Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/sjht20

Moving Places: Multiple Temporalities of a Peripheral Tourism Destination

Katrín Anna Lund[a] & Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson[a]

[a] Institute of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, Iceland

Published online: 30 Oct 2014.

To cite this article: Katrín Anna Lund & Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson (2014) Moving Places: Multiple Temporalities of a Peripheral Tourism Destination, Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 14:4, 441-459, DOI: 10.1080/15022250.2014.967996

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2014.967996

Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 2014
Vol. 14, No. 4, 441–459, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2014.967996

Moving Places: Multiple Temporalities of a Peripheral Tourism Destination

KATRÍN ANNA LUND & GUNNAR THÓR JÓHANNESSON

Institute of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, Iceland

ABSTRACT *In this paper we take departure from an ontological understanding of the new mobilities paradigm for exploring the emergence of a peripheral tourism destination. The Strandir region is a sparsely populated and remote area in North-Western Iceland, where tourism has become an increasingly important factor in enhancing regional image and local economies. Still, like all places, Strandir has always been entangled in different kinds of mobilities that enact diverse temporalities and spaces. This paper traces the movement of Strandir in relation to centre and periphery with a focus on how the road connecting the region to the rest of the country affects its present position. By journeying on the main road running through the region we explore how it both serves to cement Strandir as a place on the periphery and plays part in the continuing creation of the place by affording connections to other routes and pathways, most recently tourism mobilities. In order to illustrate further the continuous movement of Strandir, we make a stop at Djúpavík, where a disused herring factory has become a central tourist attraction. Its accomplishment as a relational ordering is traced as well as how it crumbled when some of its parts did not act according to a plan. However, the factory is not a passive space; it is full of life, and just as the road it has creative capacities that keep Strandir moving and tangled in multiple temporalities.*

KEY WORDS: mobilities, place, periphery, routes, temporalities, Iceland, Strandir

Introduction

We start this paper in the living room at Munaðarnes, an old farm that today serves as the summer residence for Guðmundur Jónsson and his family. Munaðarnes is located at the end of a narrow strip of a dirt road that goes about three and a half kilometres from Norðurfjörður in Strandir region, in North-West Iceland, the place where the road ends. The road (Strandavegur no. 643) that goes through the Strandir region, from Hólmavík in the south to Norðurfjörður in the north, is a so-called connecting road (Tengivegur), which is of a secondary category in the Icelandic road system. It is in a poor condition compared to many other roads of this type. It is unpaved and windy and mostly threads the mountains that tower above the narrow coastline of the region. Although there is no doubt that the construction of the road in 1966 initiated a modern turn regarding

Correspondence Address: Katrín Anna Lund, Institute of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, Iceland. E-mail: kl@hi.is

connectivity for the region (Einangrun Árneshrepps rofin, 1965), it also disconnected it (Dalakoglou & Harvey, 2012; Harvey, 2001) as it austerely altered the inhabitants' mobile practices. As such, it works as an interface of continuity and change, providing alternative possibilities for connection while also signalling separation in time and space (Harvey, 2012). We want to get some insights from Guðmundur about people's mobile practices in and around Strandir in the past and the present. We are studying how the Strandir region has changed in recent years and increasingly moved into becoming a tourist destination. Our intention is to trace this change or movement by attending to diverse mobilities related to the area.

Guðmundur is leaning back in his chair while we interview him (the interview was conducted in Icelandic and translated by the authors). Sólveig, his wife, is in the kitchen preparing the coffee. They are both in their 70s and they emphasise to us how their phase of life has slowed down. They describe themselves as migrant birds that come during the summer to relax which is different from earlier when they took care of the farmstead, which had been hard work.

Q. Are you born here or...?

G. Yes. Born and bred, oh yes, lived here until 2005.

Q. And then you moved to the city...?

G. No we moved to Grundarfjörður [West Iceland]. We thought it was enough to go there. I don't know how to be in Reykjavík, I've hardly been there and have never managed to get into the traffic and things ... I got to know Grundarfjörður a bit in the old days, I used to go there for the fishing season as a young man for a few years and I liked it there. And then my sons went there too for the fishing season and settled there and then my four daughters went there too.

Q. So you are living with the family. Was it common that the men from here went away during the fishing season?

G. In the old days! Yes it was common. I think I went about three times to Grundarfjörður and then it was the herring in the summer. It was common that after Christmas the men would go somewhere to the south. There was no work here in the winter. That's how it was.

Q. And when the herring factories were operating here then there was plenty of work in the summer?

G. Yes there was plenty of work during that time...

Q. How did you travel when going south for the fishing season?

G. By ship. We took Skaldbreiður [the ship]. It went from Reykjavík to Akureyri, where it turned. That was the schedule and we took it on its way back to Reykjavík. Sometimes you took it all the way to where one was going, or one only took it to Blönduós and from there by bus to the south, or from Hólmavík. It just depended on weather and other possibilities.

Q. So the ship stopped in Norðurfjörður?

G. It always came to Norðurfjörður. It sailed into every single fjord, Ingólfsfjörður, Norðurfjörður, Djúpavík, Gjögur and into Bitrufjörður, it stopped by Borðeyri ... it went to every single place. No one was in a hurry as people are nowadays. This was very good service. ...It came every fortnight.

S. And when did you get a road here to Munaðarnes?

G. I think it was 1962. Hell of a struggle it was, it needed much more exploding than expected. And then it was finally done and it was fine but now it is awful.

Q: A bit bumpy...

G. But I do not get any funding for maintaining it. I have applied a couple of times but had rejections. It is not only us using it, it's also the tourists during the summer.

