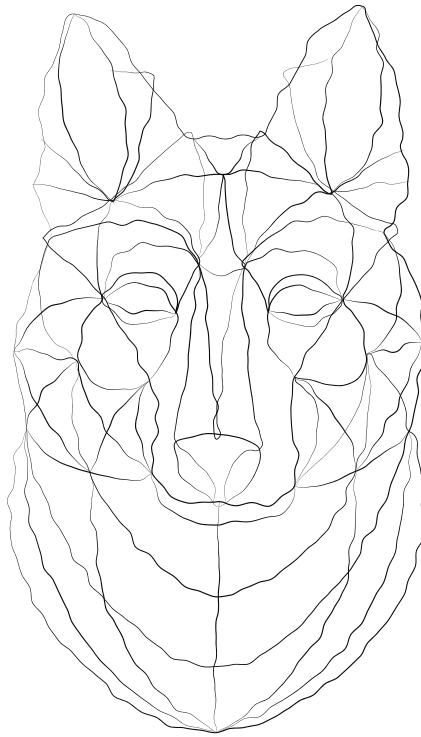


Article III: Äijälä, M. (forthcoming). Landscapes as multispecies matters: The mushing landscape in the making in Finnish Lapland. *Society & Animals*. The Author Manuscript version of the article is reproduced as a part of a doctoral dissertation with the kind permission of the copyright holder.



Landscapes as Multispecies Matters: The Mushing Landscape in the Making in Finnish Lapland

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Abstract

Animals are important players in tourism but their presence and agency in the formation of tourist landscapes has been largely disregarded. Landscapes are often considered to be unchanging material surfaces shaped through culture, thus leaving only a limited role for animals. Drawing on non-representational ideas of landscape I focus on the (re)formation of a local tourist landscape that takes place in the unfolding atmospheric practices of mushing. I present two narratives that are based on mobile video ethnographic vignettes and accompanying short video clips to reflect on the role of the sled dogs in the making of the local mushing landscape. Finally, I develop the argument that nonhuman animals are unique part of the fabric and sociality of landscapes, thus making them unavoidably multispecies matters.

Keywords

human-animal studies, landscape, meshwork, affect, mobile video ethnography, tourism, mushing

Introduction

A dog sledding safari group is about to have a small break so that the last team can catch up and the mushers can check that the dogs and tourists are all right. The track is in very good condition, and the tourist group has listened carefully to the mushing instructions given to them before setting off. The possibility of unexpected events is thus at a minimum, and the

mushers feel a bit more relaxed. The purpose of the break is also for tourists to take photos of the scenery and the dogs, as well as for the musher and passenger to switch places. The most important thing to remember is to stand off the brake and to hold the handlebar of the sled tightly. Some of the dog teams are anxious to keep going and may set off with such speed that, if the tourist musher has turned their attention to taking pictures, the musher will not be able to control them. Letting the team loose may have serious consequences that shatter the tourist landscape.

Through the practices of the tourism industry, these dogs are enmeshed in complex power relations with humans in which the latter usually have and exercise more power. Many studies highlight the active role of human culture in shaping landscapes, whereas nonhuman animals are often overlooked amidst a general blindness to the agency of nature that disregards their agency, reducing them to mere objects. Hence, they often neglect the fact that humans are accompanied by nonhuman animals into shared spaces wherein interspecies relations extend to our relationship with the landscape (Ingold, 2011, 2013; Jones, 2013).

Accordingly, there is a body of research showing that interspecies entanglements between humans and animals are always located in landscapes—physically, culturally, and politically—and thus create a trinary rather than a binary relationship (Gray, 2014; Jones, 2013; Lorimer et al., 2019). Scholars have paid attention to how the landscape unfolds differently in the practices of dog walking (Fletcher & Platt, 2018; Holmberg, 2019), horse riding (Evans & Franklin, 2016; Fijn, 2021), herding (Gooch, 2016; Gray, 2014), and tourism (Granås, 2018; Tallberg et al., 2021). These studies have demonstrated that nonhuman animals are crucial agents in the making of landscapes.

