows access to the intimate spaces of human–animal encounters in tourism (Brown & Banks, 2015). As I will show, sled dogs, as living beings, play an important but controversial role in the formation of tourist landscapes that aim to meet the touristic and recreational needs of visitors.

The tourist landscapes in Finnish Lapland

One important group of animals at work in tourism are harness animals, such as horses, reindeer and dogs. Tourism activities built around the experience of encountering these animals underwent a tremendous increase in popularity in the northern parts of Fennoscandia, including Finnish Lapland, occasionally referred to as Arctic Europe within the tourism industry (Visit Arctic Europe, n.d.). This region has a distinct selection of animal-based activities, including short dog sledding and reindeer safaris. Demand for these activities has continued to rise in the years just before the COVID-19 pandemic, which has, at least temporarily, heavily affected the demand for these activities.

The broad context here is the practice of mushing, which refers to the use of a tailor-made sled on snow cover or a mushing cart on snowless land pulled by dogs. The first sled dogs were introduced to Finnish Lapland (hereafter Lapland) in the 1970s for racing purposes, and they pulled the first tourist sled in the mid-1980s. Touristic mushing is thus a fairly recent practice and landscape occupied by dogs, as in Scandinavia in particular people have only recently begun using dogs as draft animals, let alone for touristic purposes (Jæger & Viken, 2014). Unlike many other dog breeds, sled dogs were post-agrarian arrivals to Lapland, and they began to appear in significant numbers from the late 1990s in the planning and rapid development of the winter tourism landscape, with Santa Claus, the northern lights and wintry activities in unspoiled environments becoming highly attractive to foreign tourists. The indigenous Sámi culture is also used in the local tourism industry, often in a

highly controversial way (e.g., Joy, 2019; Kugapi, Höckert, Lüthje, Mazzullo & Saari, 2020).

In today's Lapland, as in other northern parts of Scandinavia, the encounters between sled dogs and people are heavily framed by the policies and practices of tourism. Touristic mushing refers to the encounters taking place in a commercial context and for commercial purposes. At present there are hundreds of year-round, for-profit sled dog kennels operating in the Nordic tourism industry (Tallberg, García-Rosell & Haanpää, 2021). Even in Lapland alone, there are around 50 sled dog kennels with dog populations varying from a dozen up to 500 individual dogs, adding up to several thousand sled dogs in total working in tourism in the region (García-Rosell & Äijälä, 2018). These kennels are often situated next to popular tourist resorts or town centres. Geographically they are rather far from wilderness areas, but experientially they are located in the wilderness, given that touristic perceptions associate the dogs with polar and adventure histories (Granås, 2018).

Despite its rather short history, mushing has become one of the most popular tourism activities in many Arctic destinations, especially in winter, and the sled dog is one of the most iconic animals in the growth of tourism in the area. Even so, sled dogs do not connect the past to the present as they do in North America. Indeed, the Sámi Parliament of Finland (2018) states that touristic dog sledding is a particularly damaging and culturally unsustainable borrowed tradition that conflicts sharply with traditional Sámi reindeer herding. From that perspective, the sled dog could be considered a culturally invasive alien species.

Along with touristic mushing, snowmobiling is one of the most popular winter activities in Finland. Particularly in the densely built tourism resorts in Lapland, the dogsledding and snowmobile routes intersect, which may even cause dangerous encounters. There are also large nature conservation areas in Lapland, including several national parks. However, commercial tourism services, including touristic mushing, always need to sign a contract with Metsähallitus (the state-owned enterprise that manages state-owned lands in Finland), which may not be an easy process. Many mushers thus feel that they are the ones that have to yield in this complex landscape of tourism planning. Tourism kennels in Lapland are increasingly aware of the fragility of their operations and have started to develop and promote their activities as more responsible for both the dogs and wider political ecologies. This shift takes various forms, such as applying for a valid certification.

Although reindeer and, to some extent, horses are important animals working in tourism in Lapland, I will concentrate on dogs, as they represent the greatest number of individual animals and kennels in the industry. Perhaps due to their wide distribution in the region, sled dogs are also the most controversial animals. Moreover, the bond between a human and a dog is likely the most complex of any human–animal relationship, with a rich and varied 'contact zone' that ranges from the symbolic to the utilitarian and the playful (Madden, 2010; see also Fennell,

2012). Sled dogs are thus living in a kind of parallel reality in which tourism and the surrounding political landscape—including the mushing community itself, comprised as it is of human institutions and structures—is not meaningful as such but fundamentally influences their lives and, in turn, is influenced by them (Dashper, 2014; Granås, 2018; Nance, 2013). The mushers also live in a parallel reality wherein they have to take care of the dogs and the tourists, thus being exposed to the requirements of the industry itself and the political agendas beyond it.

The most popular dog breeds working in the industry are Alaskan and Siberian Huskies. Each kennel and musher has a preferred breed depending on the type of activities they are organising. Many of the mushers are lifestyle entrepreneurs creating a business around the kind of lifestyle they want, each with different motivations. The great majority of the customers come from abroad. Moreover, there is a significant number of people who only work as guides in the kennels during the peak season, between early December and mid-April. Usually the slow season arrives in May, when the dogs (and humans) can recover, and in October, when they start to prepare and train for the forthcoming winter season. The activities may occur in conditions that vary from multi-day safaris in the coldness and darkness of January to short rounds in the heat of July. Thus, besides the policies and practices of the tourism industry, sled dog–human encounters are heavily framed by the phenomena of the weather-world (Ingold, 2011; Rantala et al., 2011).

The surrounding political and material landscape sets rather strict ‘agential conditions’ (Carter & Charles, 2013) within which the dogs (and mushers alike) exercise their agency. The agential conditions that emerge as suitable tourism environments are produced in connection with tourism culture and the motivations and expectations within it (Rantala, 2010). Tourism thus becomes a public sphere, the tourist landscape, where the agency or agencies of the dogs are presupposed or given and where the prerequisites for displaying their agency are already presented both semiotically and materially. These processes entail the dogs being bred and trained as working dogs, thus setting firm agential conditions for being a sled dog in the first place. Although the dogs may be considered tourism stakeholders (García-Rosell & Tallberg, 2021), sled dog–human encounters can take place in spaces of work in which the most extreme examples of violence against animals occur (Fennell & Sheppard, 2011). These encounters do not take place in a vacuum; rather, participants are constantly exposed to discussions of animal welfare and animal ethics in tourism. As a result, customers are becoming more and more aware of issues surrounding the neglect of the dogs’ welfare.

In conclusion, there are a variety of contradictory political desires in the ontological construction of the bodies and identities of both dog and musher, as well as the surrounding landscape. The understandings and experiences of landscapes and dogs combine to shape their ability to co-exist across species boundaries (Brown, 2014). The dogs are most likely unaware of—or maybe even reluctant to meet—the

conceptions and practices required by the human-made landscapes. They can thus shape the spaces and events of those landscapes by either adapting to or disrupting them (Brown & Dilley, 2012). This analysis suggests that sled dog–human encounters reflect many of the broader complexities of the interspecies relationships taking place in the tourism context.

The landscape covered in this study is a family-run sled dog kennel and its immediate surroundings just outside the city of Rovaniemi, Lapland. The kennel moved to its current location in 2016 and maintains a pack of over 100 dogs, most of which are Alaskan Huskies. It offers mushing activities all year round, from short walking trips with the dogs in the summer to day-long safaris in wintertime, but it focuses on day trips and shorter tours. The half-day winter safari is usually the most popular activity. The owners work closely with their stakeholders, including other tourism companies, landowners and educational institutions, to gain knowledge about, develop and promote the responsibility of their own mushing activities and touristic mushing in general.

The empirical data underlying this study is based on ethnographic fieldwork at the kennel—specifically mobile video ethnography, including the filming and audiencing of action camera footage—that took place between the summer of 2019 and the spring of 2020, just before the COVID-19 pandemic, which halted almost all tourism in the area, including their mushing activities. Instead of spanning across the larger context of their operational environment, my fieldwork focused on the dogs and mushers engaging in their daily tasks at the kennel, as they have the potential to be interwoven with attempts to bring about change in the industry. Local landscapes matter in the achievement of ethical animal–human–place relations (Brown, 2014; Coulter, 2016). The activities of four characters are my main focus: Hanne, Antti, Wickan and Rocky. Hanne and Antti are experienced mushers who have extensive experience working with sled dogs. With their own dogs and teams, they also mush outside the tourism context, including sled dog racing. The Alaskan Huskies Wickan and Rocky are veteran lead dogs, perhaps the most trusted at the kennel.

My dissertation consists of three articles published in international journals, one chapter published in an international edited volume and the introduction at hand. Next, I will introduce the articles and the structure of the introduction.

The articles and the structure of the study

In the first article (I), *Relational encounters: Agency in sled dog–human relations* (2020), I explore the concept of animal agency in the context of touristic mushing by integrating the relational understanding of (animal) agency and theorisations of tourism as a relational phenomenon. First I review the distinction between the agency of nonhuman animals and that of inanimate, nonhuman factors, proposing

that animal agency is relational and co-evolves with other animate beings. I then consider touristic mushing as a relational phenomenon that is (co-)shaped by the dogs and the humans. Finally, I discuss movement as a practice through which sled dogs display and communicate their agency, interrogating how they co-operate with humans in their engagement with tourist practices and spaces.

Based on a short ethnographic vignette and a relational understanding of agency, I develop the argument that these dogs can be considered agents contributing to tourism spaces and experiences. Movement and the sharing of movement allow us to frame human–animal encounters as co-operation. This exploration in turn provides avenues to understanding and appreciating both the (material) impacts and the transgressions of the human (spatial) orderings that animal agency produces. The conceptual and material spaces produced in human–animal encounters in tourism can thus be explored through the lens of sled dog agency.

In the second article (II), *Mobile video ethnography for evoking animals in tourism* (2020), I aim to enrich the available methodological repertoire to account for animal presence and agency in tourism. The article focuses on data collection, analysis and the presentation of findings to advance an argument about the methodological procedures of mobile multispecies video ethnography, its practical techniques and its epistemological underpinnings. The exploration takes place in a touristic mushing context. Although conceptualising animal agency is not the focus of the paper, I present some frameworks for understanding it, as they have epistemological consequences for gaining knowledge about sled dog–human encounters.

The process of unveiling the protocol and practicalities of mobile video ethnography helps to illustrate the benefits of using such an approach to understand human–animal encounters in tourism. For example, this method makes available micro-spaces and micro-events that cannot be fully comprehended from a fixed and/or distant location, let alone by using talk- and text-based methods. Moreover, mobile video ethnography frames human–animal encounters as spatially situated, and the constantly changing spaces and events therein can be evoked for reflection and audiencing. As such, the study reveals paths towards understanding tourism as a relational and multispecies phenomenon that comes about and develops when agents who are often considered ‘non-touristic’ contribute to the constant evolution of tourism spaces and events.

In the third article (III), *Landscapes as multispecies matters: The mushing landscape in the making in Finnish Lapland* (forthcoming), I speak to the theoretical debates surrounding the interspecies entanglements between humans and nonhuman animals, which are always located in landscapes, thus forming a trinary rather than a dualistic relationship. I demonstrate that the mushing landscape is shaped to a large extent through doing, and this doing is done by both humans and dogs. Doglike habits and agendas transgress the material and conceptual boundaries of tourist landscapes.

The empirical research underpinning this article is based on mobile video ethnographic fieldwork. Through the use of video as a ‘go-along’ method and the resulting multimodal material, an opportunity emerges for audiencing with the research participants. Based on this process, I form ethnographic vignettes consisting of text and accompanying short video clips. The vignettes demonstrate how humans and dogs move and become affected differently in the different spaces and events of the mushing landscape. They also illustrate how the dogs exercise their ‘dogness’, which is not always desirable in tourism activities. Ruptures of cross-species attunement are natural and oftentimes useful in learning how to act with the dogs.

In the book chapter (IV), *Designing future wildlife tourism experiences: On agency in human-sled dog encounters* (2021), we work towards creating a future scenario with an alternative means of experiencing and developing the sled dog-human encounter. We demonstrate that the acknowledgment of animal agency through modern technology could contribute to more meaningful encounters in the context of wildlife tourism, a subset of activities within nature-based tourism.

We focus on the experiential aspect of sled dog-human encounters by adopting a speculative design approach to touristic mushing. When reviewing the empirical data, we ask ‘what if’ questions to ideate possible future scenarios for acknowledging sled dog agency in practice. The study presents a narrative of potential outcomes and makes explanatory claims by suggesting that a lack of mutual understanding may hinder more meaningful human-animal encounters. This speculative concept illustrates what animal-based tourism could be like in the future if animals are considered crucial agents therein.

In the introduction of the dissertation I present my research design and the research articles. In the second section I lay out the theoretical framework and the concepts that guide this study, which are especially based on insights from the fields of (animal) geography and anthropology. I explain the research approach, which is based on the ethnographic tradition—particularly mobile video ethnography—and the ethnographic process in section three. In section four I weave a story—or draw a sketch map—about a single sled dog safari to illustrate the complexities of encounters between the dogs, mushers, tourists and the surrounding landscape. In section five, I outline the results of the dissertation, discuss its limitations and offer suggestions for future research.

2 ENTERING THE KENNEL: THE TOURISTIC DOG ACTING IN A TOURIST LANDSCAPE

Human–animal encounters in tourism present an instrumental and unsymmetrical liminality, which may lead to controversial and even abusive practices towards the animals. However, awareness of these issues in animal-based tourism is growing among tourists and other stakeholders. Nonhuman animals are thus affecting not only actual encounters with tourists but also institutional structures by, for example, contributing to perceptions about animal ethics in tourism (Fennell, 2012; Notzke, 2019). The encounters always take place somewhere, and this somewhere is more than a neutral backdrop. The ways in which human and nonhuman beings relate to and shape their surroundings constitute a trinary rather than a dualistic relation (Chakraborty, 2021; Gray, 2014). As is characteristic for tourism research, this study tackles the sled dog–human–place trinary through an interdisciplinary approach based on insights from the broad human–animal studies field (e.g. Marvin & McHugh, 2014).

In this chapter I move beyond attributing agency only to anything that has an effect, whether animate or inanimate, instead associating it with both action and effect (Ren, 2011; Stinson & Grimwood, 2020; van der Duim, Ren & Jóhannesson, 2017). I draw particularly on work from the fields of (animal) geography and anthropology that seeks to take the inherent difference between living and non-living things as its point of departure, questioning how knowledges are generated through spatially constituted relationships between nonhuman animals and humans (Gray, 2014; Ingold, 2013; Tsing, 2014). I thus establish a framework for understanding the ways in which sled dogs develop agency through the daily experiences, learned practices and shared events always taking place within the liveliness of the dog–human–place trinary.

The touristic dog

Sled dogs, in touristic perceptions, occupy a liminal position, residing on the boundary between the domestic and the wild, often simultaneously associated with the charisma of wolfish ancestry and the utopian ideal of trusted companion conquering the wilderness (Granås, 2018; Onion, 2009). A growing number of social scientists are exploring co-presence and mutual becoming with the animals with which we, as humans, are already close and ‘friendly’ (Buller, 2015). Naturally these explorations include studies about dog-human encounters (e.g. Goode, 2006;

Haraway, 2003; 2008; Power, 2008). Dashper (2020) argues that research on multispecies tourism is primarily about dogs. However, this research is mostly about companion dogs that are taken on holidays with humans (Carr, 2014; 2017; Gretzel & Hardy, 2015; Hung, Chen, & Peng, 2016). As Coulter (2016) demonstrates, humans have many other kinds of relationships with dogs in the tourism context, and the working relationship seems underrepresented.

Some areas of understanding related to the roles of working dogs in tourism have been previously addressed. The influential book by Fennell (2012) on animal-based tourism is an ethical exploration of dog sledding that focuses on sled dog–human encounters in spaces of work in which the most extreme examples of violence against animals can occur (see Fennell & Sheppard, 2011). Carr (2014) also briefly discusses the role of sled dogs in tourism and tourism experiences. The position of sled dogs as co-creators of tourism experiences is addressed by Bertella (2014), who argues that it is primarily the dogs who share the role of the main characters of the tourism experience with the tourists. Haanpää and García-Rosell (2020) demonstrate that the co-creation of the experience takes place through embodied and affective engagement between the bodies of the dogs, the humans and the (un)natural nonhuman factors involved, including the snow and the kennel facilities. They go on to argue that the dogs have powerful agency in this process. For García-Rosell and Tallberg (2021), it is the social bonds and emotions present in the working relationship between the dogs and the humans, such as the mushers and tourists, that position the dogs as stakeholders.

This body of research is a recognition that working dogs are important elements of the tourism experience and, consequently, the industry itself; even so, it offers only limited insight into dog–human–place relations. Elsewhere Bertella (2016) contends that the perceptions of sled dogs and nature tend to be strictly related to and reinforcing of each other, as the dogs and the mushers render nature more accessible and welcoming—even tamed (Onion, 2009). These conclusions indicate that sled dogs may spark changes that alter landscapes in touristically relevant ways (see also Granås, 2018). The aforementioned studies acknowledge that sled dogs, as nonhuman agents, possess some kind of agency that destabilises established spatial categories and binaries with creative outcomes. They emphasise that animals are capable agents in the experience of tourism spaces, and their authors pursue innovative modes of inquiry including videography (Haanpää, Salmela, García-Rosell & Äijälä, 2019). Although these studies have begun to move beyond anthropocentric paradigms, they have been unable—or perhaps reluctant—to appropriately address agency as a property of skilled beings (Ingold, 2011). Addressing the agency of living beings is central to understanding the complexities of multispecies tourism and the lively human–dog interactions therein.

In the world of dog sledding, a dog can be seen as object, tool, leisure creature and working companion by humans. It is natural to think that the dogs participate in

tourism activities without the opportunity to consent to their involvement. Even if they were fully aware of the complexities of regulating their engagement in tourism activities, they lack the equal freedom to choose, as they are subjected to human values (Dashper, 2014). Sled dogs undoubtedly have a limited amount of choice in terms of their working hours or the other requirements of the practices of the tourism industry (Rantala, 2011). They have to adapt to these conditions and the touristic image of dog sledding. It can even be argued that through breeding and training there is a fulfilment of human desire in the construction of sled dog bodies. The idea of choice for the dogs, however, is linked to their work situation, as they can be collaborative, form strong bonds and partnerships and embrace the breadth of tasks involved in their work. As such, the working relationship is more complex than a master–slave dynamic, as the dogs shape encounters through their actions and reactions (Coulter, 2016; Haraway, 2003; Kuhl, 2011).

Sled dog–human relationships emerge through mushing, which refers to a transport method or sport in which a dog or team of dogs pulls a sled in snowy conditions, or else a cart or rig if there is no snow cover. Touristic mushing is a commercialised encounter between dogs, humans and their surroundings designed to create outdoor experiences. These experiences are mainly based on encountering both the charisma of wolf-like dogs and the utopian ideal of taming the wilderness (Article IV; Bertella, 2016; Granås, 2018; see also Onion, 2009). Tourism can be considered a commercial sphere, where the agency of the dogs is presupposed or taken as given and where the prerequisites for displaying their agency are already presented both semiotically and materially in a certain set of ‘agential conditions’ (Carter & Charles, 2013) for being a sled dog. Opportunities to exercise their agency are conditioned by their incorporation into human social relations in the realm of tourism.