Q. Really!

G. My goodness yes, sometimes busloads every day.

Q. Buses?

G. Yes they are looking at Drangaskörð.

Q. Yes, of course they are frequently photographed from here.

G. Indeed. People are lining up to take photos. There are quite a lot of foreigners that come here.

This snippet from the interview with Guðmundur evokes questions about mobility and gives a reason to critically think about the concept of new mobilities especially in relation to sparsely populated places which often are defined as marginal providing a sense of immobile lifeworlds of local people. Guðmundur, on the other hand, describes a very mobile life in the past as well as in the present and underlines that life in the area has always depended on diverse kinds of mobile practices. Obviously, conditions have changed not the least because of changing technologies. In the past he talks about the ship that moved both cargo and people from one place to another every fortnight, which allowed him to travel to places in other regions for work during the fishing season when there was no work in Strandir. He points to several choices of how to arrange his travels subject to conditions, for example regarding the weather, and emphasises how good the service was. Now, no ships embark Norðurfjörður other than small fishing boats. Guðmundur appears less mobile due to age, but after he moved away the road has allowed him to drive to his native place to rest during the summer months. The rhythm of life for the elderly couple has slowed down. They are like migrant birds, they say, and thus relate to some of the more regular rhythms of nature that have shaped life in Strandir. Other, sometimes fast-changing and unpredictable rhythms include the cod fishing, the herring fisheries in the first

half of the twentieth century, and the traditional sheep farming as well as driftwood, which was a crucial building material in an un-forested country. All these routes were vital for the livelihood of the people in the area in past times and some still are, such as eider-ducks, cod fishing and farming. Today, however, a new actor has entered the scene, in the form of travellers who have begun to provide important economic benefits to the region. During the summer tourists, sometimes in busloads, follow the main road and some go even all the way up to where the road ends. There, Guðmundur's native centre represents the geographical edge for other people's mobile worlds. Strandir has become tangled into a global current of tourism. Tourism has added a new variety into the region's mobile dimensions and is affecting its position in relation to centre and periphery.

Strandir, as a place, is on the move. Here we intend to explore this movement with reference to different mobile practices of which tourism mobilities are a recent example. We argue for an ontological approach to tourism mobilities that underlines that mobility of some sort is a basic condition of life. From this approach, places emerge through relational ordering of mobile practices. They are alive in the sense that they emerge through creative currents of the world where everything is tangled (see Ingold, 2011). Hence, we would like to by-pass a dualistic notion of mobility and immobility that frames it as movement between predefined and stable nodes within a network and rather bring forth how (tourist) places emerge through mobile practices, such as driving that enact diverse temporalities and spaces.

We will start our travel with a discussion about the road mentioned above that stretches up the region and forms the spine of current connections to tourism. Most tourists in the region are independent travellers. They have their own car, often a rental car, and thus driving is a central mode of experiencing and enacting the place as a tourist destination. The road has been imperative to move Strandir in different directions in relation to centre and periphery, once being a symbol of modernisation but now a gateway into the past. Second, we make a stop at the side of the road, in a run-down herring factory in Djúpavík, Reykjafjörður. The factory provides another example of how Strandir continues to emerge as a topological space in which past and present are entangled. It attracts tourists and through its interplay with the road it urges them to slow down and stop for a while. The best way to explore the factory and its surroundings is on foot. From a distance it seems to be a dead piece of concrete, a ruin of lost dreams of modernity, but at closer look it is a site of various processes of creativity and alternative connections that keep Strandir moving or tangled in creative currents of life. Thus, instead of looking at how the region has undergone changes that contrast the immobilities of the past from the mobile present, we shall move along the road in a timeless presence as we explore its connective qualities or how different temporalities materialise in the course of the journey.

Moving Places

The interview with Guðmundur was taken in relation to a study that aimed to explore the emergence of the Strandir region as a tourist destination. The Strandir region is a sparsely populated and remote area, situated on the eastern side of the Westfjords peninsula, North-West Iceland. The administrative centre is the village of Hólmavík,

with little less than 400 inhabitants. Hólmavík now has good road connections to the rest of the country after a new road was opened in 2010 across a mountain range to the south, shortening the travel distance to the capital of Reykjavík by approximately 1 hour. In this paper, however, we focus on Strandavegur no. 643, the road stretching from Hólmavík up north all the way to Norðurfjörður. During the summers of 2011 and 2012, we drove several times up and down this approximately 100 km stretch of road (Figure 1).

Sometimes we travelled the road together; sometimes one of us went accompanied by a research assistant to gather information about tourism development in the area (Gunnarsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2014). We conducted semi-structured interviews with all of the tourism entrepreneurs in Strandir who operated businesses during the period July 2011–July 2012, as well as municipality leaders and rural development advisors. Our data gathering also included participant observation, informal discussions with tour operators, local inhabitants and tourists, as well as written sources and photographs. This paper is based on our own experiences as travellers through the region, a place that neither of us had visited before June 2011 and supported by our observations and analysis of data and field notes.

The Strandir region has traditionally relied on agriculture and fisheries, but during the last 15 years a slow but steady development of tourism activities has been taking place. An indicator of the increasing importance of tourism is that the number of overnight stays in the region rose by 36% between 2008 and 2010 (Statistics Iceland, 2013). Between 2010 and 2012 approximately 18,700 overnight stays were registered per year in the region. It is interesting to note that in the last three years the number of international tourists has steadily increased, and in 2012 foreign visitors made up about 60% of overnight stays in the region. It is safe to say that the Strandir region is off the beaten tourist track in Iceland. Approximately 96% of all incoming tourists arrive in Keflavík international airport on the South-West corner of the island (Ferðamálastofa, 2013). It is about three hours drive from the capital area of Reykjavík to Hólmavík, and approximately another two hours' drive north to Norðurfjörður. Some organised bus tours have been available in the area, but both the road and available accommodation have been a limiting factor.