Although such studies have acknowledged the role of nonhuman animals in making and changing places (e.g., Granås, 2018), they have, following Ingold (2011, 2015, 2016), fallen

somewhat short of acknowledging the living qualities of animals and their distinct modes of existence. For example, Tallberg et al. (2021) state that nonhuman animals are actors affecting organizational operations, but they do not delve deeper into how their agency unfolds in the moving animal–human encounters that take place in intimate and intangible spaces and times outside of organizations. By adopting mobile video ethnography, Äijälä (2021) endeavors to produce a methodological approach that appreciates the living qualities of animals and, thus, accounts for animal agency (see also Brown & Banks). However, such attempts do not adequately address how animals and humans, through their living qualities, contribute to the weaving of the landscape.

Drawing on Ingold and other scholars inspired by nonrepresentational ideas of landscape (e.g., Olwig, 2019; Vannini & Vannini, 2018), I turn my attention to the formation of mushing landscapes and the sled dog–human encounters within them by considering them a changing meshwork of life, growth, and movement (Ingold, 2011, 2015; see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018). I then trace out the under-represented aspects of animal presence and agency in tourist landscapes. The landscape I cover here is that of one sled dog kennel and its immediate surroundings in Finnish Lapland.

The empirical research on which I build my reflection derives from ethnographic fieldwork—particularly mobile video ethnography (Äijälä, 2021; Brown & Banks, 2015; Haanpää et al., 2019). The use of video and the resulting multimodal material produces affective traces (Canham et al., 2020; Vannini & Stewart, 2017) that attend to mushing as a series of atmospheric practices that unfold as “the relation between people, place, and things” (Bille & Simonsen, 2021, p. 296)—and dogs. I extend this idea of atmospheric practices by exploring how dog–human relations unfurl differently in different mushing spaces and by demonstrating how the dogs play a twofold role in the constant formation of (tourist)

landscapes. The patterns of landscape are made through spatially embedded cross-species attunement and skillful interaction between dogs and humans, as well as through the rupture and dissonance of that attunement (Brown & Dilley, 2012).

In effect, the combination of atmospheric practices and nonrepresentational ideas of landscape highlights that humans and nonhuman animals create landscapes even outside the immediate context of tourism encounters. Animals, as skilled living beings, are therefore unique and crucial players in the unfolding atmospheric practices of mushing and the resulting meshwork of the physical, cultural, and political mushing landscape. This kind of understanding allows for different living beings to co-exist and for nonhuman animals to be considered part of social life (Ingold, 2013), including in the highly commercial context of the tourism industry.

I begin with a discussion of the theoretical framework guiding this study, which centers around nonrepresentational ideas of landscape (e.g., Ingold, 2015; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). I then explain the empirical field and research approach, based specifically on mobile video ethnography. In the final sections, I present two narratives illustrating the patterns of the local mushing landscape, discuss the findings, and identify future directions for research. The narratives are supplemented by seven short video clips, which can be accessed online via the hyperlinks in the text.

Landscapes (Re)Forming Through Atmospheric Practices

My point of departure is the proposition that nonhuman animals are living beings whose actions are skilled; their skilled development in an environment qualifies them as agents, distinguishing them from mere inanimate objects, such as sleds and many kinds of lines needed in mushing (Ingold, 2011). They are more than mere mediators of tourism

experiences in a tourist landscape, a term that refers to a particular space designed to be recognizable from other landscape types, and to meet the touristic and recreational needs and expectations of its users (Skowronek et al., 2018).

From a tourist landscape perspective, the mushing infrastructure, including the kennel area and tracks, can be referred to as “lines of occupation” that form “a network of intersecting routes” (Ingold, 2016, pp. 83–84). As such, they seem to be quite stable artefacts on the surface of the earth. However, they change constantly in accordance with factors such as the weather; for example, the routes become very hard without plowing, which is not good for the dogs’ paws, rendering the sled difficult to steer. Also, the dogs play a role in the formation of the routes by leaving footprints, paths, and tracks. Along with material traces, the dogs also leave affective traces (Canham et al., 2020) that are crucial to the formation of the landscape (Jones, 2013).

I adopt an understanding of affect as being situated in practices, which are spatially embedded and felt phenomena (Jones, 2013; Lorimer et al., 2019). As such, affects unfold *as* the relations between people, places, and things (Bille & Simonsen, 2021, emphasis original)—and nonhuman animals. People engage with nonhuman animals through a range of affective exchanges, including emotions (passions), embodied practices (e.g., touch, senses, movement), and the materialized, relational performativity of everyday life. Hence, affects are the life-making and pre-running bodily systems and processes within and beyond reflexive consciousness; we live through these processes on a moment-to-moment basis in relation to our environment (Jones, 2013; Whatmore, 2006). For Bille and Simonsen (2021) this constantly evolving relation expresses itself in “atmospheric practices”.