To address the limitations of previous tourism literature, I move beyond considerations of sled dog agency that are founded on our shared sentience, our mutual place in the world or any other similarly abstract philosophical argument (Johnston, 2008). There are elements in working human–dog relationships distinguishing them from those shared with companion animals. Undoubtedly, working dogs are sentient beings that seek ways to ensure their happiness. In touristic mushing, work is a means of giving the dogs self-worth (Carr, 2014; Haraway, 2003). As Garst (1948, cited in Carr 2014) argues, dogs are like humans, in that they are better off and happier if they have responsibilities. Haraway (2003) notes that some dogs are loved more than others, but their value does not depend on an economy of affection. The dogs’ value—or even their lives—can be dependant largely on their skill in the work they do. If not affection, a working relationship with dogs involves at least affective practices such as partnership, trust, two-way communication and increased respect for the abilities of another species (Granås, 2018; Kuhl, 2011). Through these processes the dogs are able, albeit indirectly, to shape the agential conditions set upon them.

Individual dogs will continue to act in ways that can be considered expressions of their agency. Even so, they are subjected to human values and have a limited amount of choice. Undeniably, musher–sled dog relations and their intersections with tourism represent such an objectifying relationship that it can be argued that using the dogs in this way can be abusive. After all, the dogs do not choose to work for the tourism industry, and they cannot necessarily prevent specific practices. However, not every interaction is necessarily unpleasant and meaningless, for the dogs or the humans, as specific feelings and even small actions can contest patterns of exploitation. Accordingly, there is the potential for specific daily acts to be interwoven with more profound attempts to bring about change in the industry (Coulter, 2016). These acts are part of the becoming of distinctive landscapes and the patterns within them.

My study proposes the conceptualisation of sled dogs as working dogs that develop into models for a touristic dog. Such conceptualisation is based on the fact that the tourism industry sets requirements for sled dogs above those imposed on ‘regular’ dogs, as they should be willing to run short rounds. Moreover, the dogs have to adapt to the timetables of the industry. I focus on the actual relationships that are formed through the day-to-day living and working relationships and interactions between sled dogs and humans. This approach leads to some weighty questions related to power and agency that are central in accounting for and understanding the complexities of multispecies tourism. I thus begin to move beyond anthropocentric paradigms in describing the way these interspecies relationships shape the spaces and events of tourist landscapes (Dashper, 2020).

The key here is not a belief in mutual and symmetrical intentionality, or even a sense of the broader ontological conflation of humans and animals in the co-creation of tourism experiences. Rather, it lies in the emergence of a possibly shared store of knowledge, practices and ultimately cultures through this working relationship (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Buller, 2012). That relationship is based on non-instrumental associations that go beyond the formalities of language (Ingold, 2013; Jerolmack, 2009). However, the ‘bestly qualities’ (Johnston, 2008) of the dogs are always present, and sometimes they cause highly unwanted events. Due to doglike needs, habits and agendas, including their smell and indiscriminate eating and sexual practices, these animals may not fit the polished touristic image of dog sledding (Loovers, Losey & Wishart, 2018). The musher must understand and appreciate those needs if they want the dogs to co-operate.

Sled dog agency

In this study, the touristic dog rests somewhere between the working and the leisured dogs. Following Carr (2014), the concept encompasses the ‘with’ in the relations between the sled dogs, mushers and tourists, as well as the social agency

of each. These parties would not exist without each other, as they are formed and shaped by the relations in which they are participating (Ingold, 2013; Johnston, 2008). Particularly complicated problems surround the task of taking the agency and subjectivity of animals (as well as humans) as a serious part of the process of their co-constitution (Buller, 2015), not least because agency is considered one of the most complex concepts in the social sciences, with its content often remaining vague and obscure (Räsänen & Syrjämaa, 2017).

Debate surrounds the capacity of animals to possess consciousness, self-awareness, intentions, thought and developed language, as well as political potential and certain degrees of structural and everyday power relations, all factors often understood as preconditions for agency. According to this understanding, animals have no or only limited opportunities to affect structures, and therefore agency is possessed exclusively by human beings and denied to animals (Koski & Bäcklund, 2017; McFarland & Hediger, 2009; Philo & Wilbert, 2000). This conclusion is problematic, however, as other beings, including animals, can adapt to the behavioural standards of their groups, a notion that can be broadened to form an interspecies sense of morality (Ingold, 2013; McFarland & Hediger, 2009).

At the other end of the spectrum, advocates of ANT attribute agency to anything that has an effect, whether it is animate or inanimate, thus associating agency with action and effect (van der Duim et al., 2017; Ren, 2011; see also Räsänen, 2017). I want to emphasise this study's aforementioned partial conjunction with ANT, as my approach is also critical of this all-inclusive Latourian concept of agency (Latour, 2005). This criticism is targeted towards ANT's predominantly functionalist approach (Johnston, 2008), as well as its seeming dismissal of the qualities of living animals—and humans—that are distinctive from inorganic objects and machines (Ingold, 2011; Risan, 2005). As Carter and Charles (2013) argue, agency is often regarded as causal power invested in individual animals, and thus it is a universal property of sentient beings regardless of their position in social relations. This view neglects the fact that dogs and humans come together in mutually transformative ways, “often within radically asymmetrical relations of power” (Haraway, 2008, p. 216). Recognising this power imbalance becomes especially important in accounting for and giving recognition to the impact of anthropocentric social and cultural relations upon nonhuman animals, as well as their involvement in the constitution of these relations (Carter & Charles, 2013).

I adopt the position that agents, whether human or animal, are enmeshed within particular social and cultural relations. They can modify their behaviour within those relations according to changing circumstances and choose between alternatives, as well as benefit or suffer as a result of such decisions, whether they are intentional or not. Agents, such as sled dogs working in tourism, are collectivities, and they are differentiated according their place within their social relations with the other beings with whom they share similar life changes. These collectivities are historically

contingent and variable, with these discrepancies having profound consequences for their capacity for social action (Carter & Charles, 2013; Räsänen, 2017). The collectivity of ‘animal used in tourism’ or ‘sled dog working in tourism’ is insufficient to account for the difference in outcomes available to an individual dog or group of dogs, because the ‘agential conditions’ (Carter & Charles, 2013) entailed in ‘being a sled dog’ are different in different parts of the world and even across Lapland, as companies might have varying policies for taking care of the dogs.

Although animal agency is embedded within diverse and uneven relations of power, this fact does not disable opportunities for action for any particular animal. For Ingold (2011, p. 94, emphasis original), “the essence of action lies not in aforethought [...] but in the close coupling of bodily movement and perception, which qualifies animals (and humans) as *agents*, whose actions are *skilled*, and their skill *develops* within the organism’s own growth and development in an environment.” The precondition for agency does not therefore lie in the mutual and symmetrical intentionality of humans and animals to develop tourism experiences but rather in the possible emergence of shared knowledge, practices and, ultimately, culture (Buller, 2012). This mutual sociality enables episodes of dog–human enactments through which unfold not only skilful cross-species interaction and affective attunement (Lorimer, 2010; Maurstad, Davis & Dean, 2016) but also the rupture and dissonance of those enactments (Brown; 2014; Brown & Dilley, 2012).

Interspecies mutuality usually entails the asymmetric and unequal capacity of animals to act and coexist with humans. Thus, I consider agency a continuum along which all animals, including humans, are positioned. Despite the power imbalance, animals are not mere objects; they shape our material world, and our encounters with them affect our ways of thinking about the world and ourselves (Pearson, 2013). This line of thinking—that the co-evolution of humans and animals occurs by separating animals from inorganic objects—is mainly inspired by the work of Donna Haraway (2003; 2008). Emphasis is placed on animals as conscious beings that form their own perspectives in relation to the life-worlds in which they exist and according to which they act reciprocally with animals of their species and others. As Tsing (2014, p. 28) maintains, living things intentionally or unintentionally “gesture towards the future, making worlds for the yet-to-come as well as for the present.” Nonhuman animals co-evolve with humans across history, and within this co-evolution they are able to communicate and make intentional decisions as agents (Haraway, 2008; Ingold, 2013).

Particularly in mushing, humans often relate to dogs not as individual others but as part of some form of collective (Hodgetts & Hester, 2017; Michael, 2000). How then does this collective develop within the mushing landscape, if humans and dogs do not share the goal of producing tourism experiences? In order to attain any success, touristic mushing necessitates that the sled dogs and humans share

knowledge and communicate at some level. This knowledge is not built through a common verbal language but through embodied lives, shared movements and practices, and biologically and socially related ways of inhabiting the world. Through body movements, the dogs express, enact and develop their agency. Instead of rational thought, a focus on movement highlights physical contact, encounters and experience. Agency is thus very much present in the bodily rhythms and routines of the everyday life that is shared by people and dogs (Buller, 2012; Fletcher & Platt, 2018; Higgin, 2012). As Ingold (2011) contends, it is through sensing each other, through movement and emotion, that animate beings develop their agency.

Agency, according to this conceptualisation, is not a matter of reflexive thought and intentional action; rather, it is about the multiple and dispersed effects of a certain mode of being-in-the-world upon other beings and elements. Agency is therefore less concerned with active behaviour than relational existence (Nimmo, 2011). As working animals, sled dogs can be considered both companions and ultimate strangers (Haraway, 2003). Simultaneously, they are animate beings. As all animate beings are fundamentally relational, every being is what it is and does what it does because of its positioning within a community and its reciprocal responses to the lives of other beings. Animate beings, including humans, are, at any moment, what they have become, and what they have become depends on those with whom they associate (Haraway, 2008; Ingold, 2013).

Similarly, each dog is different, but these differences are constituted in and through their involvement in the productive processes of social life—that is, a sled dog does not exist without a working relationship with the musher and vice versa. Hence, the qualities of a sound sled dog, including strength, willingness to work, friendliness and endurance in the cold, are not the ontological properties of the dogs themselves but rather factors that become comprehensible within the lived context of working with them (Higgin, 2012). As Philo and Wilbert (2000) suggest, by exercising their agency, the dogs produce unpredictable encounters in the spatial categorisations within which they are located, and in so doing they are even able to change those categorisations both materially and semiotically.

The meshwork of the mushing landscape

Lapland and each local kennel within it can be considered tourist landscapes, as they are areas particular in their appearance and structure that differ from other landscape types, recognisable and accepted by their users and created to meet touristic and recreational needs and expectations (Skowronek, Tucki, Huijbens, & Józwick, 2018). In tourist landscapes, people are seen as socialised and embodied subjects with expectations, experiences and desires, whereas sled dogs are seen as mere mediators of tourism experiences (Bertella, 2014; Meneghello, 2021). This conception

emphasises the active role of humans, especially tourists, while nonhuman animals are often overlooked amidst a wider blindness to the agencies of nature. Nonhuman animals have been included in the category of ‘nature,’ and consequently the living qualities, or agency, separating them from mere objects have been dismissed (Buller, 2012; Ingold, 2011). Sled dogs are categorised between the extremes of tame and wild, as through processes of domestication they possess utility to humans and are distributed to special locations. Terms like ‘sled dog’ or ‘sled dog kennel’ contain at least implicit spatial classifications that ultimately reveal less about the animal than they do about us (Buller, 2014).

It is easy to think of a tourist landscape, such as that of Lapland, as a layered material and conceptual surface that has been shaped and reshaped through the imprints of cultural form (Ingold, 2011; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). Lapland holds a distinctive grip on the human imagination and gives rise to narratives of the backcountry or wilderness. It is a politicised landscape wherein the power of movement and engagement with the space is often dictated by policies originating from other places (Gooch, 2008). As in any human–animal relation, sled dog–human encounters do not take place in a vacuum; they are always happening in space, whether that space is material, such as a dog kennel, or more abstract and conceptually constructed, such as the wilderness. Animal agency is situated in these spaces, as it is created in a specific encounter between the individual agents, a particular environment and the actual event at hand (Buller, 2012; Brown & Dilley, 2012; Nyman & Schuurman, 2016).

Thus, we should always be ready to include place as a third dimension of these relations, as tourism encounters are entangled with a specific place wherein humans and non-humans perform their particular roles with diverse dynamics (Rantala, 2019). For touristic mushing, the actions of sled dog–human partnerships are performed through the fluid linking of spaces, such as pen to starting place, starting place to safari trails and trails back to pen. Despite controversial categorisations and representations, sled dogs are very real and are more than reflections of the human imagination. As Granås (2018), argues, they co-construct patterns of particular landscapes through their agencies (see Jones, 2013).

To go beyond the tourist landscape and comprehend the lively sled dog–human–place trinary (Gray, 2014) emerging at the kennel, I use the term ‘landscape’ rather than ‘environment.’ The idea of an environment implies a pre-existing, external and separate context with properties that affect the lives of the beings that exist within it (cf. Gibson, 1986). This concept lacks a strong sense of relationality, as it attributes inherent qualities to the environment that are independent of any perception of them (Gray, 2014; Ingold, 2011). In contrast, as Jones (2013, p. 423) states, landscapes are “complex outplays of intersecting flows of material and agency, where the human and nonhuman (materials, technologies, plants, animals) combine and re-combine in and through series of registers in cycles of comings and goings.” To emphasise

the relational becoming of the landscape over a pre-existing and causative character, I adopt the stance that the mushing landscape is shaped to a large extent through doing (Ingold, 2011; Olwig, 2008), and this doing is done by both humans and dogs (Brown, 2014; Gray, 2014; Jones, 2013).

To tackle the livingness of the sled dogs, I take the kennel as a domain of entanglement; it is within its tangle of interlaced trails that beings, both humans and sled dogs, develop along the lines of their relationships (Ingold, 2011). Ingold's notion of meshwork—as distinctive from network—captures the living complexity of a becoming landscape. For Ingold, behind the conventional image of a network of interacting entities there is a meshwork of entangled lines of life, growth and movement that forms the world we inhabit. Life proceeds along these lines. In this ontology, beings do not propel themselves across a ready-made world but rather issue forth through a world-in-formation along the lines of their relationships. Every such line describes the flow of a material substance through a space that is topologically fluid. The organism—whether sled dog or musher—should be understood not as a bounded entity surrounded by an environment but as an unbounded entanglement of lines in fluid space. Living systems are characterised by a coupling of perception and action, and this coupling is both a condition for the exercise of agency and the foundation of skill (Ingold, 2011, pp. 63–64). The co-construction of landscapes is therefore not the result of an agency that is distributed across a network; rather, it emerges from the interplay of the forces that are conducted along the lines of the meshwork.

The kennel is thus also more than a complex process of ordering; it involves people, organisations, objects, technologies and spaces that become entangled within tourism spaces (van der Duim, 2007). The mushing landscape leaves room for the dogs, as unique beings, to be involved in the flow of agency and the resulting formation of the landscape. The specific flow of agency I concentrate on is that which takes place between sled dogs and people—mushers and tourists—and is central to the ongoing production of the mushing landscape. Agency is often articulated through affective processes, as people engage with animals through a range of affective exchanges, including emotions, passions, embodied practices (e.g. touch, senses and movement) and the materialised, relational performativity of everyday life. The dogs are interconnected with ongoing practices of collective and individual identities in ways that evoke emotion and affect (Article III; Jones, 2013, Lorimer, 2010), particularly in the animal-based tourism context (Haanpää & García-Rosell, 2020).

I take 'affect' in a broad sense here as the capacity to engage meaningfully with others through intensive relationality, especially—though not exclusively—through affective registers (Huggan, 2016; Jones, 2013). This engagement takes place in the fundamentally relational affective spaces of animate life, which are generated across the choreographed bodily movements of humans and dogs (Hodgetts & Lorimer,

2020; Whatmore, 2006) through the landscape (Gray, 2014) or weather-world (Ingold, 2011). It is mainly through affective dynamics that humans and sled dogs have the capacity to be affected by, and to respond to, each other across species boundaries (Greenhough & Roe, 2011; Haraway, 2008; Jones, 2013). Affects are produced by bodies functioning moment by moment and encountering each other with(in) the environment. As a result, both humans and sled dogs are affecting and being affected.

The affective life lies largely outside the realms of language, thought, rationality and reflexive consciousness, consisting instead of memory functions, emotions, bodily movement and sense/response systems that represent crucial—but not exhaustive—components of affect (Haraway, 2008). They are the life-making and pre-running bodily systems and processes within and beyond reflexive consciousness through which we live on a moment-to-moment basis in relation to specific space–time circumstances (Jones, 2013; Whatmore, 2006). As Jones (2013) argues, affective life is very much about embodiment, relationality and materiality, as it seeks to tackle the self as a performative entity always existing in the specific space–time configuration of the now and the remembrance of past experience (H. Lorimer, 2005). This emphasis on affect does not totally displace the power and importance of rationality or the cultural and economic dynamics of human–sled dog relations. These areas clearly shape the encounters and their related spatial/ethical patterns; even so, affects and emotions will always be forces that challenge other, more rationalised dynamics or practices (Jones, 2013).

If the embodied practices of all landscapes are primarily conducted by humans and nonhuman animals through relational affective life, one must to go beyond the cultural notion of landscape and address not only the animals but also their agency and the rich affective associations in which they are enmeshed (Lorimer, 2010). I endeavour to use nonrepresentational theory (Thrift, 2008; Vannini, 2015) to tackle the conceptual and methodological undercurrents, including vitality, performativity and mobility, that always take place somewhere—that is, in a place. These places are like knots, and the lives of the beings inhabiting these places are like the threads in which they are tied. I am thus drawing on an approach that understands world-making as a process of becoming through the tangled lines of life that knot together humans, nonhumans, objects and places, making up a meshwork (Ingold, 2011; Vannini, 2015). The meshwork of the local mushing landscape is one such world-in-the-making.

In the next chapter I will engage in this unfolding work by envisioning an ethnography that is attuned to the episodes and repertoires of dog–human enactments through which both skilful cross-species interaction and affective attunement (Lorimer, 2010; Maurstad et al., 2016) and the rupture and dissonance of those enactments (Brown, 2014; Brown & Dilley, 2012) unfold. Consequently, through these dog–human enactments, the agents destabilise, transgress and

transform the spatial orderings of touristic mushing at the expense of other agents (Philo & Wilbert, 2000). I use this framework to inform my ethnographic analysis of the spaces and events of touristic mushing.

3 KNOWING THE KENNEL: METHODOLOGY, EMPIRICAL MATERIALS AND ANALYSIS

“How the hell could I know? These are Huskies! The only thing that I can predict is that something unpredictable will happen” (Antti).

This quite descriptive statement was made by Antti in June 2019 on our first day of collecting video data, and it exemplifies the challenges of capturing and rendering knowable the human–sled dog–landscape trinary that is always becoming. To face this challenge, animal geographers and other researchers have turned to ethnographic means of accounting for animal presence and agency in order to overcome the limits of purely representational and often problematically anthropomorphised accounts of human–animal relations (Buller, 2015; Haanpää et al., 2019; van Dooren, Kirksey & Münster, 2016). Such an ethnographic endeavour is known as multispecies ethnography, which is “ethnographic research and writing that is attuned to life’s emergence within a shifting assemblage of agentive beings” and that seeks to understand the world as materially real, partially knowable, multicultural, multinatural and emergent through the contingent relations across multiple beings and entities (Ogden, Hall & Tanita, 2013; see also Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010). However, within multispecies ethnography, there are several tensions, among which the problem of species itself is not the least significant. Following the argument of Ogden et al. (2013), the framework at hand problematises the envisioning of ethnographies describing asymmetrical becomings and attunes to the power that nonhuman subjects have to shape the world, as well as to the ways in which agents become through their relations with other living beings.