Nature is most likely the prime attraction in the Strandir region as elsewhere in Iceland (Ferðamálastofa, 2012). The area has a distinctive sub-arctic landscape with steep mountains and limited and barren lowland. However, one of the main attractions of the region is the Museum of Icelandic Sorcery and Witchcraft, located in Hólmavík (see http://www.galdrasyning.is/). In many ways its establishment in 2000 initiated a turn to tourism in the region and it has been an important actor in framing the image of Strandir as a place of magic and mystique (Gunnarsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2014; Lund, in press). On the way from Hólmavík to Norðurfjörður, there are other notable attractions, of which the old herring factory in Djúpavík is one of the most significant. Along the Strandavegur road there are about four locations in which tourists gather because there is accommodation, restaurant, gallery or museum to be found, sometimes a combination of those. These were the spots the road directed us to, and we stopped there for refreshments and to converse with the inhabitants, owners and managers of the places in question, as well as the tourists that were on the same route as us. Every time the road itself, in some way, became the topic of discussion, the reason

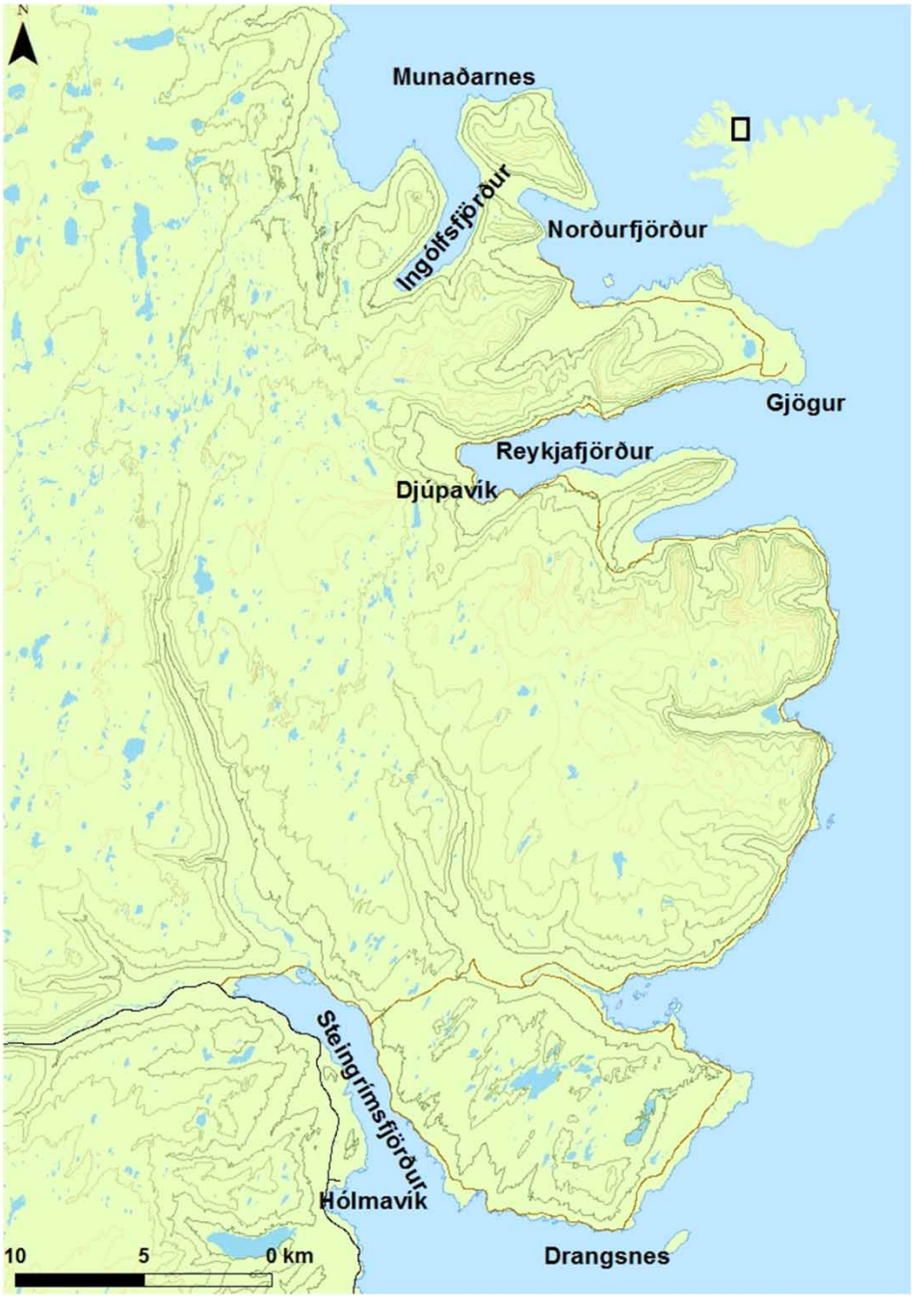

Figure 1. Map of the Strandir region. Design: Friðþór Sófus Sigurmundsson (used with permission).

being its conditions and its effect on tourism mobilities, both as a negative and limiting factor and as a positive component for the image of the region as mythical and authentic or even as a place providing a glimpse into the past.

As such, the road opens up for different conditions that allow for increasing connections in a world in which rhythms of life have got "'wrapped up' within mobile systems" (Elliot & Urry, 2010, p. 5); modern mobile systems that serve to order places and shape infrastructures that cut across boundaries, connect distant regions and open up for flow of traffic. This is one of the basic messages of the new mobilities paradigm (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2006). As for instance Cresswell (2010) notes, there is hardly anything new about the importance of mobilities for human societies, and although the focus on mobilities may be fairly recent in social sciences, studies of mobility and mobile methodologies in general have precursors in anthropology, not least in relation to critical discussions about the concept of the field (see, e.g. Appadurai, 1991; Clifford, 1997a, 1997b; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995).