My emphasis on affect and atmospheric practices does not totally displace the power and importance of rationality and the cultural and economic dynamics within human–nonhuman

animal relations. These dynamics clearly shape the tourism encounters and their related spatial/ethical patterns; however, affects are forces that always challenge more rationalized practices. To attend to atmospheric practices is to see human—and indeed nonhuman animal—bodies and materiality as attuned with affective potentials, where the resulting atmospheres are affective forces. Practices of mushing thus become atmospheric practices of affecting and being affected (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; Jones, 2013). Following Ingold (2011), nonhuman animals and humans are understood not as bounded entities surrounded by an environment but as an unbounded entanglement of lines in fluid space.

A non-representational approach allows us, instead of thinking about the landscape as a series of cultural and mental impositions on the material surface of the earth, to think about it as “condensations or crystallizations of activity within a relational field” (Ingold, 2011, p. 47; see also Vannini & Vannini, 2018). Following Ingold, I emphasize the living qualities of animals and take the landscape as a meshwork of life, growth, and movement; it is within this meshwork that living beings develop along the lines of their relationships with other living beings and the landscape. Humans and nonhuman animals therefore do not propel themselves across a ready-made world but rather travel forth through a world-in-formation. The engagement and development of humans and nonhuman animals—the making of the landscape—takes place in the atmospheric practices generated in choreographed bodily movements of nonhuman animals and humans (Gray, 2014; Jones, 2013; Whatmore, 2006). As Jones (2013) argues, landscapes comprise the outplays of intersecting flows of material and agency, and the embodied practices of all landscapes are conducted through intensive, relational, and meaningful affective exchange.

The practice of touristic mushing involves different atmospheric practices, including the acts of harnessing the dogs and steering the sled. The dogs themselves are vital figures in the

becoming of these atmospheric practices, which create distinctive material and affectual patterns upon the local landscape (Ingold, 2011; Jones, 2013). The narratives I present below illustrate some of the ways in which the constantly evolving atmospheric practices manifest as patterns of the local mushing landscape.

Mushing Along *Lanssi* and *Ränni*

Throughout history, sled dogs and humans have engaged in an intense interspecies dependency for mutual survival (Kuhl, 2011; Patterson et al., 2018; Schram & Fiocca, 2017). As Schram and Fiocca (2017) argue, the patterns of their coexistence are now altering due to changes in the environment, mobility, and the popularity of tourism in the Arctic and sub-Arctic (see also Bertella, 2014; Granås, 2018). In Finnish Lapland, sled dogs were post-agrarian arrivals appearing in significant numbers in the late 1990s amid a landscape of the planning and rapid development of winter activities, becoming highly attractive for foreign tourists. Touristic mushing is thus a fairly new landscape that sled dogs have occupied. Yet, the dogs are associated with polar and adventure histories, thus occupying a liminal position on the boundary between the domestic and the wild; sled dogs therefore bridge the boundary between wild and artificial living, as tourists are held between the security of readily provided resources and the temptation of wildness (Bertella, 2014; Granås, 2018).

The kennel involved in my study could be called a typical tourism kennel in the Nordic context in terms of size and location. It is located near the city of Rovaniemi, Finland, boasting a flock of over 100 sled dogs. Its principal tourism activity is short safaris for foreign customers. Geographically, the operations are centered on the main yard where all the enclosures, the stakeout area, and facilities for staff and tourists are situated. At this kennel, the stakeout area is often called *lanssi*, which is a Finnish word referring to a storage area for

the logs employed in log driving. Here, the dog teams are gathered to wait for the customers, and then the teams are released onto the routes—almost like releasing logs into the river.

Along with *lanssi*, there are a few tens of kilometers of routes available in the wintertime and a few kilometers of routes in the summertime. The most significant factor affecting the planning of these routes is land ownership. Another important factor is safety for the customers and the dogs. The routes are called *ränni*, which is Finnish for a gutter along the eaves that catches and carries off rainwater. *Ränni* thus refers to the shape of the route in the winter, with high snowbanks on both sides. The summer routes are strengthened with rock dust to make the surface harder and easier on the dogs' paws. During the winter, the routes are plowed after every snowfall to make them safer.