I employ these insights from multispecies ethnography to analyse questions of sled dog agency and its spatial dimensions. Doing so, however, results in some weighty methodological obstacles to understanding the fundamental relationality of the trinary configuration of human, nonhuman animal and place (Gray, 2014). Beginning to notice, comprehend and attune and respond to human–animal–place configurations requires a perspective different from the view that human–animal encounters and the environment are separate, timeless and unchanging, or that they can be observed and comprehended from above. In other words, the issue lies in deciphering how to gain access to and render knowable the intimate and intangible spaces of human–dog encounters, their situatedness in particular places and the process through which they come into being in mutually transformative ways (Brown & Banks, 2015). It calls for a non-representational view of animate lifeworlds that often escape talk- and text-based methods and explanatory descriptive categories

(Vannini, 2015). It requires an ethnography that is instead able to wander among and attune to those animate lifeworlds.

According to Vannini (2015), ethnographic journeys are not planned transitions but wanderings through which movement speaks. These wanderings are also wonderings that come upon the entangling storylines that bind together self, others, place and time, each tracing lines that are dynamic and unpredictable, with no clear roots, boundaries or ends—just like ethnographic travel (Vannini, 2015). Following Ingold (2016) through journeying as storytelling, the (non-representational) ethnographer forms knots that are tied among multiple and interlaced strands of movement and growth. The following sections illustrate in more detail my ethnographic wanderings and wonderings at the kennel, in which I ultimately implemented mobile multispecies video ethnography (Brown & Banks, 2015; see Spinney, 2011; Vannini, 2017) as a method of data analysis, which was integral to the development of my methodology.

Initial wanderings

Dogs have been part of my personal life almost from birth. My own experiences with them are mainly based on living with Finnish Spitzes. I was briefly introduced to sled dogs and mushing for the first time in the early 2000s when I trained as a wilderness guide at a sled dog kennel. I remember that I liked the work but knew that it was not going to be my career. It took me almost 15 years to re-encounter sled dogs when my home university received funding for two projects related to animal welfare in tourism (e.g., García-Rosell & Äijälä, 2018). I believe it was in the autumn of 2017 when I visited my forthcoming ethnographic field for the first time, working on those projects. Although they were closely related to my present research topic, the administrative work took too much time, so I could not fully concentrate on my own research. I did not know at that time that this kennel would be my ‘field.’ At the time, apart from facilities for the dogs, the kennel had almost no fixed buildings like the staff house.

In the spring of 2018 I obtained full funding for my PhD project and started to think about the ‘field.’ This kennel came to my mind as I remembered from my first visits that they are passionate about working with the dogs. Moreover, they were not very far away from my office. At that time, I had already been introduced to using a minicam when studying multispecies tourism (Haanpää et al., 2019). However, I was not responsible of collecting the video data in our previous endeavour. I thus had some limited experience around the kennel and with using a GoPro as a research tool. My ethnographic knots began to take clearer shape in the spring of 2019 when I visited the kennel to discuss my fieldwork and inquire whether a minicam could be used when collecting data. I went there with only partial experience with touristic

mushing and that particular kennel, and I did not have any close relations to the staff or dogs. However, they saw no issues in relation to my planned fieldwork, and they were fully open towards my ideas and needs. I had thus already somewhat decided that mobile video ethnography would cover at least some part of my fieldwork; I did not, however, know that it would be crucial to it.

During those first visits, I discussed my research with the management of the company to select the human informants and to sign the informed consent forms. Hanne and Antti were proposed, as they have extensive experience working with sled dogs and with this kennel in particular. We also discussed which dogs could be 'informants.' Rocky and Wickan were identified as a pair of trusted dogs who had run as leaders in tourist safaris for a long time. Referring to Vannini (2015), my travels and first stays at the kennel can be considered wanderings, as they were not at first transitions with a clear and structured plan for observations about specific, predictable interactions. In the beginning, it actually did feel like aimless wandering, as I did not quite know what to expect or to which situations I should pay attention. Yet, I rather quickly realised that the kennel is about the dogs. The sounds, smells and sights made it clear that the dogs are more than 'shadowy creatures' (Philo 2005) here. It also became evident that the kennel is also about the people working at the kennel. At that time, there were no tourists present, but when there are, even more creatures participate in tourism encounters. These encounters are about the co-presence of all these creatures in the tourist landscape and, most importantly, about the making and constant becoming of that landscape.

When working through my theoretical article about sled dog agency (Article I), I realised that it is rather simple to theorise about tourism as a relational phenomenon and the relational agency of sled dogs that takes place through bodily movement. At the start of my fieldwork I soon discovered, however, that it was unclear how I could account for sled dog agency and the becoming of the landscape that takes place in sled dog–musher–tourist encounters at the kennel. I was in the first stages of my fieldwork doing participant observation and having ordinary, 'informal' conversations with the kennel staff and tourists, as well as conducting some tentative experiments with the minicam. All the staff, not only Hanne and Antti, were curious about my research and my presence there. The tourists, particularly when seeing the GoPro devices, were equally intrigued. I took some field notes from my observations and conversations with the staff. However, at that time, I found it difficult to comprehend agency in the actual day-to-day living and working relationships between the dogs and humans through observing and taking fieldnotes.

At the same time, as I grappled with human–nonhuman–place configurations, I had to admit and acknowledge the limitations of my own understanding of the mushing landscape and the processes through which everyday life is conducted there. Forming explanatory categories based on my own observations thus turned out to be

difficult. It was challenging to keep up with all the interactions taking place. I felt that my ethnographic techniques—based mainly on traditional participant observation and talk—were insufficient to describe and explain the material specificities of humans and dogs recognising and responding to each other. Referring to Ingold (2016), the trails of growth and development along which life is lived would convert to routes of transport tied to specific locations.

Turning to video ethnography

In my observations to that point, I struggled to keep up with all the action and remain empathetic and interpretive of the manner in which the exchanges between the people and the dogs were practised and performed. I felt that I needed to push myself further to account for the engagement and collaboration of human and more-than-human agents. Despite my initial experiments with the minicam, I was unable to account for the sled dog presence and agency that emerged in the touristic encounters I witnessed within uneven relations of power (Buller, 2015; Dowling, Lloyd & Suchet-Pearson 2017). It was clear that the dogs have the ability to have all sorts of effects on the encounters at hand. However, to understand the various positionings of the dogs in the social relations taking place at the kennel and to think about how changes might be generated in them (Carter & Charles, 2013), I required a different approach.

My struggles relate to the concern of Ogden et al. (2013) that much of multispecies ethnography has focused on the relations among multiple discrete organisms (human, nonhuman animals and plants) in whose bodies life is bounded. Additionally, Ingold (2013, p. 19) argues that the problem with multispecies ethnography lies in its “very appeal to species multiplicity,” which leads “to the very notion that creatures can be grouped on the basis of similarity and divided on the basis of difference.” I therefore restarted from the premise that the lives of sled dogs and humans entangle to form a hybrid community in which subjects are not bounded entities but trails of growth and development in a heterogenous field of meaning, interests and affects (Lestel, Brunois & Gaunet, 2006; see also Ingold, 2013). The next issue I faced was how to evoke those trails of growth and development through which the hybrid community of the kennel unfolds.

I was obliged, following Brown and Banks (2015), to think about how to make space for a relational understanding of how sled dogs, humans and the (tourist) landscape come into being together. How could I gain access to and render knowable the spaces of sled dog–human encounters, their situatedness in the landscape and the ways they come into being in mutually transformative ways? How could I make the fundamental relationality of the trinary configuration of “these Huskies,” humans and places tangible, sensible and knowable?

Everyday life at the kennel is a highly mobile practice in which the co-operation between dogs and humans in this particular environment, instead of being a fixed achievement, is a tentative accomplishment emerging through the moving of bodies in relation to other bodies and materialities, which requires engagement with the flow and spaces of that fluid becoming (see Brown & Banks, 2015). I needed, somehow, to attend to practices, not just to what people said they were doing or what I saw them and the dogs doing from a distance when taking fieldnotes. I also felt that my own experience with and knowledge about mushing, not to mention my working relationship with the dogs, were too limited for me to simply enter the novel spaces of these encounters. To be able to enter those spaces I needed to delve deeper into the possibilities offered by the minicam to apply a method that could ‘go along’ (Brown & Banks, 2015; Vannini, 2017) with the research participants as they engaged in their daily tasks.

During those stages of my fieldwork, given the struggles I had, I explored the work of animal geographers who have explored human–animal encounters and experimented with ethnographic video (e.g. Brown & Banks, 2015; Lorimer, 2010). Video techniques have the great potential to witness and evoke human–animal encounters within a particular place (Laurier et al., 2006; Lorimer, 2010; 2013). For Lorimer (2013, p. 76), video techniques generate a rich array of primary audio-visual data that speaks to phenomena “that often escape talk- and text-based methods.” The phenomenon under study here is movement, which is fundamental to the mutual becoming of animal and human, as well as the related spatialities and temporalities of the more-than-human choreographies unfolding on the move and taking place through the entangled lines of life (Brown & Banks, 2015). It is principally through movement that animals have been seen to express, enact and develop their agency (Buller, 2012; Lulka, 2004). Movement is not simply the physical displacement of self-propelled entities across the surface of the world. As Ingold (2011) points out, it becomes a mode of existence and, thus, the very texture of the world (see Cresswell, 2012).

The footage in previous work, save for a few exceptions (e.g. Brown & Banks, 2015; Vannini & Stewart, 2017), has been shot mostly using hand-held or fixed-position video, which, despite its many strengths, can have limitations for contemplating the highly active and interactive movement of dogs and humans as they articulate agency to each other when going about their specific daily acts (Brown & Banks, 2015). It is very unlikely that the use of a handheld camera—let alone interviewing only the human participants—would make it possible to keep up with and be involved in the intensity of sled dog–human interactions. How could a fixed-position video camera, for example, witness certain manoeuvres and traces of movement that take place between the musher and six or more dogs on a safari? A filming strategy designed to “avoid shaky camera shots when moving around outdoors and the premises of the compan[y]” (Haanpää et al., 2019, p. 4) was not going to be sufficient, as the camera

would have been too distant and too static to access the diverse scales of the highly mobile and situated practices within the sled dog–human encounters taking place in the mushing landscape.

Knowing the mushing landscape through mobile video ethnography

I started to explore the sled dog–human encounters with a wearable action camera, a piece of equipment at the heart of mobile video ethnography approaches that is starting to gain a foothold within tourism studies (Article II; Haanpää et al., 2019; Vannini & Stewart, 2017). Indeed, dogs are highly mobile creatures and have co-evolved to use expressive bodily movement that humans can understand (Haraway, 2008). Mushers and sled dogs, as Kuhl (2011) states, engage in quality interspecies relationships that have multiple elements, including getting to know the dogs and engagement in two-way communication, which can change the place in touristically relevant ways (Granås, 2018).

Accordingly, mobile video ethnography with minicam video, which has been experimented with more extensively in animal geography (Brown & Banks, 2015) but appears also in tourism studies (Article II; Haanpää et al., 2019), has the potential to ‘go with’ the flow of spaces of collaboration and co-operation—or their disruption—among particular agents (Brown & Dilley, 2012). It has the benefit of repositioning participants and researchers in a continuum of (non)events and material encounters to aid recollection, rather than relying on memory alone, which tends to prefer specific ‘events’ (Spinney, 2015, p. 236). It thus opens up previously inaccessible more-than-human spaces for inquiry. Another crucial quality allowed by the ease of this physical embodiment is the ability to ‘go with’ the subject as they move and to follow the action and flow of unfolding micro and macro movements (Brown & Banks, 2015, pp. 99–100), making available the micro-spaces and micro-events of sled dog work and situating it within them (Article II).

I was open to the ideas proposed by Hanne and Antti about which events and encounters should be taken into consideration in order to cover life at the kennel as comprehensively as possible. In my wanderings at the kennel I tried to include all the different tourist seasons that take place in Lapland. I asked the Hanne and Antti what the best possible days were to conduct filming to ensure their presence. As their tasks varied depending on which shift (a main guide, a jumper guide, etc.) they were working, the filming was supposed to cover all their possible tasks. In other words, I tried to capture all different aspects of everyday life at the kennel, including feeding the dogs and shovelling faeces, not only tourist safaris.

The first filming day was in June 2019. Antti was training the dogs, and I helped him as much as I could. In my ethnographic wanderings I tried to cover all the tourist seasons, as the human–dog–space trinary (see also Gray, 2014) becomes differently

throughout them and thus they affect how the agency of the dogs (and humans) is constructed. Summer is mainly a resting season, apart from some short safaris and a few groups of tourists. The temperature is a crucial factor, as it affects when and how the safaris can be organised. In the mushing context, it is the dogs' tolerance of the heat that has to be taken into consideration. If the temperature reaches 20 °C or above, the mushers must think about how to organise the safaris so that the dogs will not get overheated. These summer safaris focus on the heads of the dogs and their physical condition so that they do not get frustrated. When the season starts to turn towards autumn and the temperatures drop below 15 °C, the actual training season begins. The aim is that dogs will be in their best form for the Christmas season, which is the peak time in terms of the number of tourists and therefore the working hours of the dogs.

Christmas is the peak season, and the dogs (and humans) have to work a lot—sometimes even being pushed to their limits. The mushers say that after a couple of weeks of that turbulence, one can often see the effects on the dogs and the staff. Along with having busy hours, Christmas is also the darkest season, and it brings thick snow cover and temperatures almost at freezing. These conditions have their own requirements for preparing and conducting safaris. For example, the safari routes have to be ploughed, and the dogs have to wear booties so that their paws do not wear out, as the partly icy surface of the route can be like sandpaper. In spring there are still a lot of tourists, and the temperatures can still drop far below zero, but lighting conditions make the difference. The human participants, at least, seem to enjoy when the days grow longer and longer. I have elaborated on these conditions and their relation to the collection of empirical material in Article II.

Three separate GoPro devices were employed in each filming session: a Dog GoPro, a Musher GoPro and a Researcher GoPro (Article II). Every session tried to cover all the activities that took place across the day—although sometimes a dead battery shortened the session—from cleaning the pens first thing in the morning to taking the dogs back into their pens after a safari. The cameras were employed to record the actual encounters taking place during the activity at hand, whether it be tourist safaris or training. All three action cameras were recording simultaneously, but they were not synchronised. I thus relinquished considerable agency in filming; apart from adjusting the angle if it was pointed towards the sky, I did not operate the cameras once they were mounted on the chest harness of Antti or Hanne or on the back of Rocky or Wickan.

My original idea was that my research would focus solely on Hanne, Antti and particularly Rocky and Wickan. This plan drew on approaches in which the lived experience of individual animals (and, to an extent, humans) is studied (Bear, 2011; Vannini & Vannini, 2020). The idea was based on the assumption that the minicam would allow the video gaze to follow the four informants. The audiencing process, which I will talk about a little later, facilitated to some extent the exploration of

the video gaze of Hanne and Antti. However, immediately in the first audiencing session in summer 2019, I realised that the Dog GoPro provided me with only a highly limited opportunity to explore the video gaze of Rocky and Wickan, as they could not participate in the audiencing process, and footage of the Dog GoPro was difficult for Hanne and Antti to interpret, as much of it was recorded when ‘nothing happened’—when, for example, Rocky or Wickan was sitting and waiting for the safari to start (Article II; see also Brown & Banks, 2015).

Another assumption was that the actions and reactions of Rocky and Wickan could be observed and interpreted through the Musher GoPro. Again, in the audiencing process it became evident that the recorded interactions did not focus solely on these two dogs. Perhaps Hanne and Antti could have been required to mainly focus on interacting with them: however, that would have been unnatural, as the mushers cannot work only with the best dogs. They have to work with over 100 dogs, although some of the dog–musher relationships maybe somewhat difficult according to Antti.

During my fieldwork, Antti told me that he had filmed some occurrences by himself, and he gave me access to this material. It is true that the actual tourist encounters are just a small part of the lives of the dogs and mushers. The material filmed by Antti provided some glimpses into their lives outside tourist encounters. The absence of tourists in private sessions allows more opportunities for the dog team to improvise and for their skills (or lack thereof) to start to shine. For example, in training Antti often does not use necklines, which are always used in tourist safaris. The absence of necklines materialises the attunement and skilful interaction of the musher and dogs, as there are more possibilities for the rupture and dissonance of co-operation. The material was also free from the influence of my presence directing the decision about when to press the record button. The footage recorded by Antti is governed by a ‘GoPro gaze,’ which brings the subjects—the people and the dogs—in front of the camera to record their capability and mastery (or lack thereof) in relation to their material and practical engagement with a taskscape outside of tourism (Vannini & Stewart, 2017).

My original ideas failed, but as a result of them, the cameras recorded the entangled traces of movement through the world of more than four informants (Ingold, 2016). Altogether there were around 13 hours of video footage shot across five days, one day for every season and two in the summer. This total may sound small, but more important than the amount of material is what has been filmed—that is, quality before quantity. There were also limitations on the resource-heavy mobile video ethnography (see Brown & Banks, 2015) that framed the gathering of empirical material and particularly the audiencing process, which I have elaborated in Article II.

I saved the video footage to a mass storage device and browsed it immediately after filming, taking notes of the events that I found interesting and notable .

However, the action camera footage made little sense to me by itself, with my limited experience with dog sledding. As Brown and Banks (2015) maintain, action camera footage seems to evoke certain aspects of experience and helps to witness certain manoeuvres, yet it is wide open to missing aspects or misunderstandings of what participants were doing or attempting to do at the time, as well as what they were thinking, sensing and feeling. For example, Antti's use of strong language with swear words could be easily associated with abusing the dogs. I thus needed interpretation and clarification for these kinds of events. Before going into the audiencing process, I will briefly reflect on my own experiences in the field in terms of trying to be musher.

Failing to be a musher

Fieldwork usually entails travel, which means that much ethnographic work happens on the move. Drawing attention to movement situates fieldwork in the concrete time–spaces that ethnographers actually inhabit. My mobile ethnographic fieldwork engaged the dogs, the mushers and myself as a researcher in a constant re-negotiation of difference and repetition of the ordinary and unfamiliar (Vannini, 2015). My own movements within my fieldwork truly engaged me in these issues, which evoked complex logistical relations and also feelings of being out of place.

Based on my original idea and on my preliminary discussions with the kennel, my intention was to be one of the mushers and participate in the daily tasks, from shovelling faeces to driving a sled (see Granås, 2018). The mushers came to work around seven o'clock in the morning at the latest to prepare for the day by, for example, checking the customer lists and chatting around the coffee table before heading out to clean the pens, check the equipment and so on. I was also supposed to be there at that time, but usually I was a bit late. The delay was not a problem for them, because I was not part of the staff. However, I was troubled by being late for the morning meeting, as it felt like the experience was inauthentic. Moreover, I am a rather introverted person, which made familiarising myself with the staff members challenging. Fortunately, all of the staff members were open people curious about my presence there. Similar experiences over the course of my fieldwork evoked the feeling of being an outsider.

Particularly in the beginning of my fieldwork I was involved in “hands-on practical work and very muddy boots” (Richardson-Ngwenya, 2014, p. 295). I participated in tasks like preparing the dog teams, including taking the dogs out of their pens, harnessing them and driving a mushing cart. At home, I looked for the most wear-and-tear clothes I had because the clothes would get dirty despite the overalls and boots provided by the company to protect my own clothes and keep warmer in winter. Actually, these were clothes provided for customers, so perhaps I looked more like a tourist than a musher. During the safaris, I was either sitting as

a passenger in a guide sled or in a snowmobile, but I never took responsibility for guiding. The discussions I had with the customers were mostly related to my own research. After each customer briefing, I always informed the customers about my research and my responsibility to preserve their anonymity, and I asked if anybody was against me filming with the minicam.