As Clifford (1997b) notes, the field was usually constituted through a mix of practices of dwelling and travelling, with the latter often being neglected. The field was described as a clearly demarcated and bounded entity, more or less static, being on the periphery compared to the bustling centre or home base of the Western anthropologist. In the face of globalisation, it became more and more apparent that the field was more fluid, composed and sustained by various mobile practices (Marcus, 1995). In effect, the field has increasingly become thought of as a mobile construct; a relational accomplishment that has no clear-cut cultural or geographical boundaries. In de Laet's words: "It [the field] should rather be considered as the object's *range*: a space that is performed by the travel of objects and an observer on-the-move" (de Laet, 2000, pp. 167–168, original italics). In the present context, Strandavegur no. 643 defines the field of our study. It is through the road and the mobile practices it channels and (re)enacts that we (partially) get to know the Strandir region and its connections to tourism mobilities.

This stance further links to an ontological approach to mobilities that also stems partly from anthropology and frames our understanding of the new mobilities paradigm (see e.g. Ingold, 2000, 2006; Latour, 1993, 2005; Martin, 1997; McLean, 2009). This is the idea that movement is at the heart of every ordering effect, be it tourist destination, a factory or a road, and we as researchers cannot help but take part in and affect this movement (Law, 2004). As such, places are ordering effects and are constantly in play (Sheller & Urry, 2004). They do not stay in one location but move "about within networks of agents, human and non-human" (Hetherington, 1997, p. 185). Roads, buildings, humans and animals as well as earthly substances such as water and wind may all play a role in such a network. Importantly, the "network" Hetherington refers to is a topological space "of ordering and continuity of transformation in which past and present coexist" (Lury, 2013, p. 129). This may seem far from the daily experiences of people in Strandir or elsewhere, but it first of all highlights that mobile practices are generative; they draw together diverse temporalities and enact places as topological spaces. According to Lury, Parisi, and Terranova (2012) culture and society are in general becoming topological in that the capacity to change is a central ordering principle of life. They state:

> [In] a topological society, we no longer live in or experience 'movement' or transformation as the transmission of fixed forms in space and time but rather movement – as the ordering of continuity – composes the forms of social and cultural life themselves. This is not, of course, a matter of one rationality displacing the other, but of their overlapping and mutual implication such that the continuity of movement – or the continuum – becomes fundamental to contemporary culture. (Lury et al., 2012, p. 6)

The demand to meet and cope with change is evident to the inhabitants in the Strandir region. Changes in the natural environment, regulatory structures and techniques in regard to agriculture and fisheries have led to outmigration during the last decades that has only recently found a balance (Gunnarsdóttir & Jóhannesson, 2014; Thorgrímsdóttir & Kristjánsson, 2008). Tourism has emerged as an alternative pillar in the local economy and is arguably a significant reason for the relatively high level of service the inhabitants closest to Hólmavík have access to. As mentioned above, tourism mobilities are however only one more dimension of the continuous becoming – or movement – of Strandir.

The road, connecting Strandir to the rest of the country in 1966, has become crucial for the enactment of Strandir and defines in many ways the position of the region in relation to centre and periphery. The road not only orders place in terms of how it directs people's travel to and from it but also brings about how the region emerges as a topological space where multiple temporalities meet and intersect. As Harvey (2012) notes, roads are often framed in technological terms as concrete or stable lines of connections. Thus, "they do not conjure the image of plasticity and continual change that topological approaches are generally concerned with" (p. 79). Roads are indeed constructed to order movement through space and they are intended to last and stabilise particular routes between places. While Strandavegur road has fulfilled this role and channels diverse mobile practices, its enactment draws together diverse temporalities of the Strandir region and thus continues to produce Strandir as a topological space. As such, it works as an interface of continuity and change. It is not only a manifestation of a particular order that is intended to last but also provides alternative possibilities for connection and change (Harvey, 2012).

As Harvey (2010) emphasises in her study about the materiality of cement and roads in Peru, it is concrete that manifests move to modernity. Thus it can be said that, although the road in Strandir was one which promised connectivity with the future in 1966, today it signifies connections that have been unfinished, that have somewhat been left behind. Visitors might easily get the feeling that they are driving into the past or to the very edge of modernity where the time has reached a standstill. This is partly due to the cultural landscape one drives past. A few abandoned farms, some derelict others renovated as summer houses, as well as occasional sightings of unattended boats bear witness to how the past was more lively. Not least however, the material condition of the road evokes the feeling of a periphery and inertia. The fact that the road is a dirt road means that even more than other types of roads, it has a life of its own as it entwines with ever-changing natural forces, water and air. During winter it is often closed due to snow, thus severely limiting the mobility of people. During spring it sometimes becomes so wet and muddy that it will not sustain the heavy trucks used

Figure 2. The Strandavegur road no. 643. Image: Katrín Anna Lund.

to transport goods. During summer it remains challenging to drive for those not accustomed to gravel roads. The road is narrow, with twists and turns, and one often has to drive slowly and take care not to hit large stones sticking out of its surface or that have fallen off the mountain. Many of the inhabitants see the condition of the road as proof that they have been left behind and think the central as well as municipal authorities should take better care of the infrastructure in the region. The limited service to the road is especially felt during winter when it is, for instance, not cleared for snow from 5 January to 20 March except for particular parts of the region (Vegagerðin, 2012) (Figure 2).