All the tourism marketing, careful planning of the safaris, and maintenance of the safari infrastructure, including the routes, is aimed at constructing a rather unchanging tourist landscape to serve the needs of the tourism industry—and, in part, the needs of the dogs. These measures are meant to eliminate opportunities for dog and human error; however, this tourist landscape cannot fully capture mushing as a way of life. The spaces of touristic mushing become a context through which the sled dog-human encounters are performed, negotiated, and sometimes even break down (Brown & Banks, 2015; Brown & Dilley, 2012).

These issues suggest that commercial mushing activities are likely to reflect many of the broader complexities of interspecies relationships. In the next section I will map the affective traces of touristic mushing and render the patterns of the mushing landscape available for reflection and representation.

Tracing the Patterns of the Mushing Landscape

I conducted my ethnographic fieldwork at the kennel between the summer of 2019 and the spring of 2020. Through mobile video ethnography with action cameras (Äijälä, 2021; Brown & Banks, 2015) I concentrated on tourism encounters that set strict boundaries, such as safety rules and timetables, dictating how the dogs and mushers move about. The GoPro was employed from the intense tourist seasons in December and March to the resting and training seasons in July and October. The filming took place during one day in each of the aforesaid months.

Three separate GoPro devices were used to collect the data. One device was attached to the back mount of the GoPro Fetch harness, which was placed on either of the reliable leader dogs, Rocky and Wickan. Another device was attached to the chest harness of either one of the human informants, Hanne and Antti, who are mushers working at the kennel. A third GoPro was attached to my chest harness. All three devices were mainly employed simultaneously, but they were not synchronized. In order to better highlight the skills and creativity of the agents, the video material was complemented with footage that Antti had recorded when mushing with his own dog team. The action camera footage worked as a tool to cover and document the annual cycle of everyday life and tasks of the mushers and the dogs also outside tourist encounters.

Rather than expecting to fully capture the world as it appears in front of the camera lens and around the camera body, the footage is considered in my analysis a video trace through the world, which manifests the presence and movement of subjects in specific environmental, sensory, and affective configurations (Canham et al., 2020; Sumartojo & Pink, 2017; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The video trace evokes affective traces that attend to mushing as an atmospheric practice by seeing “human bodies and materiality as attuned with affective

potentials, where the resulting atmospheres are affective forces” (Bille & Simonsen, 2021, p. 305). I develop this idea further here by exploring the spatially embedded cross-species attunement and skillful interaction of dogs and humans, as well as the rupture and dissonance of that attunement (Brown & Dilley, 2012). The affective traces entail that the dogs are skilled living beings with unique potentials to affect and be affected.

Each video trace created by the dogs (mainly Rocky and Wickan), the mushers (Hanne and Antti) and me underwent an audiencing process, wherein Hanne and Antti watched the uncut and unedited footage with me to attend to different mushing practices. This audiencing process evoked both mundane and spectacular presences, absences, and articulations of dogs and mushers to each other, leading to events of attunement or the rupture of the atmosphere (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; Brown & Banks, 2015). The talk generated in the audiencing process was fully transcribed for another layer of analysis.

In the end, 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 fragmentary fieldnotes and pictures taken especially in the early stages of my fieldwork. I felt that they were insufficient and lacking enough detail so I set them aside.

To outline the aspects of dog presence and agency I implemented a diffractive reading of the data, which refers to a process of encountering the data while holding on to theoretical concepts (Mazzei, 2014). Plugging the concepts of nonhuman agency and meshwork into my empirical data allowed me to engage with theory and to witness and identify the relational co-evolution of dogs and humans with the various forms of knowledge, skill, and embodied practice that lead to cross-species attunement and skilful interaction, as well as to the rupture and dissonance of that attunement (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Fletcher & Platt, 2018), in a specific environment.