I was struggling with the practical work of preparing the teams and harnessing the dogs, despite Hanne and Antti trying their best to guide me. I was fascinated by how they knew which size of harness would fit just by looking at the dog. Or perhaps they had harnessed each dog so many times that they knew the harness size by heart. When harnessing, I had to ask all the time if a particular size would fit a particular dog. Particularly in the hectic timetable before a tourist safari, there was usually no time for them to guide me. The training sessions were more relaxed in terms of timetable, but the dogs were as eager as always to go. At one point, I had a hard time when harnessing Gudu. I believe that he was not against being harnessed; he simply could not stay still with all that energy. I bent over too close to him, and he jumped and hit his head on my chin. Fortunately, I received only a small bruise, and Gudu continued as always. These sorts of events led to the feeling that I was in the way, for both the dogs and for the mushers, rather than helping them.

As I discussed earlier, my original idea was to focus on Rocky and Wickan; thus, at the beginning of my fieldwork, when filming with the Researcher GoPro, I was focusing on interacting with Rocky and Wickan and trying to attend to the mutual trust and care essential in respect-based multi-species entanglements (Vannini & Vannini, 2020). Although I have a rather long history as the keeper of two dogs and also a little mushing experience, I felt that I was almost helpless in working with the dogs. I remember one occasion when I tried to place booties on Wickan, yet she had her tail tucked between her legs and was dodging me as much as she could. The mushers around me were looking at the hassle and seemed to feel sorry for both Wickan and me. That hassle ultimately led to my decision not take on the role of musher or try to establish social relationships with the dogs (cf. Granås, 2018). Based on these negative experiences, I felt that I would be far from a successful musher.

These kinds of encounters and experiences slightly reshaped my research agenda. From then on, I focused on staying out of the way when filming in order to produce more distant-angle footage for the audiencing process. The choices I made demonstrate ‘responsible anthropomorphism,’ wherein I recognized that Hanne and Antti, given their long-term mushing experience and almost daily contact with the dogs at the kennel, would be best suited to act and speak for them (Johnston, 2008; Keul, 2013). I felt that I, as a researcher, was far from that. A vital part of promoting this responsible anthropomorphism was the audiencing process, which I will talk about next.

Engaging with the dogs and mushers through audiencing

Wearable action cameras can be used in go-along research in order to evoke a sense of ‘there-ness’ as research informants go about their everyday life practices, “creating scenes that could not be seen any other way” (Chalfen, 2014, p. 300; see also Vannini & Stewart, 2017). In mobile video ethnography, it is the camera(s) that form(s) a part—and perhaps even the most crucial one—of the ethnographic knots. Although the action camera footage captures the relationality of dogs and humans created by the way they move about and interact within the landscape, it barely offers an opportunity to capture, and thus fully comprehend, the world as it appears in front of the camera lens and around the camera body. Thus, the footage cannot be taken as a straightforward evidencing of truth or reality. Rather, the footage is a video trace of the world that animates the movement of informants in specific environmental, bodily and affective configurations for which we have little established vocabulary (Brown & Banks, 2015; Sumartojo & Pink, 2017). According to Lorimer (2013), the footage may not provide a more real or authentic account; instead, it helps to evoke and witness other significant forms of meaning, creating novel spaces for performance and participatory analysis.

The key stage in my mobile video ethnography approach was the video review process in which each individual video trace created by Rocky, Wickan, Hanne, Antti and myself as the researcher enabled a process of reflection, discussion and understanding. I watched the uncut footage through with Hanne and Antti, and they had the opportunity to attend to the events taking place in the footage. I did not take the lead in navigating through the footage, and the discussion took place in an ad hoc manner without taking turns. Sometimes I had to pause and rewind the recording if there were some part that the participants found particularly interesting and wanted to explore further. This procedure resonates with Spinney’s video-assisted process of talking through sensory and affective meanings in order to construct a vocabulary for the ‘unspeakable’ (Spinney, 2011; see also Brown & Banks, 2015). Indeed, instead of necessarily constituting the actual presentation of affects, the footage merely facilitated reflection on the contingent affective relations (Simpson, 2011).

By sensitising Hanne and Antti to unseen skills and generally unacknowledged conventions, the footage allowed them to participate in the co-creation of my ethnographic wanderings and the knots and strands within them. The dogs were included in this participation, although the fact they did not do so on their own terms in the research and audiencing process embodies the unequal relations of power at hand (Article II). The vocabulary available to me became more versatile, as both Hanne and Antti were involved in the talk around the footage, bringing their own experiences and perspectives to the scene. Either one of them could notice and find a particular action—such as a dog or a human acting in an unwanted manner—

meaningful when the others did not even notice it at first. Through the meandering talk generated from the screening of the images and sounds of the action camera footage, it was possible to work provisionally towards a mutual understanding of the practices witnessed. The talk generated in the audiencing process was fully transcribed to add another layer of analysis. I also set up a WhatsApp group with Hanne and Antti for the purpose of asking more questions and to make myself available if they had questions for me. I could, for example, double check the genders and name spellings of individual dogs.

Tying the threads into a story

By the summer of 2020, I had around 13 hours of action camera footage that represented an annual cycle at the kennel and around 14 hours of generated talk with written transcriptions. Additionally, I had some fieldnotes and pictures taken especially in the early stages of my fieldwork. For the kinds of research questions I was posing, the action camera outings and the related talk transcriptions felt far more important than these notes, as they made the different dimensions of living human–dog encounters tangible, framing and attaching meaning to them (Brown & Banks, 2015). At this point I felt that the ordinary fieldnotes were insufficient and lacking in detail; thus, they were set aside. It was therefore the action camera outings and the accompanying talk transcriptions that served as threads for the ethnographic knots that I was tying and beginning to tighten. In what follows, I explore the analytical thinking process and the method of data analysis through which I joined theory and empirical material together (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013; see also Elton, 2021).

To integrate non-representational ideas of landscape, and the animal agency within it, with the research method at the foundation of my analysis, I implemented what Jackson and Mazzei (2013) call thinking with theory. They maintain that this analytical method rests on the assumption that “data is partial, incomplete, and is always in a process of retelling and remembering,” arguing that joining theory and data together allows them to co-constitute each other (Jackson and Mazzei, 2013, p. 262). Elsewhere Mazzei (2014) proposes the diffractive reading of data, which refers to the process of encountering the data while holding on to theoretical concepts. This way of reading has an effect, such that the essence of empirical material changes as it encounters theoretical ideas. With the continuous plugging of empirical material into theory and vice versa, new knowledge can be created (Jackson and Mazzei, 2013; see also Elton, 2021). I approached the data analysis with the view that the (nonhuman) agency I was looking for was relational—something taking place through the co-evolution of people and dogs in a specific environment (Haraway, 2008; Ingold, 2011; Urbanik, 2012).

I thus plugged the concepts of nonhuman agency and meshwork into my data and started to tighten the ethnographic knots. Implementing this technique allowed me to engage with theory and witness and identify the events of co-evolution with various forms of knowledge, skill and embodied practice I had been searching for. Through that co-evolution, cross-species attunement and skilful interaction (Lorimer, 2010; Markuksela & Valtonen, 2019; Maurstad et al., 2016), as well as the rupture and dissonance of that attunement, unfolded (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Haanpää et al., 2019). In order to grasp the co-evolution of people and dogs taking place through different affective configurations, I revisited the talk transcriptions, which I understand as holding the traces of contingent affective relations—that is, affective traces (Canham, Kotze, Nkomo & Nkomo, 2020)—among the lives of the dogs and mushers, derived from Hanne and Antti attending to the events taking place in the video footage. For each video trace created by Rocky, Wickan, Hanne, Antti and me, I attended to the events that Hanne and Antti saw as meaningful. I considered an event meaningful if it generated reflection on the transgression of mundane and even taken-for-granted aspects of mushing, whether that transgression was done by humans or dogs.

Having selected these events, I applied them back to the video traces and thus created ethnographic vignettes, each consisting of a short videoclip and accompanying text (Article III). Each of the vignettes demonstrates how humans and dogs move and become affected differently in different spaces of the mushing landscape. These vignettes enact an opportunity to attune to the spontaneous material and embodied practices of mushing and thus enliven the material-cultural choreographies of mushing activities (Smith, Miele, Charles & Fox, 2021). I elaborate this process in Article III, which is perhaps the main thread, or the topline in mushing terminology, of my ethnographic knots.

There is one additional thread to be added to the knots. I started to spin it in autumn of 2019 when taking part in a University of Lapland study module related to service design. There we had to form study groups to write a course paper about service design. We were also given the option to develop the paper further as a published article. At that time, I was also contacted by the editor of the *Wildlife Tourism Futures* book, who informed me that she was looking for contributions for an edited volume about wildlife tourism. At first glance, the topic felt interesting but too distant from my own research. Then I started to read about and reflect on wildlife tourism (e.g., Higginbottom, 2004), concluding that it is—as is any form of tourism—a deeply human concept. I also visited the understanding of wilderness as a primarily human construction (e.g., Vannini & Vannini, 2016). I posed a question: Could sled dog safaris be considered wildlife tourism even if dogs are perhaps the closest companion animals we have? My original idea for the book chapter was to argue against the concept wildlife tourism by demonstrating how sled dog agency transgresses the boundaries of the concept of wilderness. However, I also needed

the credit from the service design study module, so the chapter needed a practical approach.

The idea started to develop further towards a service design approach in our study group when Titta, Vésaal and Tytti brought their expertise and ideas to the scene. I had started my fieldwork and filming that summer, so at that point I already had GoPro footage that could be used as empirical data. I watched part of the footage with Titta and Vésaal (the co-authors of Article IV), who did not participate in the video outings and generally do not have any expertise in touristic mushing, exposing them to the intensity of the activity and posing ‘what if?’ speculations (Article IV). These speculations served as a contrast to the mundane and even taken-for-granted aspects of mushing practice that neither I nor Hanne and Antti would necessarily have found notable. Through the speculative design process, we worked creatively towards identifying alternatives to sled dog–human encounters that were evoked without stating claims of truth. What this thread adds is that, through these speculations, we could work towards imagining how touristic mushing could be organised in the future in a way that embraces the agency of the dogs.

Now that I have the threads—the articles and the parts of the analysis that did not receive space in them—in my hands, I will animate the mushing landscape, retrace the trails that the people and the dogs are laying and, thus, contribute to the weave and texture of that landscape. The non-representational, theoretical ideas about the landscape described earlier are especially influential for me here. Drawing from Ingold (2011; 2016) and other scholars inspired by such ideas (Vannini & Vannini, 2018; Wylie, 2005), this analysis aims to depict a mushing landscape in which the dogs are agents that destabilise, transgress and transform the material and conceptual boundaries of the kennel as a local tourist landscape (Carter & Charles, 2013; Philo & Wilbert, 2000).

When animating the mushing landscape, I draw from Ingold’s (2016) distinction between trails and routes as being different forms of lines and, accordingly, requiring a change in the ways in which they may be drawn on maps. For Ingold, routes are typically straight and regular lines that link consecutive destinations, paths of transport thrown across a bare surface. A modern cartographic map, such as those used in planning the dogsledding safaris, is a prominent example of a map that consists of routes. The lines on the map represent such routes as roads and railways—or safari routes—that signify occupation. Ingold (2016) states that a route map is based on upwardly integrated occupant knowledge presenting an array of interconnected destinations that can all be viewed at once. By drawing and reading such a map, the mushing landscape becomes occupied, with the comings and goings of agents, particularly the dogs, having little coherence.

A trail, on the contrary, is a line of wayfaring laid upon the ground in the form of footprints, paths and tracks that wend here and there as beings thread their way through the landscape. For the most part, trails are entirely ephemeral, resulting

from the movements of humans and animals and appearing as paths or tracks scratched into a material surface of sand, snow or mud (Ingold, 2016)—or in the affective traces between dog and human. The inhabited mushing landscape is thus a reticulate meshwork of material and affective trails. A sketch map, in contrast to a route map, is a map of an inhabited world consisting of trails that mark paths of travel (Ingold, 2016). It is based on ‘alongly’ integrated knowledge that does not tell you where things are; rather, the lines on the sketch map are formed through the re-enactment of journeys that were actually made. These lines are usually transient, drawn *along* rather than *across* the surfaces on which they are traced (Ingold, 2016, p. 87, emphasis original; see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018).

By drawing a sketch map of the local mushing landscape, I develop the myriad of lived practices taking place at the kennel. I weave a narrative thread that wanders, all twists and turns, from place to place—or from topic to topic—following the routes taken by the dogs and humans inhabiting the landscape (Ingold, 2016). To open up the shifting meshwork of the landscape, I pay attention to the situated embodiments, relationalities and materialities taking place in intimate everyday encounters, as well as to the ways they are articulated through bodies, materials, processes and so on. I demonstrate how the dogs actively both attune to and resist the agential conditions set upon them in different spaces and events. Accordingly, they insert their own agency into the tourism scene, including the timetables and spaces that work as a stable ‘material envelope’ (Lorimer, Hodgetts & Barua, 2019), giving rise to events, actions, feelings and emotions. The tourist landscape becomes an inhabited—not occupied—mushing landscape, itself emerging from the familiar and novel routes taken by the beings there.

Instead of understanding what exactly matters to sled dogs, my analysis seeks to come to some emergent knowing of their meaning (both materially and semiotically), their co-production of our own practices and spaces and our practical and ethical interaction with them—“or at least to find creative ways to work around unknowing” (Buller, 2015, p. 379). In my endeavour, knowledge is integrated not through a process of building up but one of going along the meshwork of paths of travel (Ingold, 2016; see also Brown & Banks, 2015; Vannini, 2017). The paths of the dogs and humans become multispecies trails on the sketch map, formed through the re-enactments of the journeys that the dogs and mushers *actually made* to and from places that are already known for their histories (Ingold, 2016, p. 87, emphasis original). Following van Dooren and Rose (2012, p. 3), I am working with the notion of story, which “emerges out of an ability to engage with happenings in the world as sequential and meaningful events.” This kind of ethnographic effort is still faced with implications related to participation and representation, which I shall talk about briefly in the next section.

Developing responsible anthropomorphism

As in any multispecies study, there are complex ethical implications in my work related to consent and mutual benefit, as the choices available to dogs are often contingent on the choices and actions of humans. The actions and reactions of the dogs in the research practices can thus hardly be taken as informed consent, whereas with the human informants written consent forms were signed. The extent to which the dogs participated in the research through their actions might be taken as a form of ‘tacit approval’ (Hodgetts & Hester, 2017). As discussed in Article II, the dogs thus embody the unequal relation of power between the researcher, musher and dogs. The power imbalance is addressed directly in the audiencing process, which mobilises the action camera footage in ways that evoke the participants’ memories and feelings about their actions so as to interweave further, perhaps the most important, layers of sense-making and knowledge (Brown & Banks, 2015; Article II). The dogs were unable to participate in this process, as we do not have a shared oral language, and they thus had a limited amount of control over how their practices were monitored, recorded and made visible.

Although I shared the company of the dogs and mushers in the field—that is, our lines were entangled—and the dogs had a chance to articulate their perspectives through video footage using their own means of communication, no dogs were interviewed in the study; it is eventually their humans that speak on their behalf. However, these kinds of ethnographic wanderings are attentive to the beastly natures of the dogs while accepting that we share lives and spaces through which familiarity might grow.

As I do not have long-term contact with the dogs, I attended closely to understandings about them garnered from the practice and experience of co-relationality of those who do and are thus able to speak for them. My approach is constrained by its reliance on ‘gatekeepers,’ their modes of engagement and their styles of successive communication (Hodgetts & Lorimer, 2015), but I believe that the mushers, who have the closest relationships with the dogs, are the best humans available to interpret encounters with them. As Lestel et al. (2006) argue, our understandings of an animal—and our willingness to acknowledge that they possess elusive behaviours and a host of emotions that lead us to consider them agents—are based on living with animals for a long time (see also Ingold, 2013). I thus use the tactic Johnston (2008, p. 646) calls ‘responsible anthropomorphism,’ wherein those who have long-term, day-to-day contact with animals are allowed to speak for them, to validate humans’—here, the mushers’—affective engagement with and understandings of the dogs (Keul, 2013; see also Candea, 2010).

I consider embracing responsible anthropomorphism through the audiencing process to be valid. The act is inescapable if we want to speak about animals, and, more importantly, humans and nonhuman animals have much to share through

their embodied experiences in the field (Keul, 2013; Lulka, 2008). Along with natural phenomena, including coldness, sled dogs and mushers are exposed to the requirements of the tourism industry, which include working long hours and sometimes working almost up to their limits (see also Rantala et al., 2011). Although they have much they share, they also have much that separates them. The dogs have to run, and the mushers are standing on the sled's runners most of the time. On the other hand, it is the musher who has the responsibility of taking care of the dogs and the tourists. Watching, listening and talking around the action camera footage exposed and sensitised Antti and Hanne to unseen skills and generally unacknowledged conventions, revealing a variety of practices occurring among the dogs and tourists that offer insights into how the dogs and the humans domesticate each other through emplaced activities (Maurstad et al., 2016) and contribute to the formation of the mushing landscape.

As I described earlier, I renounced a substantial amount of my agency as the researcher, as I did not operate the cameras besides my own once they were mounted. Sometimes I decided when to press the record button, but sometimes I simply gave the camera to Hanne or Antti, and they made the decision. This transfer of agency relates to considerations and debates about ethnographic methodology, particularly whether observation should be structured towards specific, predicted behaviours or flexible and open-ended, thus making the analysis more akin to grounded theory (Hodgetts & Lorimer, 2015). The choices I made fall somewhere in between, as it was my intention that the filming take place during every tourist season, but there was no exact behaviour, interaction or practice that had to be covered.

The footage was supplemented by material filmed by Antti when mushing with his own dog team. The filming of this footage was not directed by me or the requirements of the tourism industry, including timetables and strict safety rules. This footage illustrates the 'GoPro gaze' (Vannini & Stewart, 2017), which brings the dogs in front of the camera lens (and Antti behind the camera body) almost regardless of the agential conditions thrown over the landscape by the tourism industry. The dogs and Antti were able to choose their routes and articulate their stances without the need to think about the restrictions of the tourist landscape. This data is part of the responsible anthropomorphism agenda, as the encounters between the dogs and the musher take place in day-to-day living relationships in which the dogs and the musher are able to articulate meaning for themselves.

Mobile video ethnography with a minicam provided me with a unique opportunity and method to temporarily halt the meshwork of the tourist landscape in order to analyse and present important segments of it. The minicam footage is not only a way of 'seeing there' (Laurier, 2010) but also a way of 'feeling there' (Spinney, 2011) and 'making there' (Jungnickel, 2015) as a means of gaining and creating an understanding of—as well as representing—the social worlds emerging through the sled dog–human encounters. As such, it offers a nuanced account of the distinctive

and previously inaccessible more-than-human spaces and practices that manifest as the material and affective patterns of the local landscape (Brown & Banks, 2015). When analysing these patterns, the minicam has the benefit of repositioning the dogs, mushers and me in a continuum of (non)events and material and affective encounters organised by intensity and quantity to aid recollection, rather than relying on memory alone, which may prefer specific events in a biased way (Spinney, 2015). As I argue in Article II, the other side of the coin is the resource intensiveness of mobile video ethnography, as filming, watching, and reflecting on hours of the footage requires a lot not only from the participants but also from the researcher.