It is evident that the connectivity the Strandavegur road affords is not only spatial, but also temporal, although neither follows the two-directional quality of the road. As Serres argues, time is not a linear pass from the past to the present but always folded and crumbled together. In his words:

> Time does not always flow according to a line [. . .] nor according to a plan but, rather, according to an extraordinary complex mixture, as though it reflected stopping points, ruptures, deep wells, chimneys of thunderous acceleration, rendings, gaps – all sown at random, at least in a visible disorder. [. . .] and thus things that are very close can exist in culture, but the line makes them appear very distant from one another. (Serres with Latour, 1995, p. 57)

Similarly, Merleau-Ponty (2002, p. 487) points out that the sense for time "arises from [...] relations to things". The temporalities of a place like Strandir are, in other words, enacted through encounters and relations to things, such as roads, material artefacts or other material currents of life. When one drives Strandavegur it moves you through time as well as space. It channels the movement as well as offering the traveller connections that enact Strandir as a place. The relational capacities of the road (re)enact Strandir when entangled to the mobile practices of travellers driving in their car, engaging with its ever-changing material form and encountering other routes, human and non-human.

Entanglements at the Side of the Road[1]

As pointed out earlier, Strandir as a region has historically relied on various routes in relation to human as well as non-human movements; movements which one becomes aware of when moving along the present road through how they entangle, and on occasions knot up. The seashore, in some places, is covered with driftwood which the currents have carried all the way from Siberia while migrating birds such as eider-ducks swim gently on the sea between the rocks that stick up from the rock-strewn beach. Both driftwood and eider-ducks are not only welcome visitors but indispensable inhabitants providing important substitute to the traditional farming activities. Variety of life at the shore continues to underline the importance of the ocean's currents as a lifeline in numerous ways; seals resting on rocks, arctic terns and puffins playfully diving for food while oyster catchers lay their eggs among the stones between the road and the shore. The ocean and it surroundings are full of movement where heterogeneity of different lifeworlds, birds, fish and mammals, entangle. Caught up in the entanglement are the humans, the people who live in, travel to and from and through Strandir. The sense for this entanglement becomes even stronger as one moves along the winding gravel road that connects those who travel firmly to the ground and restricts the speed of the vehicle. However, in contrast to Harvey's (2010, 2012) discussion about the paved road as the route to modernity, the modern era, in the form of cement, appeared in Strandir long before the road, thanks to a fruitful combination of the ocean, herring and venture capital. As Guðmundur mentioned earlier, the herring factories that operated in the region in the 1940s and 1950s provided plenty of work. It was in 1934 that a modern factory building started operating in Djúpavík, at the bottom of Reykjarfjörður, the biggest factory building in Iceland at that time and the main herring plant in Strandir. Like many people in the region, Guðmundur must have travelled there either by foot or most likely by boat during summer, as this was over 30 years before the road was laid. Still, the factory not only provided work for people in the region but also from all over Iceland who travelled by ships to Djúpavík for the herring season. And, to build the factory, which only took a year, all the material, equipments and workers were moved there by sea. Most importantly, the deep fjord gave a direct access to the herring grounds that were looming about underwater.

Although the sea provided routes for travel in the past, it can also be a barrier when the natural forces of wind and water play up and the towering mountains underline the feeling of vulnerability that such closure can impart. However, as Guðmundur hints at in the interview snippet earlier, means of transport were generally good in relative

terms. In a newspaper review about life in Strandir in 1966, a local farmer discusses the value of mountain passes as walking routes to reach different places within the region (Þegar Árneshreppur var ríkasta sveitarfélag landsins, 1966). Ásdís, an elderly lady from Norðurfjörður, tells us that the mountain passes were mainly used for travelling locally for goods and services before the ships became more frequent, but boats were also used. Today, Reykjarfjörður and Djúpavík are empty of ships, except for the rusty remains of Suðurlandið, a shipwreck that rests on the beach beneath the factory, which was used to serve as accommodation for some of the itinerant workers at the herring factory. On occasions a kayak or a sailing boat may appear on the fjord with visiting tourists, but the fjord is not an organised commuting route for ships or boats anymore. The mountain routes are rarely used for passing to other places except sporadically by hikers and sheep. Currently, the ocean is thus far from the all-pervading figure for the livelihood of people in Strandir compared to the past when it provided both means for subsistence and movement. Today, it is the road that defines the position of Strandir in relation to centre and periphery. The way to Djúpavík is by the road. It has, however, turned from a bustling factory village into one of the main tourist attractions in the Strandir region.

When driving on the road into the Reykjafjörður fjord the sudden appearance of the small hamlet of Djúpavík creates an aura of something out of place; a huge white and grey building with a tall chimney reaching up from it, surrounded by few colourful wooden houses boarded with corrugated iron. Down at the shoreline lies the rest of the Suðurlandið and little further out in the sea stands the last remains of a wooden pier constructed at the same time as the factory. The road leads to the factory and one drives around it in a steep turn that necessarily slows people down. The present serenity of the factory building is in stark contrast to the dramatic rupture its construction signalled in 1934. The huge factory building can arguably be said to have brought modernity to the place. Herring fisheries started relatively late in Iceland, but in the 1930s onwards it became increasingly industrialised and provided crucial foreign currency for the country, as it went through a phase of rapid modernisation during the Second World War and immediate post-war years (Magnússon, 1993; Sigurðsson et al., 2007). This power and capital of modernity materialised itself in the construction of the factory, initiated by a group of businesspersons from the capital of Reykjavík (Figure 3).