In my analysis, I consider the spectacular events of attunement as well as events of rupture as blots on our sensescapes and taskscapes (Vannini & Vannini, 2018). A blot is not here an unnatural or disturbing fissure in the material landscape but a thread in the meshwork of a tourist landscape that may lead to its consolidation or shattering. A blot is a pattern of the mushing landscape that is useful in remaining attentive to the spontaneous material and embodied practices of mushing and to enlivening the affective material-cultural choreographies of mushing activities (Brown & Dilley, 2012). The blots enabled a process of reflection, discussion, understanding, and demonstration of the skills and creativity (or lack thereof) of the dogs and mushers in relation to their material and practical engagement with a taskscape both in and outside the immediate tourism context (Vannini & Stewart, 2017).

I further explored the blots and developed narratives that I share here to draw together many of the issues observed, experienced, and discussed over the course of the research process (Dashper, 2020). These narratives are supplemented by short video clips that attempt an audiovisual evocation of the blots, which intensifies the opportunity for the audience to attend to the narratives and the atmospheric practices of touristic mushing (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). In what follows, the text and the accompanying video clips form narratives describing how the dogs and mushers develop skills in relation to each other and the surrounding landscape. The narratives give the reader a sense of how the dogs contribute the formation of the mushing landscape.

Attunement of Dogs and Humans

I have joined Antti for the summer training of two dog teams. I am a bit worried, as the leaders of my team, Rocky and Wickan, are running right along the edge of the track, and Rocky might try to wedge Wickan off it. Natural obstacles, like the water puddle ahead of us, shape the gutter and the way we can move about (Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The leaders go

around the puddle, but the wheel dogs (the last pair) are unable to evade and must run through it; I fear that this outcome is my fault, because I did not steer the cart to the edge of the track to help the wheel dogs avoid the puddle. Water is perhaps more of an inconvenience for the dogs than a danger. On a hot summer day, it may even bring some relief. In this kennel, they even do swamp training in summer, which is both good exercise and works as a good cool-off for the dogs. They also love it. As usual, the young dogs learn from the experienced ones which things are safe and fun to do.

A greater potential danger for us is the rope that hangs loose behind Antti's team and the ATV he is using for training, as the dogs' nails can catch in the rope and cause accidents. It is my responsibility to avoid getting too close, as the dogs are not aware of the potential danger. I too was unaware of it before Antti shouted to keep our distance earlier in the trip. The musher is always responsible for the team, but a tourist may not have means to read the terrain and the actions of the dogs, which may lead to accidents. The mushers (staff members) have the great responsibility of giving sufficient instructions to the tourists. My team follows Antti's through the upcoming intersection without the need for me to give any sign or command. The dogs do not necessarily need to be given commands about directions, as the leaders usually follow the team going ahead of them. They almost always do so, in fact, but various factors—including a desire to return home and bad weather conditions—may lead the dogs to choose a shortcut to the kennel. Regardless, the musher should always issue direction commands to the dogs so that the young dogs start learning them.

In winter, a marshy terrain may have icy patches that present a potential danger for the dogs and for inexperienced tourist mushers. To avoid such danger, Hanne produces a hand sign far enough in advance to inform the safari group to slow down, as going over the icy part at full speed might have serious consequences. She wants her team to circle it from the right, she but

has to stop, as the dogs disobey her. Perhaps the leaders, Jaki and Nuka, are not aware of the danger or do not regard the ice as such. The jumper guide comes to help, grabbing the neckline (i.e., a short wire rope or a twine spanning between the towline and a dog's collar) to pull the leader dogs aside and lead the team past the ice. However, the leaders, followed by the whole team, get back on the ice immediately, and Hanne grows a little frustrated. One should not pull from the neckline, as it prevents the dogs from learning to avoid difficult parts of the route, and it also looks rather inappropriate; however, in the intensity of mushing, it is often the quickest and most convenient solution without stopping the safari.

If they have practiced enough and the musher–dog relationship is working, the team might move beyond the material boundaries of the gutter, as Antti sometimes does with his team. The leaders are anticipating turning right, but Antti instructs them to turn left. While concentrating on talking to the camera, he almost falls off the sled when hitting a small snowbank. The dogs enact a timely response to invitations of environmental entanglements, but Antti does not (Brown & Dilley, 2012). After Antti regains his balance, he commands the team to jump off the gutter. This time the whole team enacts a mutual response. Mushing on an open field is a very demanding practice that requires elite dogs, particularly elite leaders, and a somewhat elite musher—all with a great amount of training. The team has to work harder in soft snow and also put more effort into communicating directions. For these reasons, tourist mushers are seldom taken off the trail. The terrain has to be familiar and easy, and the customers have to have a certain skill level and the right mindset: thus, the guide, dogs, and landscape can create sound tourist mushers who can go off trail.