Inevitably, the reliance on modern technology has implications. The action camera does not 'see' everything; it functions uncertainly in harsh conditions, and the footage might be hard to watch and interpret. Despite being only an extension of the body, the action camera as a non-human factor brings limitations to collecting and interpreting the data (Article II; Brown & Banks, 2015; Haanpää et al., 2019). Although the dogs—and sometimes the humans—may have a limited amount of choice in research practices, the use of the minicam is not necessarily destined to contribute to the negative commodification of the dogs, as previously inaccessible spaces, events and practices evoked through the recordings may work as sites of compassion, devotion and opportunity to learn, at least on the human side, upon whom the power and responsibility rests (Brown & Banks, 2015; Coulter, 2016). Although the action camera has agency, it cannot be taken as comparable or equivalent to the agency of the dogs.

In terms of storying the landscape, the video footage contributed significantly to my ability to create and tell a coherent story, as it revives the vitality, movement, energies and fluidities of more-than-human becoming, taking us beyond cognition and the verbal into places where traditional methods have struggled (Brown & Banks, 2015). Also, the minicam footage proved to be useful as memory-prompting tool (Spinney, 2011; Richardson-Ngwenya, 2014). Without the filming and the related audiencing process, I would have been unable to delve back and forth with Hanne and Antti into the micro-spaces and micro-events in which the dogs and mushers develop skills in relation to each other and the surrounding landscape.

The video footage thus created rich material for a story that emerged out of engagement with the micro-spaces and micro-events as sequential and meaningful events in an overwhelmingly crowded and disordered chronological reality. As Cronon (1992, cited in van Dooren & Rose, 2012) argues, footage, instead of revealing events and simply placing them in chronological order, allows us to construct narratives that render those events meaningful both in relation to each other and in the wider context of their manifestation. Video footage therefore has the potential to help witness the practices through which cross-species attunement and skilful interaction unfold (Laurier et al., 2006; Lorimer, 2010), as well as those practices that lead to its rupture and dissonance (Brown & Dilley, 2012). The same

core argument and research conclusions could not have been derived without them.

The minicam footage also shines in its capacity to augment the written story. As Vannini (2017) articulates, readers benefit from written reflections accompanying audio-visual accounts, continuing on to ask whether video accounts should serve, for example, as a way to augment, illustrate and animate writing, or else to emotionally affect viewers. In my study and analysis, the short video clips, above all, augment the writing by exposing the readers to the dog–human encounters and, in doing so, intensifying their opportunity to attend to the story and develop their own stories about the mushing landscape. In my study, the power of video also rests on its ability to create emotional openings, moving readers to feel something rather than just thinking about it (Haanpää et al., 2019; Vannini, 2015). As Brown and Banks (2015) support, the footage facilitates animal agency insofar as spaces are opened up for humans to be affected by the dogs in ways that could be understood as allowing the dogs to articulate, through their own forms of communication, what is precluded by more traditional methods. The minicam footage opens opportunities to make the dogs “fleshy and thick on the page” (van Dooren & Rose, 2016, p. 89) when crafting the story. Exposing the readers to (micro-)spaces and (micro-)events through the short video clips is thus a way of animating the mushing landscape beyond my writing.

Despite the clear strengths of minicam footage as a source of empirical data, a considerable amount of power rests on my analysis and interpretation of the data, my presentation of the results and, thus, my generation of impressions and illusions about the mushing landscape and sled dog agency within it. For Lorimer (2010), the various forms of knowledge, skill and embodied practice related to human–animal encounters can escape talk- and text-based methods. Although mobile video ethnography diminishes somewhat the privileging of the human and the discursive, this study cannot totally free itself from the persistent dilemma of reducing moving images to verbal representations and the associated chance of closing down political possibilities (Brown & Banks, 2015). In order to analyse and present the constantly forming and reforming mushing landscape and the multispecies trails within it—to form the ethnographic knots—one can only depict a small segment of space and time, one part of the larger meshwork, the lines of which extend beyond the analysis (Elixhauser, Bösch, & Vogel, 2018).

In the following chapter, I will present a sketch map of the local mushing landscape, which represents a small segment of the changing material and affective meshwork of tourist landscapes in which animals play their full part. The stories presented below illustrate the ways that dogs become agents in the formation of tourist landscapes, whether by attuning or disrupting human categorisations. In this way, I animate the potential of the meshwork of the dog–human–place trinary. For Ingold (2013), nonhuman animals should not be considered as humans, or humans as nonhuman animals; rather, we must find ways of modelling social life that allow

for their differences. That is, one has to determine how to engage with the entangled lines of life. I suspect it is impossible to fully evoke the meshwork that comprises touristic mushing—at least in the course of one research project. As such, I am following just a couple of those lines of life—those that I see as crucial to touristic mushing.

4 STORYING THE MUSHING LANDSCAPE

The analysis of the mushing landscape I offer emerges out of the story of one dogsledding safari. Instead of offering a description about a single actual safari, it weaves together the distinctive events from various different safaris that arose when Hanne and Antti attuned themselves to the traces of movement taking place on the video. The events thus relate both to their immediate reflections and to related remembrances of their past experiences. Referring to Ingold (2016, p. 93), “the thread being spun now and the thread picked up from the past are both of the same yarn.” These events are used to reveal how day-to-day engagements between mushers and the dogs taking place in the different spaces and tasksapes of the kennel create and relate to the mushing landscape and the trails within it.

These events could not take place without a backdrop. Through practices that are not exclusively related to tourism, such as domestication, selective breeding and goal-oriented training, the dogs are expected to develop and embody the criteria for a sound sled dog. The kennel facilities are built to serve these needs, as well as the needs of the tourism industry. The manoeuvrings of dog–human combinations are performed through the fluid linking of spaces, such as the pens to the stakeout area and that area to the safari trails, which lead back to the pens. By placing a focus on events, I animate the agency through which the dogs transgress the spaces and borders of the occupied tourist landscape—a landscape consisting of ready-made routes, timetables and other requirements brought on by the tourism industry—to enclose and direct the performances of dog–human combinations (see also Rantala, 2010).

The story is supplemented by short video clips, which can be accessed online via the hyperlinks in the text. The video clips attempt an audio-visual evocation of crucial spaces, events and movements that require different kinds of skilful cross-species interaction. This skilful interaction (or lack thereof) contributes to the transgression of the boundaries of the polished and stable tourist landscape. The relation between the video clips and my writing is based more on “expectation violation and non-representation” than “correspondence and representation” (Vannini, 2017, p. 164). They give the audience the opportunity to transgress the boundaries of the tourist landscape—which is unavoidably constructed in my writing—and sketch maps of their own about the mushing landscape. Hence, the video clips perhaps even contradict and rupture my writing (Vannini, 2017).

Nevertheless, the tourism industry, particularly animal-based activities with all their restless, mutable and spontaneous beings, needs both route maps and sketch

maps of the surrounding landscape to operate and endure. Hopefully the audience is likewise engaged in drawing on these maps and the becoming of the sled dog–human–landscape trinary.

The tourist landscape in the making

The story begins on an ordinary day just before Christmas. It is seven o'clock in the morning. The last couple of weeks have been quite busy, with little daylight and many tourist safaris. Yesterday evening Antti ploughed the safari routes to make them suitable for the tourists, but the temperature sitting at just below zero and a moderate snowfall has made them heavy with snow for the dogs again. Today he brought his own dogs, Jaki, Nuka, Äiji, Tuhka, Rokka and Miina, to work as a guide team. He does so sometimes to provide his dogs some extra exercise and contact with strangers. Ilo, Hanne's dog, will also join the team. Ilo is a young female dog that Hanne takes every now and then to work. Today they will do a morning safari that lasts around three hours. Along with the guide team, there will be six customer teams. Hanne will work as a main guide with Antti's dogs, responsible for keeping pace with the timetable. Antti is working as a jumper guide, driving a snowmobile and keeping an eye on the safari group to ensure that everything goes smoothly, as the main guide cannot respond quickly if something happens. Rocky and Wickan will be running as the leaders of the last customer team. With their experience, they are always good leaders for such teams.

Most of these dogs are Alaskan Huskies, a breed considered to produce sound sled dogs, a 'real husky.' They are appreciated for the breed's physical and mental features, which match well with the requirements of the tourism industry (see also Jæger & Viken, 2014). These dogs are fast and do not get frustrated easily with short safaris. Patience is always a welcomed quality for touristic sled dogs, as sometimes they have to wait quite a long time for the safari to begin, and if they are unable to calm down and rest, they will lose energy all the time. The main aim in the breeding of these dogs is that they are open towards strangers and eager to run. Dogs with an 'easy' character are mostly used for breeding. However, you can never know precisely what will result from breeding. For example, Miina is extremely restless and not the 'easiest' character. Moreover, she, as with so many other dogs in the kennel, does not look like the husky typically used in the destination marketing: fluffy, with sharply pointed ears and blue eyes. Some tourists may be disappointed because they were expecting to meet a Disney-ified sled dog. These kinds of representation are inadequate and may even contribute to the exclusion of the dogs as living beings from society (Lulka, 2004; Philo & Wilbert, 2000). Despite not being an optimal touristic sled dog, Miina is a good safari dog for Antti.

Naturally, good genes do not guarantee anything, and the dogs have to be trained both physically and mentally. In fact, training is far more important than breeding. Genetics affect how much effort is put into the training, but both Hanne and Antti know that training and human presence all the way from puppyhood is far more important than genetics if you want to have a sound sled dog. As with all dogs, the puppies are allowed to be puppies before mushing training starts at roughly around the age of one year. During training in the summer slow season, the dogs pull a mushing cart or a quad bike. Sometimes they are put on a dog walker, which is a smaller version of a horse walker. The walker is a motorised device consisting of radial arms stretching from a central tower and a round penned track for the dogs, leading them in a circular motion. It is used to build up muscle strength for the dogs before the actual training and tourist season, such that the musher takes only the role of a supervisor. Wickan and Rocky were the first dogs to test the walker. Rocky seemed to understand the idea rather quickly by himself, but it took some time and persuasion from Antti before Wickan bought into the idea. At the moment it is peak season, so the dogs get enough training from the tourist safaris. More important is taking care that they get enough days to rest in a week. The most active dogs can run a couple thousand kilometres per year.

Along with Wickan and Rocky, there are around a hundred other dogs living at the kennel that have to be housed (Buller, 2016), which restricts their free movement. Most of them live in pens, but there are a few kept in tethers. It would be extremely bad if a dog escaped, as it might cause fights or other kinds of mishaps. All the facilities, from the dog pens to the building where tourists change their clothes, are densely built. Although the infrastructure is designed to serve the needs of the industry, it is also developed and maintained to serve the needs of the dogs (Davydov & Klokov, 2018).

Before the morning briefing that takes place in the staff house of the kennel, Hanne and Antti have to water the dogs and clean up the pens with the help of the other guides. They also clean the stakeout area and, as it is a cold winter day, check that there is enough straw for the dogs to lay down if they have to wait in the stakeout. Controlling the amount of available water is important so that they can see that the dogs are drinking and measure how much they consume. Shovelling and raking the faeces has to be done every morning, both for the convenience of the dogs and because without these cleanings the pens would look quite untidy for the tourists. Although seldom appreciated by the musher, keeping things and places clean is a large part of their work. The cleaning of the pens involves practices that revolve around the natural but, in anthropocentric—and particularly touristic—terms, indiscriminate practices of the dogs (Loovers et al., 2018) that are not necessarily a problem for the mushers but may be for the tourists.

These morning activities also have another important function, as they are opportunities to check in and socialise with the dogs to ensure everything is alright.

When Hanne goes to clean the pen of Mikki and Hopo, the sight is quite unpleasant, as there are faeces all over the place. Although she knows that this state is rather normal for these two dogs, she thinks it is better to put them under surveillance, just in case there is something more serious going on. Perhaps they have to change their food. Mikki and Hopo were supposed to run today, but Hanne makes the decision that they should not work; she now has to think of another pair of dogs to replace them. She must remember this change in the morning briefing. Hanne and Antti know each of the dogs quite well, but the new mushers might not understand the small signs that there is something wrong. In fact, it is a big issue that the dogs stay but the people around them change constantly because the work is hard. The dogs do not always have time to get used to new human faces, which might cause problems. As a result, Antti's own team works only for himself and Hanne.

With all their past experiences and related knowledge about the dogs, as well as the experiences they had this morning, they enter the staff house for the morning briefing. The staff house is perhaps the most important piece of infrastructure at the kennel, where all the operational work takes place. However, it is a space—albeit one that may have some dogs staying inside—where the dogs have only limited opportunities to articulate their stances.

The route map of the tourist landscape

Hanne and Antti participate the morning briefing, which all the staff must do every morning, to go through the plan for the day. All the presumably important information can be found on boards hanging on the walls. These fixtures include a board with a wooden nameplate for each dog that can be organised into different configurations to illustrate which dogs form a team (Figure 1). Hanne, as a main guide, has the responsibility of deciding the teams. She organises the plates by placing them one below another in groups of six side by side to indicate the dog teams that will work that day. Each of the wooden plates materialises the character and condition of an individual dog so that the mushers can relocate the plates according to which dogs can run in the same team without causing trouble. All this key information regarding which dogs can work together and which cannot is thus squeezed onto this board. Hanne also writes the information on a piece of paper that she can use outside when gathering the dogs from the pens. Referring to Ingold's (2016) taxonomy of lines, the dogs are reduced to additive traces drawn with marker pen on the plates and with a ballpoint pen on a piece of paper.



Figure 1. The board with the nameplates of the dogs (Photo: Author).

Another important board is the one with the map of the kennel's surroundings (Figure 2). The map, in turn, shows all the routes (*ränni*, slang for a gutter), their lengths, names and important places, such as *jenga*, *swamp* and *Viikset*. There are many lines on the map, and the lines that represent the routes are highlighted in different colours. There is even one line crossing the lake. How can there be a route for mushing in the water? Of course, it represents a winter route when the lake has ice cover. Moreover, the names and expressions, of which the aforementioned are only a few examples, constantly appear in the talk of the mushers. These expressions usually refer to the shape, length and location of the routes. These routes are ghostly lines appearing on the map, and they do not have an exact counterpart in the landscape represented there (Ingold, 2016).

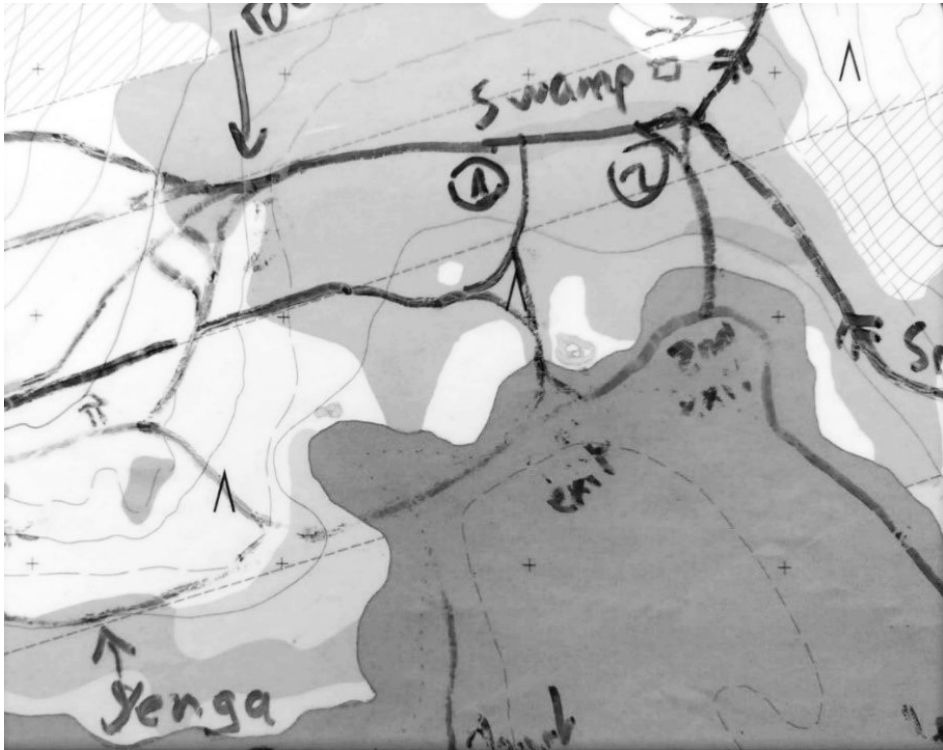


Figure 2. A small detail of the map of the kennel surroundings (Photo: Hanne-Mari Valtonen).

The third board holds information related to the feeding of the dogs, which dogs have medical issues and cannot work, information about females in heat and so on (Figure 3). This board is updated constantly if a musher has noticed something unusual, such as unusual behaviour in a dog, that the others should know. This board is important particularly for new mushers who are not yet familiar with the practices at the kennel and who do not know the dogs individually.

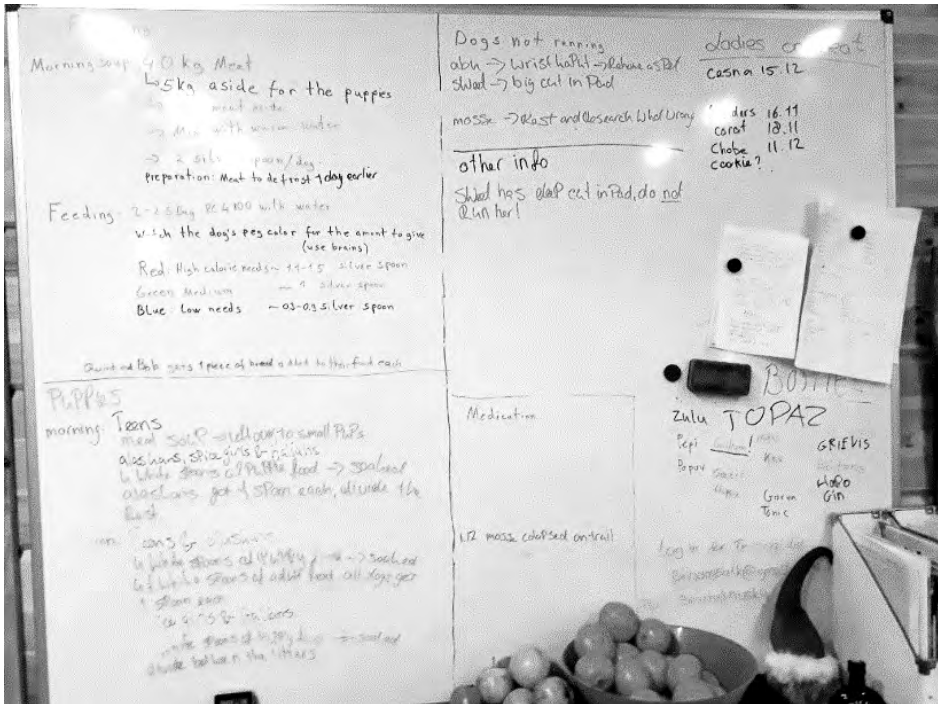


Figure 3. The board including information about the feeding, medication, female dogs in heat and so on (Photo: Author).