As Harvey (2010) points out, concrete has "charged presence in the history of the modern built environment" (p. 29). The materiality of concrete provides a sense of stability and order and that is one of its attractive qualities as a building material and reason for its deployment in "unruly settings and all kinds of environmental conditions" (Harvey, 2010, p. 30). However, far from being dead material that fixes things once and for all, like other types of ordering, concrete depends on relations for holding shape (see e.g. Latour, 2005; Law, 1986, 1994). In the case of the Djúpavík herring factory, the move to modernisation was dependent on nature. It was based on an imbalanced entanglement of humans and non-humans through which human power was meant to capture and order nature for its own good; the fickle movement of herring under the water around the coastline of Iceland. The herring, however, is not used to behaving according to a plan and in this case it did not announce its departure. In 1956, after some years of decline in the herring fisheries in the North-West of

Figure 3. The Djúpavík Hamlet with the old herring factory seen from the road. Image: Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson.

Iceland, it was decided to close down the factory. The closure underlines the vulnerability of human forces in every ordering attempt and explicitly manifested in the now-hollow factory that once promised prosperity (e.g. Harvey, 2010). An era of modernity had come to an end and the factory building was abandoned to decay.

As DeSilvey and Edensor point out, ruins "testify to what has been left behind by creative destruction and collapsed regimes with unfulfilled dreams" (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013, p. 471). The creative destruction manifests itself in how concrete is a "material that binds together elements that otherwise refuse or fail to cohere" (Harvey, 2010, p. 28). Through the fragile nature of the cement emerge the different temporalities of the more-than-human world that are not gently entangled but tensely knotted up in the walls of the factory. When entering Djúpavík one cannot ignore the factory, as it dominates the place not the least because of the sense of spatio-temporal irregularity it imposes as something in place that simultaneously has fallen out of place and, even, has no place (see Edensor, 2005). Following DeSilvey and Edensor (2013), we classify the factory building as a ruin which they point out is a term that has "a nuanced meaning, and can refer to both object [a ruin] and process [to ruin]" (p. 466). Still the Djúpavík ruin is in process in more than one sense because as a tourist attraction it is also consciously kept in condition as a ruin. Thus, although a concrete pillar of wrecked promises, it also indicates a direction into the future.

As mentioned above, the Djúpavík herring factory is a key tourist attraction in the region. It is owned by two of the first tourism entrepreneurs in Strandir, Eva and Ási, who opened a hotel in the old female quarter, the biggest corrugated building in Djúpavík hamlet in 1985. They are the only inhabitants of Djúpavík today (see http://www.djupavik.com). The magnitude of the factory building lures many visitors to stop and take a closer look at what from a distance seems a stone cold ruin. When we first arrived to Djúpavík in June 2011 we did the same as many tourists, stopped and before heading to the hotel for a conversation with Eva, walked around the surroundings of the factory and explored it from the outside.

A close up confrontation with the ruin's walls reveals the creative destruction, and the imbalanced human and non-human entanglement through which the factory was constructed transpires. Earthly substances such as air and water have made their ways around, through and into the cement where they quietly simmer inside the walls, cracking their outer layers as the substances find their way out, simultaneously creating habitats for vegetation and insects. At the same time, it is also apparent how Ási and Eva put their efforts into maintaining the ruins as the main attraction in the area, making sure that it will not become dangerous to those passing by and a space of apprehension. They do that by repairing the cracked walls with cement and paint and by maintaining the ruin's support which makes the infrastructure and shell stay safely in one piece. However, the process of natural destruction, or how the time has passed and left its mark, is simultaneously allowed to remain, giving a glimpse into the past which fostered the dream that vanished (Figures 4 and 5).

Eva and Ási have offered organised tours through the factory for some years now. Inside the factory, the narration of the golden years of Djúpavík continues and holds in hand with the more-than-human processes of creative destruction the factory has now become subject to. While parts of the ruin are closed due to unsafe conditions others are open to visitors. Behind the main entrance into the factory one can find an exhibition about the history of the building as it is told, with a help of a guide, through old photographs and parts of the old machinery. Grey and damp walls and the sometimes uneven floor manifest the slow but steady destruction while also providing a glimpse into times of immense construction. The size of the factory and the manpower that went into constructing it is emphasised as well as how Djúpavík was thriving with vitality. The story of the businessmen from the capital of Reykjavík is told in a rather straightforward way; a story of men with capital who had spotted the opportunity to harness the rich herring grounds in the Húnaflói bay from Djúpavík (Matthíasson, 1973). The story tells a tale which is simultaneously about heroes and anti-heroes. It is a heroic story because the factory created desperately needed jobs for local people as well as others during the herring season. Despite most of the generated profit leaking out of the region, it had immense socio-economic impacts in the region for people who relied on small-scale farming and fisheries and had limited access to hard currency. The heroes, however, failed to carve the future in concrete, as the period of modernity came to an abrupt ending. In a newspaper report from 1965, the Chairman of Árneshreppur district council laments the status of the region on the periphery but is optimistic that the new road that was then being built would change that position (Einangrun Árneshrepps rofin, 1965). "We have waited and hoped that the herring would come back but it has not happened yet", he said to a

Figure 4. A window of the factory where moss and grass is growing through the cement. Image: Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson.

visiting reporter (p. 8). Although it is clear that the Djúpavík factory will never process herring again, it has never come to a full stop. It still has capacities to create and enact connections to and for the future of Strandir.

Figure 5. A guide giving a tour through the Djúpavík herring factory. Image: Katrín Anna Lund.