Rupturing the Tourist Landscape

Hanne is gathering her own guide team for a morning safari and planning to add her dog Ilo to the team so that the young dog can gain experience. Everything is going well until Nuka,

the other leader, snarls and tries to snap at Ilo. Hanne is surprised and becomes quite upset, confronting Nuka. She is more upset than her dog. Although Nuka is one of Antti's most experienced and reliable leaders, the dog's action is unforgivable. If Antti was present, he would have been more firm in reminding Nuka that this behavior was unacceptable, though he would understand that this kind of conduct may come with age in male dogs. Hanne rearranges Ilo's position in the team to avoid further confrontation.

Unpredictability is constantly present, as there is a pack of dogs and inexperienced tourists present. The main guide has stopped the safari to conduct a routine check to determine whether anybody is having any problems. While waiting, Rocky and Khosa start to grow nervous and keep glancing backward. Eventually Rocky pulls the whole team aside to pursue a marking left by another dog. This diversion is unacceptable for a leader dog, as they should always keep the lines straight; if they do not, there is a danger that the lines will tangle, which could lead to severe problems or at least to delays in the timetable of the safari. Moreover, Khosa is a young dog that has learned bad habits from Rocky. However, it is spring, and the tourist season is ending, so the dogs may already be a bit tired of tourists. This time the dogs straighten the lines by themselves, which is an important skill.

Despite the breeding programs and hours of training required for tourism work, the dogs continue to have natural needs and habits, some of which may not accord with tourist perceptions of mushing. Hanne faces this issue when she is trying to take picture of a couple and realizes that two dogs in her guide team are mating. Afterwards, she ponders whether it was a too harsh a measure to separate the dogs, as one cannot actually blame the dogs—but unplanned litters are undesirable, and a male and female dog should not have been placed together. However, a bigger issue for Hanne on this occasion was that the performance of humping should not take place in front of tourists' eyes, despite the fact that most of the time

the tourists understand and just smile about it. Indeed, taking a picture of themselves posturing next to their own team is a highlight for many tourists, but the dogs may not understand—or are, perhaps, reluctant to cooperate—which can result in embarrassing moments for the mushers. The natural cycles and needs of the dogs do not match with tourist practices. Sometimes, the mushers' interventions can look harsh, and they need to be prepared to explain their reasons for them.

The musher should always be considerate in their actions, not only towards the tourists but also towards the dogs. The mindset and attitude of the musher heavily affects the dogs, and if one is having a bad day, one should try to hide it, as the dogs mirror it very easily and teamwork may become impossible. Antti faces this situation when he is about to take his team into an open field (i.e., one without a paved or plowed track) for training. He is trying to command the team to turn right over a small stream. All the dogs obey except Mosku, the leader dog that runs on the left side. After a short negotiation of the direction, Antti becomes frustrated and has to anchor the sled to change the positioning of the dogs. He recalls another day when the dogs and conditions were the same, yet they did not have any dissonance surrounding crossing the stream. It is not that Antti has lost contact with the dogs but rather that the dogs and musher now respond differently to the available invitations and articulations of different environmental entanglements (Brown & Dilley, 2012). Today, the dogs simply do not want to take him into difficult terrain because of his frustrated mindset.

This time Antti does not use necklines, as the dogs and the terrain are familiar to him. The absence of necklines allows the dogs more freedom of movement, which in turn requires more skill from the musher, who must read the dogs and the terrain. It also requires more skill from the dogs, who must work as a team. Necklines are always used in tourist safaris to improve the handleability of the dogs and to avoid—or at least mitigate the consequences

of—the divergent responses of the dogs and the tourist musher. They are objects that work as instruments of power to stabilize and perhaps repair the relationship between the dogs, the musher, and the landscape.