Next there is board that holds information about the types of safaris, their starting times, the sizes and compositions of customer groups and the staff members who are in charge (Figure 4). This board tells Hanne whether it will be a harder or easier working day. More customers means more dog teams, which means more work and more possibility for errors. This morning's customer group features many families from several nationalities. That composition means there will be more work when forming the dog teams (see also Valkonen & Ruuska, 2012). The last couple of weeks have been quite busy, and the rather temperate weather has not made things any easier, as it has snowed a lot, making the working conditions harder. As a result, the weight of some dogs has started to decrease, and the stress levels of the mushers has increased, meaning that both groups have worked almost to their limits. In these kinds of conditions, the dogs should eat at least four times a day to stay in good health. The pace of the tourism work, with mushers undergoing intense 10-hour working days and the dogs needing time to digest their food, is a big challenge. Hanne and Antti, along with the other mushers, have developed creative ways to balance between giving the dogs enough rest and giving the tourists memorable mushing experiences. They have provided the dogs with an extra meal late at night and are constantly offering them snacks between the safaris.

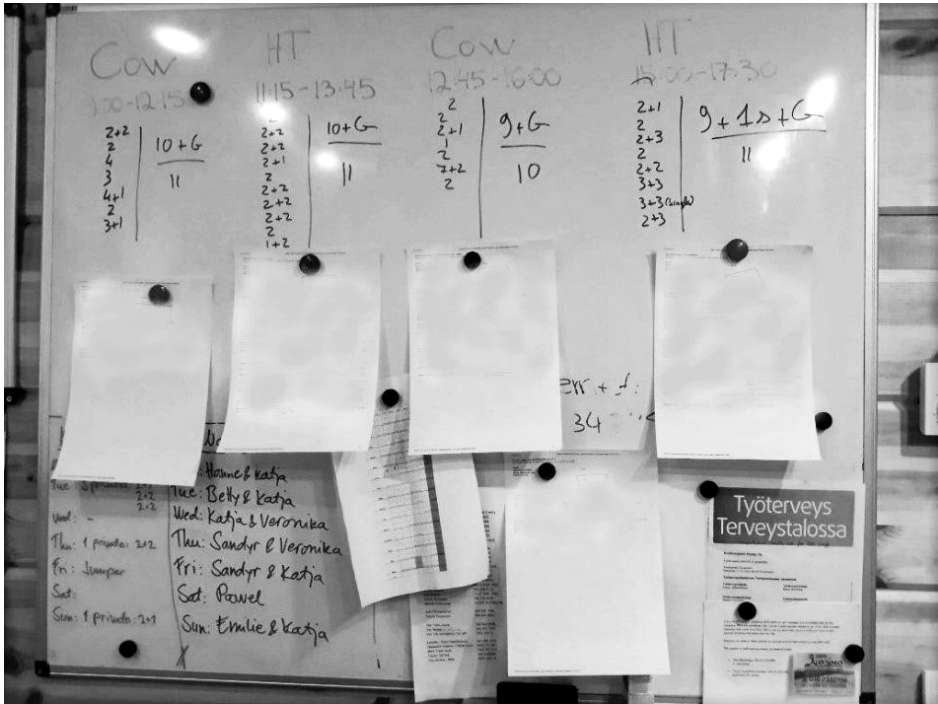


Figure 4. The board with information about the safari types, starting times and the sizes and types of customer groups. The sheets with information about the customers have been blurred to preserve their anonymity (Photo: Author).

The boards and the information described on them put the complex mushing landscape into a more comprehensible and manageable form—like a route map that shows, all at once, which routes the dogs and humans should take. They also present a precomposed plot describing how the day has gone so far and how it should go from here, thus creating an oversimplified touristic space in which the dogs have a limited role. The act of drawing the route map or temporarily freezing the mushing landscape to depict an optimal safari day, although it is inaccurate and even untruthful, is a crucial one when it comes to developing mushing into a tourism product (see also Rantala, 2010; Valkonen & Ruuska, 2012). The planning brings some tolerance for disruptions; they are expected, but it cannot be accurately predicted when, where or why they will happen. As such, without this kind of preplanning, the whole mushing activity would be impossible to carry out. At least, it would be more dangerous for all parties involved, and especially for the dogs.

Through these kinds of processes, Hanne and Antti, along with the other staff, try to bring enough coherence to an incoherent world to engage “in a joint dance of being” (Haraway, 2003, p. 62; see also Markuksela & Valtonen, 2019) with the dogs, the tourists and the environment. They try to impose linearity upon a non-

linear world. What is missing from this landscape is movement, the tension and friction that enables agents and things to cling (Ingold, 2015; see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The dogs themselves can hardly participate or take initiative and articulate their stances in this landscape full of routes. Hanne and Antti have a slight disagreement about which dogs should work today and which safari routes should be used. They articulate their stances on which routes to take. They give in to each other quickly and come to an agreement because they know that the dogs easily sense and catch onto grumpy moods. If that happens, everything could go wrong.

All the liveliness of the landscape, with all its twists and turns, is quite absent from the breeding programmes and on the boards at the staff house. The *mayhem*, as Antti calls the events that occur when things go totally wrong due human or canine error, is absent from that landscape. Nor does the route map hold all the moments of joy that arrive when the mushers and dogs exceed their limits. The nameplates placed one below another, the lines drawn across the surface of the route map and the texts written on the boards signify occupation, betokening the appropriation of the space surrounding the dogs, the humans and their environment. When a musher is arranging the nameplates on the board, assembling a route plan or writing on and reading from the information boards, they are quite literally “throwing a network of connections [...] across a bare surface” (Ingold, 2016, p. 85). These acts are based on data about the characters of the dogs, the nationalities of customers, the timetables and so on. It is almost as if the dogs have been long gone—perhaps the people as well—and the landscape is already laid out, only awaiting discovery and occupation with the help of a route map (Ingold, 2011; 2016; Vannini & Vannini, 2018).

All the infrastructure, breeding programmes, training of dogs and people, experience of the mushers and careful planning of the safaris become the patterns of the route map of the mushing landscape, aiming at and depicting the optimal safari. No matter how precisely these patterns are constructed, uncertainty is constantly present. This uncertainty emerges when the clock has almost hit eight and the tourist group should arrive at nine. After the briefing session and a couple cups of coffee, Hanne and Antti go outside to clean the rest of the kennels and start preparing the dog teams. When walking out the door, they enter the stakeout area, which is a taskscape (Ingold, 2000) made up of flows of material and agency wherein the dogs and the mushers combine and recombine (Jones, 2013).

When preparing the teams, Hanne, Antti and other mushers have to bear with their clothes becoming dirty and torn and their faces and hands being dribbled with dog saliva. Despite all the planning, cleaning and other acts undertaken to construct a stable tourist landscape, they have to stumble over the traces of dogness; they have to yell to be able to discuss with each other; keep an eye out to ensure that no dog is arguing or chewing their harness; and watch their step so as not to tread on dog

faeces or trip on stakeouts, towlines or any other lines crisscrossing the stakeout area. The dogs saturate the stakeout area with their agency, reminding observers that it is also an animalscape (Syse, 2014). The inhabited mushing landscape entails that, as Syse (2014) argues, through their actions and reactions, the dogs become included in the landscape both spatially and socially. Thus, the landscape is not merely a taskscape that results from human utilitarian actions.

Perhaps we should talk about a sleddogscape, as the dogs are the ones with the presence that transcends the surrounding landscape the most. Following Ingold (2011, p. 92), the sleddogscape is not “an assortment of heterogenous objects” but “a tissue of interlaced threads.” It is a material medium in which the dogs, mushers and tourists are immersed, currents and forces with which they are swimming. As Ingold (2011, p. 93) discusses, that medium is the very condition of agency of animate beings, but “it is not, in itself, an agent.” The sleddogscape is the medium in which Hanne and Antti skilfully take the dogs out of their pens and place them in front of the sled to wait for the safari to start. It is also a medium in which the dogs may attune to these acts or rupture them.

The Husletowtugnedogs

Antti has already put his own team together for takeoff. He has harnessed them, and they are standing in front of the sled, waiting to start. He has tied the sled to a wooden post with the snub line, a rope attached to the towline, holding the team. Jaki and Nuka, as experienced leaders, are waiting calmly and keeping the lines straight. This behaviour is extremely important: if the leader dogs turn around, the lines could get tangled up with each other, resulting in small troubles that could quickly turn into *mayhem*. Äiji and Tuhka are working as swing dogs, running behind the leaders. Rokka and Miina are working as wheel dogs, harnessed closest to the sled. Miina has a lot to learn, as she cannot hold still when waiting and is thus losing energy in vain by barking and jumping.

This kind of sled dog team is a far more complex combination of living beings and non-living things than the more mundane arrangement of human, dog lead and dog articulated by Michael (2000) as Hu(man) + Dogle(ad) + Dog = Hudogledog. Following the same logic, the combination of a sled dog team of six dogs constitutes the Husletowtugnedogs, made up of hu(man), sle(d), tow(line), 6 x tug(lines), 6 x ne(cklines) and dogs. Necklines—short lines attached loosely between the dog collar and the towline—are made either of thin wire or nylon rope and are always used in tourist safaris to keep the dogs in line for safety reasons. Today, some of the dogs are wearing booties to protect their paws, as the surface of the routes is rough due to weather conditions. The aforementioned acting unit not only forms a socially effective agent but is also “the product of heterogenous networks and contributor to

these heterogeneities” (Michael, 2000, p. 128). In this safari, this complex collection of dogs, humans and many kinds of lines and other mushing equipment is multiplied by six, as there are six teams altogether. These collections, and the safari as an event, truly are fragile, and they can fall apart at any time. All this fragility is absent from the route map.

Often it is the actions of one dog or several dogs that lead to the falling apart of the collection. Ilo is still missing from the team, and Hanne goes to fetch her from one of the pens. She runs to make her acquaintance with the other dogs, and suddenly Nuka snarls and tries to snap at Ilo. Hanne grows very upset—perhaps even more so than Ilo herself—at this incident and confronts Nuka. She also has to change the position of Ilo in the team because of it. Antti is a bit surprised about this reaction. What Nuka did was wrong, but at the same time, they do understand his behaviour. Despite the strong feelings of that moment, they respect Nuka. Perhaps this incident was about the pack dynamics among the dogs, which can be hard to comprehend for humans. In that way, Ilo and Hanne are socialised into the spaces and rhythms of the team by the collective knowledge of Antti and his dogs (Jones, 2013).

Meanwhile Antti is collecting dogs for the last customer team. Wickan and Rocky—perhaps the best leaders in the kennel—are waiting patiently. As always, Wickan is sitting and watching the hassle, and Rocky tries to draw the attention of somebody passing by. Antti goes to get Diego. As always, Antti has to persuade him to leave the doghouse for work. After a moment of negotiation, Diego is ready to go. Next is Gazik’s turn. As an experienced dog, he is one of the most respected dogs in the kennel. However, his dyadic relationship with Antti has always been a kind of love–hate relationship wherein both parties just carry out their own task without any extra indications of affection. It truly is a working relationship. Yet, it is an important relationship based on factors such as trust, two-way communication and increased respect for the abilities of another species (Granås, 2018; Kuhl, 2011). Through these day-to-day encounters, Gazik and other dogs are able to shape the agential conditions set upon them.

Next Antti goes to get Kudu, who is young and perhaps the most energetic dog there, immediately trying to rush out the door. Antti pushes gently on the muzzle and trains Kudu to wait. Depending on the character of the dog, the ability to wait may require a lot of training. When gathering the dogs, Antti attaches them to his belt with a short piece of rope they call a tail. When the collection consisting of Antti, the ropes and the six dogs is ready, it heads to the stakeout area. Antti has to keep teaching the dogs to walk behind him, noting if any of them does not follow or tries to confront the others. Kudu has a hard time concentrating, and Antti has to remind him. Again, the collection is more complex and fragile than the more mundane Hudogledog (Michael, 2000).

The tails attached to Antti’s belt and the dogs’ collars help to keep the collection together, but to keep it stable Antti and the dogs have to develop skills such as using

and understanding micro gestures. So long as they walk in harmony, their postures are relaxed and the tails are slack. Tautness in the tails or their entanglement is an index of conflicting agencies: the “balance of power [...] can swing like a seesaw” (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008, p. 12), as first Antti and then the dogs gain the upper hand. They constantly develop along the material thread—the piece of rope—the invisible social thread of their relationship (Ingold, 2016). Part of the social thread is that Antti is engaging in endless chit-chat to improve the moods of both the dogs and himself.

Just as almost all the dog teams are ready to go, the bus brings the customers. Hanne goes to welcome them and help them to put on the overalls, mittens and winter boots that are provided by the company. Hanne then gives them a briefing about mushing. She emphasises using the brake when going downhill, helping the dogs uphill, never letting go of the handle bar and thanking the dogs after the safari, which are the most important practices that the customers should keep in mind. Her reflexive understanding of an optimal safari is reacting to the safety and needs of the dogs, the material environment (the weather conditions and the condition of the safari routes), technology (sleds, harnesses, first-aid kit etc.) and the need to ensure that the customers have a safe and memorable mushing experience (Rantala & Valkonen, 2011).

After the short briefing, Hanne brings the customers to the stakeout area, where the teams are waiting to allow the customers on board. Some of them are a bit surprised—and perhaps also disappointed—that they are not meeting Disney-ified huskies. Wickan and Rocky are still without harnesses because they are reliable dogs that the customers can try harnessing. One of them wants try and realises that it requires calmness and some skill, as otherwise the dog, Wickan in this case, will be reserved and make the harnessing more difficult. Among the customers there is one family who wants to be in the same sled. However, when planning the dog teams, Hanne was unaware of this desire, and now all the teams consist of rather light female dogs.

One family is too heavy for such a light team. Antti changes Jit and Poco to wheel dogs to supply more strength. Meanwhile, Dozer, as he so often does, has chewed his harness, so Hanne has to swap it. Then there is one couple taking photos of the dogs, which is not acceptable at this point, because they should take off. At this point, the noise is so loud that Hanne and Antti have to yell if they want to have a conversation. Many of the dogs are barking and jumping with eagerness. If this enthusiasm lasts any longer, it could result in brawls between some of the dogs. These are acts of sleddogness that Hanne and Antti have to endure, if they are to give the dogs opportunities to do what the dogs mostly love to do—run to unleash their energy.

Although all the customers are alright, Hanne is starting to get frustrated and tense about this tiny mayhem. She keeps glancing at her watch, because they should

have taken off fifteen minutes ago. Despite countless safaris in the past and careful planning, everything seems to go wrong this morning. Antti is calmer because he thinks that the customers do not know how the safari should optimally go. The collection of Husletowtugnedogs is about to fall apart again. Although all the lines and harnesses react and are transformed in these complex relations, it is the sociality of the dogs and people that is about to lead to the rupture and dissonance of the collection (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Tsing, 2014). On the other hand, it is skilful cross-species interaction and affective attunement that prevents the collection from totally falling apart and allowing mayhem to break out.

In general, the more experienced dogs take the wait for takeoff calmly, and the younger ones do not. Hence, some dogs have to tolerate the barking. They also have to tolerate the mushers harnessing and putting booties on them and tourists taking pictures and petting them. Some dogs do not mind, but others are very sensitive. There are a few dogs, like Rocky and Wickan, who can be used if there is enough time and if a customer wants to try harnessing. Hanne regrets offering the opportunity for the customer to try harnessing a little, as they are already behind the planned schedule.

All the acts related to making up the dog teams and welcoming and briefing the customers are based on the route map of the mushing landscape. Hence, the route map depicts an occupied—rather than inhabited—landscape (Ingold, 2011). The act of carving the route map, in terms of planning and constructing an optimal safari and an optimal Husletowtugnedogs, is a utilitarian action that excludes the dogs both spatially and socially. The ways in which the tourist landscape becomes an inhabited—instead of occupied—landscape remain out of their reach. Hence, in the context of touristic mushing, this map scarcely survives long after the context of its production—even if its regularly updated. The eagerness of the dogs, the tenseness of Hanne and the awe of the tourists are all part of the ways living beings react to the ‘yet-to-come’ (Kohn, 2013; Tsing, 2014). The route map cannot capture and depict that yet-to-come. It has something to say about the Husletowtugnedogs, but absolutely nothing to say about the unique ways the dogs and humans assert their presence and saturate the mushing landscape with their agency.

It would be easy at this point to claim that the dogs are perhaps unique agents who produce faeces and saliva. However, this would allow only limited opportunities for the dogs to demonstrate that their action is skilled and that they develop as part of their own growth and development within the heterogenous network of Husletowtugnedogs and the surrounding landscape. This kind of assertion would reduce the vitality of dogs to traces of dogness in the occupied tourist landscape. They would be cut out from the currents of the surrounding material and affective landscape—that is, reduced to objects, deadening the meshwork “by cutting its lines of force, thus breaking it into a thousand pieces” that cannot be brought back to life

through attributing agency to all the fragments (Ingold, 2011, p. 93). The assertion would also make the dog sledding safari itself impossible, as the dogs would be lifeless.

In practice, the dogs, Hanne, Antti and the tourists continue to thread their own ways through the landscape, outlining paths as they go (Ingold, 2016). An equal understanding of the surrounding landscape and the way it should be threaded becomes ever more important when they take off. In order to prevent the Husletowtugnedogs from totally falling apart in the takeoff and the events that follow, bodily knowledge about the surrounding landscape—from both the dogs and humans who inhabit it—is required. Obviously, all sorts of lines, harnesses and other material objects help to keep the collection together, but the dogs and mushers cannot wholly rely on them. It is not that the takeoff is an event that somehow brings the dogs—perhaps the mushers and tourists as well—back to life, enlivening sled dog agency and the meshwork as the intensity of movement rises. It is that the takeoff requires a different kind of attunement and skilful cross-species interaction from the dogs and mushers in comparison to forming the teams, harnessing the dogs and waiting the safari to start at the stakeout area.

The mushing landscape (re)forming

The takeoff is perhaps the most important event of the safari, as there are many things that can go wrong. Hanne releases the snub line from the pole, and the team soars to the gutter. Hanne stands on the brake to slow down her team and wait for the customer teams. Antti and another musher release the customer teams, and they slowly start to move after Hanne. All the tourist mushers are using the brake to begin with, as they were instructed to do in the briefing. Antti starts the snowmobile and heads after them. Human knowledge about the tourist landscape and the Husletowtugnedogs becomes somewhat irrelevant at this point. Here, as Ingold (2011) maintains, the essence of the actions of dogs and humans does not lie in aforethought but in the close coupling of bodily movement and perception.

They head to the gutters, which are clearly human-made routes designed to serve the needs of the tourism industry. Their composition is affected heavily by political forces, such as landownership. The gutters work as a space that encloses and directs the movement of the dog teams, giving rise to events, actions, feelings and emotions that meet touristic and recreational needs and experiences (Bertella, 2016). Well-planned and cared-for routes are supposed to eliminate opportunity for dog and human error. That reasoning is why they have map board in the staff house and why Antti ploughs the routes after every snowfall.

Despite all the stability arising from the careful maintenance of the gutters, Hanne feels tense as she recalls all the mishaps that have taken place in the past. It is not rare

for a sled, when it is released from the pole, to bump into the next pole as the tourist musher forgets to steer. Fortunately, the start goes smoothly today—for a couple of hundred meters, that is, until the whole safari stops suddenly. It is Jaki, who is laying down, having decided that he will not move anywhere. Usually Antti's team works well with Hanne, but this day is an exception. Antti jumps off the snowmobile and passes the whole safari group to see what is going on. "This will be an extremely good safari," he says to Jaki and persuades him to go back to work. Another short delay for the safari. Perhaps Jaki has dug in his heels because, when he was a young dog, Antti put him and Nuka in front of a customer sled, leading to them being run over twice in short period of time because the tourist musher did not brake. Since then, they have run only with Antti himself or with an experienced musher—never in a customer team. While these bad memories come back to Antti, Hanne asks via radiotelephone if they are ready to go again. "Jaki, Nuka...Go!" she says, and soon the whole safari group is moving again. Antti has to shake the memories away and concentrate on keeping an eye on the safari.