Ruins "provide spaces for unstructured play, exploration and experimentation" (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013, p. 476), transforming them into spaces of improvisation and creativity. When walking through the historical exhibition one can spot examples of this within enclosed spaces in which old wrecks of cars and vehicles are standing, but one of Ási's passions is to fix old cars. At the back of the factory is another space which is open to visitors where a gallery is to be found bringing in a variety of exhibitions by artists from Iceland and abroad. During the summer of 2013, seven photographers from Iceland, Germany, Denmark, Austria, Poland and Switzerland featured their work in an exhibition called "Steypa" or "Concrete" in direct English translation. At the back of the factory ruin disused oil tanks attract artists to use its echoing acoustic to create sound art and on occasion concerts are performed. Thus, the ruin as space that reached an endpoint continues its vitality through different trails "of growth" (Ingold, 2006, p. 13) in a similar manner as Deleuze and Guttari describe how the rhizome that may have been "shattered at a given spot, [. . .] will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines" (Deleuze & Guttari, 2004, p. 10). In the case of the factory, it continues to narrate the modernist dream that broke dramatically only to spread new seeds for growth. What orders this growth is the road that as an unfulfilled promise of connectivity for the region continuous to bring in visitors to tangle up and take part in the ongoing processes of creativity.

Conclusions

In this paper we explore place enactments in Strandir region, Iceland, by engaging with multiple temporalities of material structures in the form of the road and the Djúpavík herring factory. By doing that we are following past and present mobilities, contributing to the understanding that places are continuously on the move, and in order to study places one needs to entangle with their heterogeneous movements. As researchers, we directly participate in improvising and creating the places we study as we move along the routes and trails they afford. This approach emphasises a non-dualistic understanding of (im)mobilities and seeks to trace those in their making.

The new mobilities paradigm has been imperative in bringing attention to how diverse mobilities shape and organise our society and culture. As emphasised, it is important to critically consider the concept of new mobilities in relation to sparsely populated places, which often evoke the image of immobility. As the extract from the interview with Guðmundur and Sólveig at the beginning brought about, mobilities have always played large parts in people's lives, even in sparsely populated and marginal places. This paper argues for an ontological approach to tourism mobilities that highlights how mobilities of some sort are a basic condition of life. From this approach, places become through relational ordering of mobile practices. They are alive, in the sense that they emerge through creative currents of the world where everything is tangled (see Ingold, 2011). The paper describes how Strandir, a peripheral region in Iceland is continuously moving in a network of different mobile practices that enact diverse temporalities and spaces. We focused on the Strandavegur road that stretches through the region and channels contemporary movement of locals and visitors. The construction of the road in the 1960s signalled a connection to modernity that was never fulfilled. Currently the road underlines the peripheral position of Strandir in relation to other parts of the country. However, the road is not only a passive construction that fixes traffic through the region, but also it has creative capacities, as it affords relations between different routes of movement of human and non-human agents that continue to enact Strandir as a place.

We made a stop by a ruin of a herring factory in Djúpavík in order to further explore heterogeneous entanglements that move Strandir. The building of the factory was an earlier promise of modernity in the region that was short lived. The factory exemplifies an attempt to grasp unruly natural conditions into a human order of industrialisation and capitalism. It was intended to cement relations between nature and culture through human controlling of natural resources. When the herring disappeared from the area the business went bust while the building remained. Now it stands as a ruin, a matter out of place although still very much in place through its intense presence. Its presence in the hamlet of Djúpavík knots up different mobile practices and multiple temporalities in which tourists are increasingly engaged. Ruins as spaces of creative destruction may provide opportunities for "unstructured play, exploration and experimentation" (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013, p. 476). This is the case of the Djúpavík herring factory, which provides an example of how Strandir continues to emerge as a topological space in which past and present are entangled, currently partially through tourism mobilities. When travelling through the region tourists become participants in the enactment of Strandir as a place, which relates to multiple temporalities. When driving along the

road one engages with the materialities of the road and gets aware and entangled with some of the human as well as non-human currents that have shaped Strandir and continue to do so. The factory attracts tourists who are invited to engage and explore it and its surroundings and thus become entangled with the movements of Strandir, participating in its continuous creation and carving directions into the future.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the University of Iceland Research Fund and the Chair in Arctic Tourism. Destination Development in the Arctic (2010–2012), hosted by Finnmark University College, Alta, Norway, and financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We thank all those who took part in the research as well as Guðrún Þóra Gunnarsdóttir and Gísli Rafn Guðmundsson, who assisted us with the data collection. We thank Friðþór Sófus Sigurmundsson for his assistance with map making.

Note

1. This subtitle refers to the title of Kathleen Stewart's book *Space at the side of the road* (1996).

References

Appadurai, A. (1991). Global ethnoscapes: Notes and queries for a transnational anthropology. In R. G. Fox (Ed.), *Recapturing anthropology: Working in the present* (pp. 48–65). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Clifford, J. (1997a). *Routes: Travel and translations in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J. (1997b). Spatial practices: Fieldwork, travel, and the disciplining of anthropology. In A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (Eds.), *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science* (pp. 52–91). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Mobilities I: Catching up. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*, 550–558. doi:10.1177/0309132510383348

Dalakoglou, D., & Harvey, P. (2012). Roads and anthropology: Ethnographic perspectives on space, time and (im)mobility. *Mobilities*, *7*, 459–465. doi:10.1080/17450101.2012.718426

Deleuze, G., & Guttari, F. (2004). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: The Continuum.

DeSilvey, C., & Edensor, T. (2013). Reckoning with ruins. *Progress in Human Geography*, *37*, 465–485. doi: 10.1177/0309132512462271

Edensor, T. (2005). Waste matter – the debris of industrial ruins and the disordering of the material world. *Journal of Material Culture*, *10*, 311–332. doi:10.1177/1359183505057346

Einangrun Árneshrepps rofin. (1965, October 10). *Morgunblaðið*, p. 8.

Elliot, A., & Urry, J. (2010). *Mobile lives*. London: Routledge.