The Mushing Landscape in the Making

The dog yard and the gutter, *lanssi* and *ränni*, are clearly human-made pathways composed of materials such as gravel, concrete, wood, and steel and designed to serve the needs of the tourism industry. Political forces, such as land ownership, heavily affect their composition. The routes work as a “material envelope of the atmosphere and its affective intensities” (Lorimer et al., 2019, p. 27) to enclose and direct the movement of the dog team—to give rise to events, actions, and feelings that meet touristic and recreational needs and expectations. They consist of human-made lines that heavily direct and tame the physical and affective intensity of mushing (Vannini & Vannini, 2018). Moreover, guides play their part by training the dogs and providing instructions and examples for the tourists. As a result, the opportunities for dog or human errors—their divergent responses to environmental entanglements (Brown & Dilley, 2012)—are eliminated, or at least their consequences are mitigated.

Here, the requirements of the tourism industry, including strict timetables and safety rules, sharply frame the distribution of agency and the power behind making the landscape. The routes and the many artefacts, such as necklines, that are used in touristic mushing enable the formation and stabilization of the tourist landscape. Undeniably, the power in the making of landscapes rests mostly with humans. As Gray (2014) argues, it is the relationship between the landscape and humans that has the opportunity to be put to productive use by particular breeds of nonhuman animals. As working nonhuman animals, sled dogs develop and embody skills that are needed in touristic mushing. However, they embody much more than just self-

adjustment to the requirements of the tourism industry. Although they are harnessed according to human desires, they shape the tourist landscape; as a result, many of the requirements imposed by the tourism industry do not prevail. For example, the dogs do not follow or embody the touristic practices of obeying the strict timetables and posing for the camera when tourists are taking photos.

Also, obstacles, debris, and remnants of human activity may remain, shaping the landscape, what might occur there, and how the dog team might move about. Clearly, the ground and the artefacts upon it are not immobile, as the gravel and snow that constantly alter the landscape are factors in its formation (Vannini & Vannini, 2018). That composition impacts the human–dog–landscape trinary. For example, the open field offers a particularly complex tangle of pathways, as opposed to the more regulated space of ready-made routes, as many possible routes appear in between rocks, trees, and streams.

The open field offers also room for the concurrent showcasing of the skills and creativity of the dogs and the musher. It also facilitates the development of new atmospheric practices (Bille & Simonsen, 2021). As Ingold (2013) states, landscapes can stabilize relationships, whereas tools and other artefacts may do little or nothing to stabilize relationships between animals and humans. Routes and objects largely exempt the musher from the responsibility of comprehending the terrain, movements, and skills of the dogs, as well as negotiating with the dogs. The musher does not have to be able to comprehend the world, as it were, through the eyes of the dogs. In many ways, the musher becomes a passenger: they do not move by coupling locomotion and perception but are rather moved from one place to another (Ingold, 2016). The absence of a maintained route and necklines requires a more developed relationship between the dogs and mushers, which usually is impossible in the momentariness of tourism encounters. Referring to Ingold (2015, p. 49), the mushing landscape “comprises a

domain in which the lives and minds of its human and nonhuman inhabitants are comprehensively knotted with one another.”

The dogs lay a trail on the ground in the form of pawprints, while the musher, standing on the runners of the sled, leaves footprints only in certain difficult terrains, such as uphill slopes. The lines made by the movement of the dogs and humans are thus profoundly different. Through these different types of lines, the lives of the dogs, the guides, and the tourists are woven differently into the landscape. As the musher tries to improvise a path through the open terrain, their intentions encounter the intentions of the dogs, as it is impossible to perceive the environment the way the dogs do (or to copy the modalities of movement employed by the dogs), especially when the olfactory senses of the dogs and the musher vary drastically (Ingold & Vergunst, 2016). The terrain is different for the dogs and the mushers. Following Brown and Dilley (2012), I suggest that the dogs may not actually disobey the mushers but may merely respond to the invitations and articulations made available by various environmental entanglements, thereby (dis)enabling articulation with the mushers.

Even though the dogs and the humans lay contrasting trails, their traces of movement and gestures overlap. Both parties must be alert to the moods and motivations of the other. The mushing landscape is thus about the atmospheric practices of affecting and being affected (Bille & Simonsen, 2021)—by the dogs, guides, and tourists. As the dogs and mushers weave their way around a specific terrain, the paths, textures, and contours of that terrain become two things. First, they become a meshwork of lines unfolding along a landscape, trails continuously emerging from the personalized, familiar, and novel routes taken by those beings inhabiting that place. Second, they become incorporated into the “embodied capacities of movement, awareness and response” of the beings threading their way there (Ingold, 2011, p. 47; Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The landscape is not something that humans feel or that

conditions perception; it concurrently arranges the felt space as something humans do (Bille & Simonsen, 2021).