The penultimate team consists of Siberian Huskies, which are better at running long distances. In order to save energy, they run slower than Alaskan Huskies in general, but this difference does not make them worse safari dogs. The imbalance between the performance of the dog team and the weight of the sled is what may end up causing serious troubles. If the team is too fast, it might cause dangerous situations, and if it is too slow it might cause delays in the safaris and decrease customer satisfaction. However, sometimes the tourists see it in a positive light, as they have more time to enjoy the scenery.

Antti notifies Hanne via radiotelephone that the last two teams are lagging more and more behind the others. When entering the lake ice, Hanne stops the safari to check whether everything is alright and to wait for the last two teams. Eventually they extend the break so that the tourist mushers have time to take pictures and change positions in the sled. Hanne, as a main guide, is taking care of the customers, and Antti, as a jumper guide, is looking after the dogs. Hanne starts to take a picture of a couple that wants the dogs in the picture as well. However, the leader dog, Juti, does not care about these tourist practices and starts to pull the whole team aside—maybe going after an interesting smell or marking territory. Hanne gets a bit annoyed and commands Juti to take his place. Eventually she is able to take a satisfying photo of the whole team.

The dogs do not follow or embody the touristic practices of obeying the timetables and staying still when taking photos. Perhaps they could not care less about them. However, it is important in a sense that the leader dogs, including Juti, keep the towline straight and taut when the collection of humans, lines and dogs stops. A taut line is always better than a slack one. It is thus the opposite of dog walking, in which a slack line—the leash—usually means that the dog and the human walk in a harmony wherein each 'walks' the other (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008). In mushing,

a slack line usually means trouble, as the lines may get knotted. Moreover, the pace of mushing is much faster than dog walking, so the knotting of the lines could have severe consequences. Antti remembers some occasions when he had to intervene more heavily when the dogs started to turn around and knot the lines. He also had to explain to the customers that his reaction might have looked harsh but was important.

Luckily today even the rookie safari dog Kudu is able to solve the problem himself when the lines start to get knotted. This skill is highly valued for a safari dog. Usually the tourist mushers also understand and start to signal with their hands if something more serious is going on. In today's briefing, Hanne also informed the customers that they should keep an eye out and be ready to brake if a dog suddenly 'goes to the toilet.' Hence, the dogs domesticate the musher—especially the tourists—to their beastly qualities through an ongoing mutual or reciprocal practice that transforms all of them and the spaces in which they are involved (Despret, 2004). Looovers et al. (2018) speak about co-taming and co-crafting as multidirectional processes towards an effective human–dog world.

If there is a variety of human desires in the construction of dog bodies, it can be understood that there is likewise a variety of dog desires in the construction of musher bodies and the surrounding landscape. The qualities of a sound sled dog working for tourism, including strength and good character, are not the ontological properties of the dogs themselves; they become comprehensible within the lived context of working relationships (Article II; Higgin, 2012). Williams (2007, p. 102) suggests that the dog, as a “collaborative agent of transformation in its negotiation of shared space,” can also be thought of as boundary creature, displaying a strange mixture of the admirable and despicable (see also Instone & Mee, 2011). As mushers in today's generally touristic mushing context, it is Hanne and Antti that can be thought of as boundary creatures, balancing, displaying and negotiating a constantly changing mixture of dog and tourist desires.

Hanne glances once again at her mobile phone to take pictures of the beautiful sunrise and, more importantly for her, to check the time. Due to the delayed start and the incidents that have taken place along the way, she decides to take a route that passes through a mire. She has taken this route numerous times before, but due to the weather conditions the mire has first flooded and then iced over, so there are big icy patches on the trail. She brakes a little and shows a hand sign to the customer teams that indicates they should slow down, as ice is always potentially dangerous for the galloping and trotting dogs. Following Ingold (2011), the ice is a material remnant of the phenomena of the weather-world that shapes the trail and determines what might occur there and how the dog teams move about. The ground and ice and snow are not immobile; rather, they are important factors in the formation of the landscape (see also Instone & Mee, 2011; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). Hanne responds to this risk, stopping to try to command Jaki and Nuka to the side of the

gutter to avoid the icy patch. However, Antti's leader dogs, as stubborn they are, decide to go through it, and Hanne has to consent almost without any opposition. Fortunately, all the tourist mushers realise they must slow down.

Hanne speaks into the radiotelephone to indicate that they will choose the route that runs along Marikkovaara. This choice is important because there is also a private safari on the move, so the main guides have to communicate their locations and which routes they are going to take. "*Selvä!*" (meaning 'roger' in Finnish), Antti responds, taking a shortcut to the top of Marikkovaara, the last hill before today's planned route leads back to the kennel. He does so to ensure that everything is alright with the tourist mushers and the dogs. After a while Antti sees the guide team appearing from behind the trees. He crouches to get to the level of the dogs to film and later analyse their running. After all the other teams have long since passed, he starts to grow a bit worried about the last two teams: the Siberian Husky team and the one lead by Rocky and Wickan.

After a while, these teams also appear. As always, Rocky is keeping the pace, and Wickan follows. However, Diesel and Puffo, running as swing dogs right behind them, and Croco and Manny, running as wheel dogs closest to the sled, are perhaps having a bad day and do not want to keep the pace. The human couple on the sled seem to be a little frustrated because they cannot go faster. Perhaps there is no 'chemistry' between the dogs and the tourist mushers. Antti hopes that the dogs did not catch onto the bad mood he was in that morning. If they did, it may be impossible to get them back into work mode. He also breathes a subtle sigh of relief that the team lead by Siv chose same route as the others. Usually the leaders follow the team that is going in front of them, but Siv is an exception. She has days when she does not follow and chooses a different route than the one they have planned. Of course, that decision causes delays and extra work for the mushers.

Although the leader dogs are trained to know the routes and lead the way, they may decide to act otherwise. In this case, a tourist musher only has the option of standing on the brake and waiting for the staff to come help. The tourist musher can scarcely 'read' the dogs and the terrain, thus unable to foresee the potential issues ahead—at least, one PhD candidate felt so during his fieldwork at the kennel when he participated in a safari. Perhaps the towline and other lines spanning between the dogs and the sled represent the only medium of communication within the team when the dogs try to pull and the musher is either helping them or braking. The lines afford the dogs and the musher a mixture of exchanges (Michael, 2000). However, it is a very fragile medium of communication. While the dogs may be considered wayfarers coupling locomotion and perception of the terrain, the tourist musher is merely a transported passenger who does not move but rather is moved from place to place (Ingold, 2016).

As Brown and Dille (2012) argue, the coherence and unity of the collection is a fluid, provisional and relational achievement that can be affected by problems

and dilemmas of interpretation and communication that arise from different environmental entanglements. The dogs may not actually be disobeying the musher but merely responding to the invitations and articulations made available by different environmental entanglements, thereby (dis)enabling the articulations taking place between dogs and humans (Brown & Dilley, 2012). For example, there may be a trail of scent that one of the dogs may follow; if the musher is not able to enact a timely response, the Husletowtugnedogs may fall apart, which can even have fatal consequences (Schandelmeier, 2016). As Ingold (2013) suggests, while landscapes can stabilise relationships in animals and humans, tools and other artefacts may do little or nothing to this end. The trail of scent is a line that does not fit (Ingold, 2016) into the Husletowtugnedogs. However, it is perhaps a line that does not fit only from the perspective of the tourist mushers. For the dog, the trail of scent might appear as a trace left by another dog, full of meaning.

It is just past 12 o'clock when the guide team and Hanne arrive back at the kennel. Hanne ties the sled to the wooden post and goes to thank Jaki, Nuka and the other team members. Other staff members come out to receive the customer teams and help tie their sleds. The more experienced dogs know that the safari is over and lay down to rest and wait for what happens next. Hanne tells all the customers that they have to go and thank their teams for doing a good job. After perhaps five minutes Antti returns with the last two teams and parks the snowmobile in front of the staff building. Hanne and Antti both breathe a subtle sigh of relief that the safari went smoothly after all, as they nearly always do. Even the couple in the last sled seems to have had an unforgettable experience. Now, although they have arrived back at the very same stakeout area, a different kind of skilled cross-species interaction is required compared to pre-takeoff, takeoff and the actual safari.

As a main guide, Hanne takes care of the customers by answering their numerous questions and taking pictures of them with the dogs. Then she guides the customers to the nearby yurt to give them 'a Husky talk,' in which she tells about the life at the kennel. Antti heads to the warehouse to get water and food bowls for the dogs. They have to be watered and given a small amount of food before the next safari. After the customer group has left and they have taken care of the dogs, Antti and Hanne enter the staff house to have something to eat and drink and to prepare for the next safari by looking at the boards, taking notes on the piece of paper and hoping that it will be an extremely good sketch. Thus, they update the route map of the local tourist landscape. The cycle starts all over again, with all the same twists and turns, though this time they will most likely take a totally different and unpredictable form.

As the current safari has permanently stopped and the collection of Husletowtugnedogs has entered the stakeout area, it would be tempting at this point to think that the flow of intense action has been interrupted and movement has ceased. Accordingly, the beings would be somewhat cut out from the forceful currents of the safari, with the dogs in particular reduced back to objects totally

ruled by the occupied tourist landscape. As a result, the meshwork would be deadened (Ingold, 2011). However, the fast movement of the dog teams is not simply the physical displacement of the Husletowtugnedogs across the surface of landscape that starts from and ends at the stakeout area. What happens after the actual safari is equally important as what happens now when the tourists pet the dogs, posing for pictures and warming up inside if they are feeling cold. The dog-human encounters keep moving, touching and affecting us beyond the boundaries of the safari routes and the stakeout area. Following Ingold (2011), movement—both physical and affective—becomes a mode of existence and the very texture of the landscape (see Cresswell, 2012). In conclusion, the meshwork does not break into pieces even if the physical displacement of dogs and humans slows down or completely stops.

As with the board hanging on the wall of the staff building, all the safari routes carved and ploughed into the terrain form a network of routes based on policies surrounding landownership and the tourism industry itself. The dogs, like Rocky and Wickan, only have a limited chance to participate in the act of drawing the route map and making the tourist landscape. Even the humans, like Hanne and Antti, do not so much develop mushing skill when drawing the route map of this pre-existing tourist landscape. However, those routes are also carved into the embodied capacities of Hanne, Antti and to some extent the dogs as well. They have gone through the routes so many times that they remember them by heart—that entrenchment is part of construing the route map. Yet, that route map can shatter due to such factors as weather conditions and inexperienced tourists. Following Ingold (2011), the dogs and mushers do not propel themselves across a ready-made world but rather issue forth through a world-in-formation along the lines of their relationships (see Vannini & Vannini, 2018).

The route map excludes the unpleasant paths and contours of previous, long-gone mushing landscapes that are incorporated into the “embodied capacities of movement, awareness, and response” (Ingold, 2011, p. 47) of dogs like Jaki, perhaps those which welled up to make him dig in his heels. Those long-gone mushing landscapes are also incorporated in the embodied capacity of Hanne, such that she can, for example, tie the snub line of the guide team in no time, stay calm and immediately go look after the customers. Through their embodied capacities, the humans and the dogs thus contribute to the shaping of the landscape (see also Gray, 2014; Jones, 2013). The exclusion of the embodied capacities of beings does not mean that the route map is useless. The careful planning and maintaining of the mushing infrastructure, the goal-oriented training of the dogs, the training of the staff and the briefing of the customers are crucial for the safety and comfort of the safaris for all parties. It is good to have a certain framework for them, but one must also be prepared to update the framework according to such concepts as sled dog agency.

When the safari group is threading its way through the terrain and trying to respond to all the requirements brought on by the surrounding political and material landscape, the mushing landscape becomes a complex meshwork of interwoven trails (Ingold, 2011; 2016; see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The trails emerge through movement, and in movement lies agency (Buller, 2012; Ingold, 2011). Dogs like Siv may take another trail as a sign of their doglike needs, habits and agendas that may not fit the polished touristic image of dog sledding. Perhaps we should talk about mobility as movement that, according to Cresswell (2012), is a mere abstraction, while the dog–human–landscape encounters are fully imbued with meaning when the beings are “travelling over and through the complex terrain and topology of social spaces” (Adey, 2010, p. 36). The dogs and humans might have a different understanding of these spaces, which may lead to their disruption.

With reference to Philo and Wilbert (2000), through their mobilities dogs transgress the human-made tourist landscape—that is, the material and conceptual spaces and boundaries created through selective breeding, goal-oriented training, planning and building of the tourism infrastructure and marketing of tourism services. In comparison to the pre-existing tourist landscape, all of the dogs and humans develop mushing skill when going along the reticulate meshwork of messy and even chaotic *multispecies trails* of the constantly evolving mushing landscape that is tied to specific places and events. As discussed by Ingold (2016), multispecies trails are trails of growth and development, continually woven as life goes along them. Likewise, along them, life is lived.

The affective traces on the minicam footage may be incorporated into these multispecies trails, as Hanne and Antti are discussing whether it could be used in practice when briefing new mushers about the practices of the kennel. Some of their own actions seen in the footage may serve as good examples of how not to do things. In that way, the route map may perhaps be updated. The update is partly based on the sketch map they constantly draw when retracing the trails through remembering, reflecting and discussing their own and dogs’ actions. Hence, these multispecies trails are simultaneously natural and social creations, as they *grow* (Vannini & Vannini, 2018, emphasis in original), and both the dogs and humans are social creatures that contribute to the growing (Ingold, 2013). The inhabited mushing landscape is constantly (re)made through these growing multispecies trails that are continuously emerging from the familiar and novel, material and conceptual routes taken by the beings—oftentimes most importantly the dogs—threading their way there.

5 CONCLUSIONS: FROM A ROUTE MAP OF A TOURIST LANDSCAPE TO A SKETCH MAP OF MULTISPECIES TRAILS

In this thesis, I have used ethnographic methodology and nonrepresentational ideas about landscape and animal agency to explore the ways in which a local sled dog kennel is constantly made and remade as a tourist landscape, particularly through the agency of the dogs. Analysing and storying the touristic mushing scene from the point of view of sled dog–human encounters reveals that the dogs insert their agency into the scene. They do so in interconnecting, contesting and contested ways by changing the meshworks of tourist landscapes with both human and nonhuman agency. In other words, sled dog–human encounters create distinctive meshworks that form the patterns of the mushing landscape. I have emphasised that the dogs should be considered living beings that develop along the lines of their relationships with other agents, mostly humans, and the material composition of the landscapes. These processes will take on particular and significant forms of engagement between the sled dogs and the mushers in tourist landscapes.

The study at hand sheds light on the fundamental role of lively nonhuman animals in the tourist landscape, in particular the central part played by sled dogs in shaping and negotiating tourism practices and the subjectivities at a local sled dog kennel. The dogs, as living beings, play their full part and contribute to the formation of a local tourist landscape, which can become culturally, politically, ecologically and economically vital to its ongoing production (Brown; 2014; Jones, 2013). Instead of pursuing a philosophical argument about the subjectivity or personhood of a sled dog as a ‘tourism animal,’ my study has advanced a theoretical and conceptual argument about their agency, proposed a case for certain methodological procedures and the epistemological underpinnings related to accounting for that agency and developed a perspective on the managerial implications that follow.

Producing the sketch map

Undeniably, power over the making of the tourist landscape rests with humans, enforced not only by the presence of guides and tourists but also by the policies related to tourism planning, such as those surrounding tourism marketing and landownership, that affect how and where mushing routes can be constructed. Tourism is a public sphere in which the agency of the dogs is presupposed and the prerequisites of agency are already presented, both semiotically and materially. In this framework, the dogs are valued according to utopian ideal of conquering the

wilderness, and the tourists are caught between the security of readily provided resources and the temptation of the wild (Bertella, 2014; Granås, 2018). These representations and policies tend to commodify the dogs, thus setting strict agential conditions for 'being a sled dog' submissive to human control.

In the working relationship taking place at the kennel, the dogs are valued largely according to their skill at the work they do rather than expectations of reciprocal and unconditional affection. The idea of choice, as it relates to the agency of the dogs in a working context, may be collaborative, as the dogs form strong bonds and embrace the breadth of the tasks involved. As such, the working relationship is more complex than a pure master–slave dynamic, for the dogs shape the encounters through their actions and reactions (Coulter, 2016; Haraway, 2003). Following Haraway (2003), the dogs, as working animals, can be considered both companions and ultimate strangers that will continue to act in ways that remain unknown and become topics of speculation for the mushers, their closest workmates. However, they also act in ways that can become partly known to the mushers.

This (un)knowingness stems from the premise that the dogs are living beings that are fundamentally relational. The dog is what it is and does what it does because of its positioning within the hybrid mushing community and the reciprocal responses it produces to the lives of the others in the community and the surrounding landscape (Ingold, 2013). Through breeding and goal-oriented training, the dogs are expected to develop and embody the criteria for a sound sled dog—strong, hardworking, friendly and ready for the cold. However, this ideal dog hardly exists. Even if it did, it could not always be ideal, as the workmates around it—namely the mushers—are changing all the time, even to the extent that at the start of every autumn season there are many new mushers working at the kennel. A certain dog can work for a certain musher, but it may even refuse to work with another. Of course, the tourists also change all the time in number and character. Moreover, the dogs have social dynamics that prevent certain dogs from running side by side. These complex dynamics show that the qualities desired in the dogs' bodies are not the ontological properties of the dogs themselves; rather, they become comprehensible within the lived context of working with them (Higgin, 2012).

The ontological properties of the local tourist landscape become comprehensible within the lived context of dog–human encounters. Spaces and events taking place in the mushing landscape are tied to meshworks featuring lines of varying strength. Some of these lines, usually the routes, are firmly carved into the landscape and stay the same beyond it, such as policies and discourses related to guidelines on animal welfare and landownership. The kennel and surrounding areas explored in this study are characterised by different social, cultural and physical preconditions that create agential conditions, including ideas about a touristed sled dog and the safety of the routes, that allow the dogs to gain a foothold and develop. Accordingly, these preconditions provide specific fields for the configuration of knowledge, as well as

perceptions about the dogs and the mushing landscape and associated attitudes and (re)actions.

As a consequence, the mushing landscape becomes a ‘tourismscape’ (van der Duim, 2007)—an entanglement of local and translocal processes by which people and things achieve their form—and tourism places are made and remade by them in the relation of time, space and material. Following van der Duim (2007), tourism actors at all levels, from tour operators to tourists—and of course the mushers—try to assemble coherent actor networks that are supposed to last. If we consider tourism to be a relational, constantly emerging phenomenon, then considerations of agency that are not grounded in the living qualities of the animals fundamentally miss the mark, as they lead to entrenched anthropocentrism and limitations in representing the plurality and complexity of the nonhuman animals working in tourism (Chakraborty, 2021).