Ferðamálastofa. (2012). Niðurstöður könnunar Ferðamálastofu meðal erlendra ferðamanna sumarið 2011 [Survey among foreign visitors summer 2011] Retrieved September 8, 2013, from http://www.ferdamalastofa.is/is/um-ferdamalastofu/frettir/getAllItems/1/nidurstodur-konnunar-ferdamalastofu-medal-erlendra-ferdamanna-sumarid-2011

Ferðamálastofa. (2013). Fjöldi ferðamanna [Tourist arrivals] Retrieved September 8, 2013. from http://www.ferdamalastofa.is/is/tolur-og-utgafur/fjoldi-ferdamanna

Gunnarsdóttir, G. Þ., & Jóhannesson, G. T. (2014). Weaving with witchcraft: Tourism and entrepreneurship in Strandir, Iceland. In A. Viken & B. Granås (Eds.), *Destination development in tourism: Turns and tactics* (pp. 95–112). Farnham: Ashgate.

Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Hannam, K., Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, immobilites and moorings. *Mobilities*, *1*, 1–22. doi: 10.1080/17450100500489189
Hannerz, U. (2003). Being there... and there... and there! Reflections on multi-site ethnography. *Ethnography*, *4*, 201–216. doi:10.1177/14661381030042003
Harvey, P. (2001). Landscape and commerce: Creating contexts for the exercise of power. In B. Bender & M. Winer (Eds.), *Contested landscapes: Movement, exile and place* (pp. 197–210). Oxford: Berg.
Harvey, P. (2010). Cementing relations: The materiality of roads and public spaces in provincial Peru. *Social Analysis*, *54*, 28–46. doi: 10.3167/sa.2010.540203
Harvey, P. (2012). The topological quality of infrastructural relation: An ethnographic approach. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *29*, 76–92. doi: 10.1177/0263276412448827
Hetherington, K. (1997). In place of geometry: The materiality of place. In K. Hetherington & R. Munro (Eds.), *Ideas of difference: Social spaces and the labour of division.* (pp. 183–199). Oxford: Blackwell.
Ingold, T. (2000). Making culture and weaving the world. In P. M. Graves-Brown (Ed.), *Matter, materiality and modern culture* (pp. 50–71). London: Routledge.
Ingold, T. (2006). Rethinking the animate, re-animating thought. *Ethnos*, *71*(1), 9–20. doi:10.1080/00141840600603111
Ingold, T. (2011). *Being alive: Essays on movment, knowledge and description*. London: Routledge.
de Laet, M. (2000). Patents, travel, space: Ethnographic encounters with objects in transit. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *18*, 149–168. doi:10.1068/d211t
Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern*. (C. Porter, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Law, J. (1986). On the methods of long-distance control: Vessels, navigation and the Portuguese route to India. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action and belief: A new sociology of knowledge.* (pp. 234–263). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Law, J. (1994). *Organizing modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research*. London: Routledge.
Lund, K. A. (in press). Just like magic: Activating landscape of witchcraft and sorcery in rural tourism, Iceland. In S. Brunn (Ed.), *Changing world religion map*. New York: Springer.
Lury, C. (2013). Topological sense-making: Walking the mobius strip from cultural topology to topological culture. *Space and Culture*, *16*, 128–132. doi:10.1177/1206331213475780
Lury, C., Parisi, L., & Terranova, T. (2012). Introduction: The becoming topological of culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *29*, 3–35. doi: 10.1177/0263276412454552
Magnússon, M. S. (1993). Efnahagsþróun á Íslandi 1880–1990. In G. Hálfdánarson & S. Kristjánsson (Eds.), *Íslensk þjóðfélagsþróun 1880–1990* (pp. 112–214). Reykjavík: Félagsvísindastofnun & Sagnfræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands.
Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *24*, 95–117. doi:10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523
Martin, E. (1997). Anthropology and the cultural study of science: From citadels to string figures. In A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (Eds.), *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science* (pp. 131–146). Berkeley: University of California Press.
Matthíasson, T. (1973). *Hrundar borgir: Djúpavík, Ingólfsfjörður og Gjögur*. Reykjavík: Bókamiðstöðin.
McLean, S. (2009). Stories and cosmogonies: Imagining creativity beyond "nature" and "culture". *Cultural Anthropology*, *24*, 213–245. doi: 10.1111/j.1548-1360.2009.01130.x
Merleau-Ponty, M. (2002). *The Phenomenology of perception*. London: Routledge.
Serres, M., with Latour, B. (1995). *Conversations on science, culture, and time*. (R. Lapidus, trans.). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
Sheller, M. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 207–226. doi:10.1068/a37268
Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2004). Places to play, places in play. In M. Sheller & J. Urry (Eds.), *Tourism mobilities: Places to play, places in play* (pp. 1–10). London: Routledge.

Sigurðsson, B., Sigurðsson, B., Jóhannesson, G. T., Gíslason, H., Ragnarsson, H., Jakobsson, J., … Lúðvíksson, S. J. (2007). *Silfur hafsins - Gull Íslands: Síldarsaga Íslendinga* (Vol. 2). Reykjavík: Nesútgáfan.

Statistics Iceland. (2013). Tourism, transport and information technology. Retrieved September 8, 2013, from http://www.statice.is/Statistics/Tourism,-transport-and-informati

Thorgrímsdóttir, S. K., & Kristjánsson, H. V. (2008). *Byggðarlög með viðvarandi fólksfækkun* [Communities subject to continual depopulation]. Sauðárkrókur: Byggðastofnun.

Vegagerðin. (2012). *Handbók um vetrarþjónustu*. [Handbook of winter service]. Reykjavík: Vegagerðin.