In touristic mushing, it is necessarily also something the dogs do. The practices of the dogs do not necessarily follow the practices that the atmospheric norms of the tourism industry require, and mushers are sometimes forced to, for instance, stop a safari when those practices are made visible (Bille & Simonsen, 2021). The kennel and its surroundings become a space composed of micro-spaces and micro-events; for example, the facilities have a variety of functions for various routines (Jones, 2013), and the presence and actions of the dogs alter them. The dogs thus play their full part in the ongoing production of the local mushing landscape. Through their living presence and agency, they shape both the material and conceptual composition of the landscape in ways that respond to and exceed the needs of the tourism industry. As Ingold (2011) suggests, they should be distinguished as agents rather than mere inanimate objects, such as debris on the ground and the various artefacts, that also characterize the landscape.

Conclusion: Landscapes as Multispecies Matters

I have set out to explore and illustrate the ways in which a local tourist landscape is constantly (re)forming through materiality and the presence and practices of living beings—perhaps most importantly, the sled dogs. Through their presence and skilled actions, the dogs play their full part in the landscape's formation by attuning to the norms created by the tourism industry. However, that very presence can also bring dissonance to the scene. The events of attunement and rupture work as blots on the sensescape and taskscape of mushing and on our presence in the world (Vannini & Vannini, 2018). The blots are patterns of the landscape, which (re)forms in both the actual encounters and those taking place through the affective traces derived from the collection of multimodal empirical data.

I have further suggested that the presence and actions of the dogs in the landscape is articulated within and through the atmospheric practices of affecting and being affected (Bille & Simonsen, 2021). In the atmospheric practices of mushing, the locus of power is constantly being negotiated between the dogs and the musher, with each alternately gaining the upper hand. Perhaps going off the trail is the ultimate achievement of mutual attunement to the landscape. At the other end of the spectrum lay accidents, where mutual attunement is sharply ruptured. The atmospheric practices of mushing change not only the conceptual boundaries of the tourist landscape but also the material composition of the landscape. As a result, the rather timeless and unchanging tourist landscape of purely human orderings is defined further through the doings of both humans and dogs. The tourist landscape becomes a continuously regenerating mushing landscape—both materially and affectually—knotted together through the lives of the dog and human inhabitants. The dogs are key contributors to these atmospheric practices, and indeed to the mushing landscape itself, as a meshwork of interwoven material and affective trails. The dogs, alongside many other nonhuman animals, are part of the fabric and sociality of tourist landscapes, thus making these concerns unavoidably multispecies matters.

I have attempted to offer fair representations of my recorded sled dog–human encounters and to introduce the human subjects and readers of the study to the unexpected presences and articulations of sled dogs. Even so, the effects of anthropocentrism are difficult to escape. I acknowledge that the developed narratives are my own—not the dogs’, or even the mushers’—and thus I present only a partial account of the mushing landscape (Dashper, 2020). The mushing landscape must be “frozen” for a while to investigate and depict it, an act that itself makes new blots upon the constantly evolving meshwork (Elixhauser et al., 2018). Moreover, a number of the individual dogs and other living beings—such as the mosquitoes in summer (Valtonen et al., 2020)—that contribute to the making of the landscape are not

covered in the present study. The act of freezing the non-representational mushing landscape is unavoidably also an act of exclusion, which may result, in the worst case, in a newly bounded tourist landscape. Nevertheless, blots made by the living beings—including the researcher—are rather useful patterns of the landscape, as they give us the opportunity to develop and act more ethically towards nonhuman animals.

It is still necessary to go much further in attempting to understand animal presences and their contribution to our shared ways of knowing the (tourist) landscape. This understanding would allow for an acknowledgement of the different intelligences of humans and nonhuman animals (Brown & Dilley, 2012; Ingold, 2013), and it would also aid in facing the challenges of knowing and representing nonhuman animals' atmospheres (Lorimer et al., 2019). By moving with and attending to the atmospheric practices of nonhuman animals and the blots upon them, we can widen our capacities for knowing, thus contributing to a more ethical (re)formation of multispecies landscapes.

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