As such, the network metaphor, wherein individuals have predetermined social positions, has its limitations, as it generates an image of firmly defined and self-contained entities that relate to each other in a clear and equal manner in the performance of tourismscapes. In other words, the sled dog, as a living being, would dissolve into an abstracted and formalist conception of relations, as though it were merely equivalent to any other element in the network, such as a dog sled or the snow (see Nimmo, 2011). All the messy and even chaotic pathways of engagement between the dogs and people in the formation of the mushing landscape would thus be reduced to a network of immutable connections across the bare surface of a tourist landscape (Ingold, 2016). In order to explore the details of the mushing landscape, I have instead zoomed in on moving dog–human encounters using the meshwork metaphor. This approach facilitates a broadening of the research focus, moving away from the conceptualisation of the tourist landscape as a more or less stable and bounded administrative, geographical and touristed unit in which animals only play the role of mediators for tourism experiences.

The dogs are involved in the productive processes of social life and the hybrid mushing community taking place at the kennel, but this productivity is dependent on their working relationships with humans and vice versa. The kennel is the very condition of the dogs’ agency, but this kennel and the related nonhuman factors—namely the local tourismscape—are not, in themselves, agents (Ingold, 2011). By focusing on dog–human relations as meandering traces of embodied and lived practices and movement, it becomes possible to grasp animal agency as relational and developing while still preserving the sense that the animal is a living being with a distinct mode of existence that cannot be reduced to relations between elements in a network. In this way, the vitality of the living animal stands against a view of agency as simply animal behaviour or action (Ingold, 2011; Nimmo, 2011). The local tourist landscape is always (re)forming through sled dogs performing their dogness and developing with(in) the mushing landscape. The dogs are therefore part

of the fabric and sociality of the landscape, making them unavoidably multispecies matters—for better or for worse.

Making the complex and multiple pathways of sled dog agency tangible, sensible, knowable and storyable is another contribution of this study. This addition builds on development in the field of tourism studies, which is beginning to explore the diverse shared social worlds that animals and humans inhabit together. However, the methodological endeavours evoking and embracing the lively and moving encounters between animals and humans are very much in their infancy. To work around this unknowingness about the social world, I have explored mobile video ethnography as a way to access and account for the messy entanglements in the dynamic meshwork of the mushing landscape and thus to appreciate sled dog agency within it.

Applying mobile video ethnography as a go-along method has rendered accessible the diverse scales of the highly mobile and situated practices of sled dog–human encounters and, thus, resulted in knowledge about the situated, embodied and affective practices that emerge in the micro-spaces and events through which ethical human–animal relations are enacted (Article II; see Brown & Dilley, 2012). One can discard the anthropocentric narratives of the phenomena that occur in animal-based tourism, bringing under scrutiny the fundamental relationality of the trinary configuration of humans, animals and place. In other words, I have moved beyond touristic representations, the practices of commercial tourism activities and the routine and creative actions of humans that commodify the dogs, setting strict agential conditions for being a sled dog completely compliant with human control.

Through this ethnographic approach, it was possible to access the intimate and intangible spaces and events of sled dog–human encounters. By incorporating the minicam, the corporeal mobilities and bodily traces of the agents as they exist in specific environmental, sensory and affective configurations are made available for analysis. That is, through mobile video ethnography, the livingness of the tourist landscape is made available for reflection. I have provided knowledge about the multiple ways the dogs engage with, interfere in and inhabit tourism spaces. In contrast to upwardly integrated occupant knowledge, this process results in ‘alongly’ integrated inhabitant knowledge (Ingold, 2016). The tourist landscape becomes an inhabited—rather than occupied—landscape that emerges from the familiar and novel routes taken by the beings threading their way through and inhabiting the space (Ingold, 2011; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The dog yard and routes, as inhabited tourism spaces, are constantly forming and reforming depending on the agents at stake. Undoubtedly, these multispecies ‘contact zones’ (Haraway, 2008) and ‘animal atmospheres’ (Lorimer et al., 2019) are not necessarily neatly bounded in time or space.

The minicam footage, more so than photography or footage from fixed-position cameras, allows us to remain attentive to spontaneous material and the embodied

practices of touristic mushing through the innovative accessing of the spaces and times of moving dog and human bodies, particularly the practices through which they enliven the material-cultural choreographies of mushing activities and constitute the mushing landscape (Smith et al., 2021). Alongside an audiencing process, the minicam footage works as a means to collaborate with the research participants to generate evocative and affective impressions of the sled dog–human encounters that are meaningful to them. Moreover, as Vannini (2015) suggests, the footage works as an audio-visual tool for documenting and communicating these moving encounters for the benefit of distant audiences (see also Haanpää et al., 2019). The spaces and events evoked could be sites of compassion, devotion and the opportunity to learn to act more ethically towards the dogs.

Instead of offering the ability to capture and thus fully comprehend the world as it appears in front of the camera lens and around the camera body, this method produces rich empirical data from traces of the movement of the informants through the world (Ingold, 2016), creating affective traces from the lives of the dogs and mushers. Each particular trace enables a process of reflection, discussion and understanding with the (human) informants. In other words, mobile video ethnography enables the researcher to go beyond the tourist gaze, which conveys information about the identity of the one holding the camera, instead using the GoPro gaze to bring the subjects—here, the dog and human workmates—in front of the camera, highlighting their capacity for successful material and practical engagement with their mobile taskscapes (Vannini & Stewart, 2017) or for acting as a ‘stumbling block’ (Syse, 2014) in the mushing landscape. Following Ingold (2013), it is not about looking at animals as though they were humans, or at humans as though they were animals, but rather about looking for ways of modelling social life that allow for their differences—to be differently intelligent.

I have demonstrated that minicam video really shines in its capacity for creating material for narratives, or stories, that emerge out of engagement with the intimate happenings of the world as sequential and meaningful events in an overwhelmingly crowded and disordered chronological reality. Engagement with such intimate spaces and events allows us to construct narratives that render meaningful and rupture the events of animal–human attunement in relation to each other and in the wider context of their manifestation (Cronon, 1992, cited in van Dooren & Rose, 2012). Animals thus become narrative subjects in their own right, whose stories and meanings are not simply layered over the bare surface of a pre-existing landscape. Instead, their stories emerge from and impact the ways in which material and discursive landscapes come to be (van Dooren & Rose, 2012). These stories are knots in the meshwork of interwoven lines that comprises the hybrid mushing community, and they entail a sharing of meaning, interests and affects (Ingold, 2013).

This kind of ethnographic work is attentive to other beings’ ways of life, and it is understanding of the complexity of the landscapes that we craft with others. The

exploration and formation of ethnographic knots offer important insights into the many different and consequential ways in which tourist landscapes—and the agents within them—come to be. Through this work, an assembled route plan can be replaced by a drawn sketch map based on storylines. Here, ‘relation’ has to be understood not as a connection between pre-located entities but rather as a path traced through the terrain of lived experience. Every relation, instead of being a connecting point in a network, is one line in a meshwork of interwoven trails (Ingold, 2016).

This approach facilitates a focus on the integration of animal agency into the scene, showing that animals are players in the formation of the material and conceptual framework of the kennel, constituting it in interconnecting and contested ways that are capable of affecting and being affected by the changing meshworks of the tourist landscapes in which they are entangled. The practice of shovelling dog faeces and listening to the sounds of barking are sites through which the dogs make their presence known and saturate the tourist landscape with their agency. They therefore remind us that the tourist landscape is also an ‘animalscape’ (Syse, 2014).

The sketch map of the inhabited mushing landscape that is constantly (re) made through growing multispecies trails is also situated within time, which is not necessarily harnessed to our Western concepts of linear time. The significance of the sketch map (and the story) is rather an irreversible form of meaning-making that connects the lives of living beings to the worlds they inhabit and that involves leaving, returning and innovating, as well as producing linearities (van Dooren & Rose, 2012). Instead of precisely representing an empirical reality that has taken place before the act of representation, the story enacts the multiple and diverse potential of what tourist landscapes—and knowledge about them—can become. They are forever becoming something else, something originally unplanned (Vannini, 2015).

Towards implementing the sketch map in tourist landscapes

My study is consistent with the argument that animal workers have a stakeholder status in the tourism industry (García-Rosell & Tallberg, 2021), but it also goes further. The marked potential of the dogs to attune themselves to the performance of the touristscape, as well as to disrupt and disorder the processes by which the sites of modern tourist production and consumption are made and remade, is seen as a mode of existence for the agency of the dogs—their vital beings—with which they saturate the mushing landscape. The intercorporeality of an everyday life working with the dogs is acted out through routine spaces and events—and their disruptions—such as the musher (whether a guide or a tourist) having a different understanding than the dogs about which direction to take. The engagements between the mushers and the dogs are thus performed in intimate, emplaced and embodied practices, with

affective (sensory) registers playing key roles. This livingness and animality of local tourist landscapes is often totally absent or at least largely overlooked, particularly in higher level tourism planning and development initiatives.

Such tourism development initiatives are mainly characterised by upwardly integrated occupant knowledge that disregards the livingness and animality of the dogs and the landscape amidst a wider blindness to the agencies of nature. Through the dominant spatial orderings of tourism, dogs and mushers alike are categorised as timeless and unchanging characters. They are cut from the currents of the media around them, and thus the dogs (and mushers) can be considered even “*dead*” (Ingold, 2011, p. 93, emphasis original)—or, at least, they are disabled. For an individual tourism company, to overlook the livingness and animality of tourist landscapes may be to plan to fail, as customers are growing ever more aware of the complex issues related to animal-based tourism. Obviously, this kind oversight could also lead to more serious, even fatal, consequences for the dogs (Fennell & Sheppard, 2011).

Although higher-level tourism agents, including destination marketing organisations, heavily promote sustainable tourism, including animal-based tourism activities, in Lapland they still overlook the livingness of animals. For example, the marketing material concerning Lapland continues to use a catalogue of polished pictures and videos that Disney-ify the dogs. This imagery seldom shows acts of dogness, which, in practice, might not actually be that awkward for a tourist. These marketing processes often commodify the dogs by presenting them as wild even though their presence should simultaneously contribute to the profiling of landscape as an accessible and welcoming ‘natural’ space (Bertella, 2016). If tourism agents are commodifying the dogs as tame creatures holding wild charisma, agents outside the industry might commodify the dogs as alien or even hostile. Indeed, dogs are omnivores that might chase free-roaming reindeer if accidentally let loose.

Both kinds of commodification set strict agential conditions for sled dogs and also mirror planning and organising mushing activities. They affect the construction of safari routes in particular. This kind of conduct is ordered through the production of tourism experiences, laws and moral norms to simultaneously maximise the tourist experience of ‘natural,’ even wild space and minimise harm to people, wildlife and other ecologies outside the tourism industry. These conceptions and experiences of landscapes and the dogs within them combine to shape the ability to co-exist across species boundaries (Brown, 2014). The mushers constitute the surrounding landscape in relation to the needs of the dogs, tourists and themselves, which could detract from the interests of other creatures. Following Brown (2014), these allied notions produce particular (ir)responsible cross-species encounters.

Indeed, the encounters within touristic mushing can differ, with some outcomes often being unplanned, unintentional and unforeseen. Dogs and mushers alike are often found operating beyond the strategic and commercial initiatives of agents that

aim to make more out of touristic mushing, whether in relation to economic gains, place branding or destination development (Granås, 2018). The utilitarian act of presenting only the polished tourismscape or contested political landscape excludes the sleddogscape both spatially and socially from the landscape. Hiding the dogness also hides the skilful actions and different kinds of intelligences that co-exist across species boundaries.

The conceptual and methodological framework of multispecies trails is relevant in these kinds of development initiatives. The multispecies trails reimagine both human and nonhuman agents as being animated through their dynamic and lively capacities, thus effecting change and participating in tourism development through alongly integrated knowledge. Increasingly innovative methods, such as mobile video ethnography, can assist in the crafting and telling of stories about multispecies trails. Tourism services that are based on stories that emerge out of an ability to engage with intimate, sometimes even messy, animalscapes takes a step away from limiting human categorisations, the abstract symbols of human language and the overestimation of our own mastery over animals. It thus leaves space to acknowledge animals as agents. Instead of promoting mushing, or any other animal-based tourism service, as something original and related to conquering the wilderness, these stories could be used to reveal everyday life at the kennel, including shared spaces and events and their disruptions, which produce the basis for the existence of the local tourist landscape. This form of promotion would be more accurate and truthful.

A sketch map of the mushing landscape could be based on engaging humans other than the closest workmates of the dogs, such as animal welfare scientists, vets and other mushers, in the crafting process of these stories. Realising that behind a 'bad dog' may actually be a 'bad human' could ultimately contribute to developing more positive outcomes for the dogs and, ultimately, for the humans as well (see also Brown & Banks, 2015). Designing tourism services supported by future technology, including wearable technology for monitoring the animals' health, would bring us closer to mutual understanding and making human–animal encounters more meaningful (Article IV). Despite the issues arising from such an approach's reliance on modern technology, the researcher can use it sensitively to engage in and perform tourism realities that offer the entities involved a chance to be affected by the presence of the animals and, in doing so, to leave room for the animals to manifest their agency in tourist landscapes.

The continuous presence of technology and engagement with complex information related to sometimes even difficult issues involved with encountering animals in a tourism context might disrupt the unique embodied encounter between nonhuman animals and humans (Webber, Carter, Smith & Vetere, 2017). Even so, we should understand and appreciate both the (material) impacts and the transgressions of human (spatial) orderings that animal agency produces. This

understanding would challenge the rather stable power relations that endure between tourism stakeholders and propose a more dynamic approach wherein these relations are constantly constructed and negotiated through lived experiences. It would also give the dogs more opportunities to articulate their stances in the construction of the tourist landscape and the associated route map.

The status of the dogs as stakeholders is constantly changing. Upon the sketch map of the mushing landscape, the dogs do not need the status of a landlord, a representative of a destination marketing organisation or a musher, but rather that of the best workmates (see also Coulter, 2016). Yet, following Ingold (2013), they have to be taken seriously, which is part of having a social life that allows them to be differently intelligent and still contribute to the aforementioned processes. Perhaps we should not connect the concepts of a sled and a dog to a representation of conquering the wilderness or work as a tourism stakeholder if we are to give the animate and conscious animals more freedom to display their agency. The sharing of movement, skill, practices, knowledge and, ultimately, culture opens up pathways to understanding human–animal encounters in tourism as multispecies trails leading towards tourism futures that allow and appreciate the differences between living beings. This path is the one we have to tread if we want to better meet our ethical obligations to the dogs, their work and ultimately animals in general as co-producers of experiences (Bertella, 2014) and stakeholders (García-Rosell & Tallberg, 2021) in tourism.

Ephemerality of the sketch map

Although I have made the dogs fleshy and thick on the page (van Dooren & Rose, 2016), exposing the readers to their lives, I should point out that the dynamic meshwork and its individual threads and knots—be it a trail or pattern of the mushing landscape—are inevitably linked to my own perspectives (Elixhauser et al., 2018). The intention here is not to slip into the hubris of claiming to tell another’s stories but rather to develop and tell my own story in ways that are open to other methods of building up, responding to and living in the world. In other words, I cannot claim to address what matters, or even what might matter, to sled dogs as subjective selves (Buller, 2015). The ethnographic knots depict only a small segment in space and time, itself part of a larger meshwork that is never static but constantly forming and reforming. The multiple and transient contexts of human–animal interactions are difficult to capture and analyse, as they are always on the move (Lorimer, 2010), and the patterns of landscape are undergoing ‘continuous generation’ (Ingold, 2015, p 43). As Ingold (2016, p. 85) aptly puts it: “The vast majority of maps that have ever been drawn by human beings have scarcely survived the immediate contexts of their production.”

The knots—or the sketch map of the mushing landscape—I have formed are composed of research encounters that cover only short segments of the paths of the agents. They may entangle themselves in many different knots, and their paths may meander far and wide or tie themselves to the specific situations of certain localities (Elixhauser et al., 2018; Jones, 2013). For instance, the study at hand covers only one part of a mushing landscape taking place in one sled dog kennel. This sequence is only a small aspect of the touristic mushing meshwork with all its multiple policies, practices and individuals. With all the choices I have made and the related achievements and failures I have experienced, I have formed a path too, meaning that I am an integrative part of this multispecies ethnographic research.

The subjectivities of the story weavers and the researcher's identity as a storyteller are situated in the present moment, which is a site from which wider stories are generated and converge (van Dooren & Rose, 2012). As van Dooren and Rose argue (2016), good ethnographic accounts are active sites for the ongoing weaving or braiding of stories into a spirit of openness and accountability to otherness. For Klenk (2018), studying a meshwork is about becoming skilful in recognising entanglements and, through attunement to stories, creating new opportunities for agents to develop along the lines of their relationships. By moving with and becoming affected by nonhuman animals, we can open up avenues for further research on the constitution of multispecies encounters within specific tourist landscapes.

The concern about sled dog agency in tourism is a focus on only one animal species that works for the industry. Although scholars are shifting towards the view that the presence of nonhuman animals matters in tourism, closer investigations of particular animalities in localised tourism places are needed. In these investigations, we need to find ways to account for animals as part of social life wherein these creatures and humans reciprocally shape one another and establish their own activities (Ingold, 2013). Instead of considering animals as though they were humans or vice versa, we should nourish methods of building awareness of relational practices that could contribute to knowing and representing 'animals' mobilities' (Hodgetts & Lorimer, 2018) and 'animals' atmospheres' (Lorimer et al., 2019) to create 'beastly places' (Philo & Wilbert, 2000) that serve the interests of multispecies communities in tourism.

To become more skilful in recognising these entanglements, we can engage in collaborative interdisciplinary research, which could in turn contribute to understanding what matters or what might matter to animals (Buller, 2015; Dashper, 2020). As mentioned above, perhaps bio-sensing technologies (such as wearable technology for animals designed for health monitoring) could assist in more in-depth reflection about the dogs by offering up data on intensity and quantity of cross-species interaction and affective attunement (see also Spinney, 2015). In the future, modern technologies could provide the means for the customers to better understand the dogs, forge a more personal connection between the parties of the

encounter and prevent the errors that result from misunderstandings. This data could also assist in forming design drivers for tourism in which the dog is at the centre of the process (Article IV).

Too much reliance on modern technology might come with its issues (Article II; Brown & Banks, 2015), but the use of these technologies in collaborative research is useful in opening up avenues for further study on the constitution of multispecies encounters within specific contexts. That kind of research is also necessary as a way to expand perspectives and compare different tourist landscapes, each entailing specific configurations of activities, perceptions, practices and knowledge on human–animal encounters. These endeavours would facilitate the comparability of different tourism places, particularly in terms of their activeness in minding the animals while not losing sight of the heterogeneity inherent in each tourism place—be it a sled dog kennel, a reindeer farm or a zoo.

This study has demonstrated that animals and people together constitute particular (tourism) landscapes that involve the regulation of practices related to animal welfare. As Brown (2014) articulates, the conceptions and experiences of landscapes and animals combine to shape their ability to co-exist across species boundaries. We thus need further research on the complex ways in which the bodies, experiences, lives and deaths of animals and humans become intertwined by attending to the ways in which they are mutually constituted with particular sites, locations and landscapes (Brown, 2014). This mode of study would contribute to unravelling how (tourism) landscapes matter in the achievement of ethical human–animal relations. This understanding could, in turn, help us to better engage in tourism activities on the animals' own terms, thus more effectively meeting the ethical obligations we have to the animals and their work. Disruptive influences, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, can challenge the tourism industry and radically change our ways of thinking, particularly in terms of planning for the future of tourism. By moving with and becoming affected by non-human animals—be it through a living encounter or through modern technology—we can widen our capacities for knowing, tell stories and impact the ways in which multispecies (tourism) landscapes come to be.

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