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New Nordic stereotypes
In search of alternative design practices for tourism in peripheral landscapes

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Abstract
A wave of tourism-related interventions in peripheral Nordic regions engages tourists' expectations relating to visual landscape appreciation and the romantic experience of remoteness. Exploiting a romantic scenery or staging the most spectacular views is not problematic in itself. However, when this quest for aesthetic experiences translates into stereotypical architectural solutions, spectators potentially remain dissociated from further engaging with local landscapes. This article addresses the lack of synchronization between the increasingly complex construction of the 'tourist gaze' and design practices aiming at 'place-making' for tourism interventions in peripheral landscapes. The topic is approached via a study of the still-unfolding Norwegian Scenic Routes project, a celebrated reference used for general application. In addition, two examples of activity-based tourism are discussed as alternative design practices in peripheral regions that engage residents, tourists and local landscapes in more multifaceted dialogues and complex processes towards meaningful relational practices of place-making.

Keywords
Place creation / place-making / tourist gaze / scenic routes / Norway

Introduction
In peripheral landscapes with few economic opportunities, tourism-related investments are, and with good reason, frequent components of government strategies to create growth and counteract economic decline. Since the 1970s, tourism developers and influential investment advisors, operating in these peripheral landscapes, have applied standard destination planning approaches.[1] These approaches, which are by now well established, rely heavily on the scenic qualities of local landscapes.[2]
Forms of accommodation and overnight capacity are, of course, central aspects of tourism-based growth and destination planning, but in this article, we will concentrate on the creation of scenic attractions in peripheral landscapes—the so-called 'reasons to go'—to use the mantra of the tourism industry.[3] In terms of design, there has been a profound interest in lookout points and the infrastructure that makes these points accessible to a broader audience.[4] Scenic highways, roadside scenery and extraordinary lay-bys have for long been an integrated part of tourism planning; however, the heightened attention for architectural design is a more recent phenomenon.[5]
A large number of designs follow a well-known template that facilitates arrival at a car park, a short walk to a staged lookout point, and a walk back to the car to leave. The lookout points can take different forms, from a minimal bench to more advanced constructions, including towers, terraces and minor buildings, for instance the so-called 'Viewpoint Snøhetta', designed by architecture firm Snøhetta in 2011.[6]

These lookout points are often attractive and exquisite examples of design. However, the standardized underlying schema facilitates a passive gaze that often does not allow for active engagement with the site and the landscape. Acknowledging that the passive gaze will always exist, and is, in many situations, an enjoyable and relaxing way to experience the scenery for a majority of tourists, this article explores ways to enrich the local landscape experience for those tourists who seek a less directed and less staged meeting with the landscape in ways that also benefit local communities. The article builds on connecting theoretical tourism discourses and current landscape architecture practices in peripheral tourism development strategies in order to explore more active, engaging and multisensory alternatives to the 'passive' landscape gaze. This exploration contributes to the discussion of the idea of touring, embedding a more detailed analysis of one of the most celebrated and prototypical references of landscape-based tourism projects in recent years: the Norwegian Tourist Routes. As examples of strategies for place creation in peripheral Nordic landscapes that include alternative gazes, two projects—Cold Hawaii Klitmøller and Birding Destination Varanger—are introduced. In the article, 'place' refers not only to the design of tourist locations in scenic landscapes, but also to relational concepts of social place-making.[7] In architecture and landscape architecture, there has been a renewed interest in the 'tourist gaze', as opposed to tourism studies, where the importance of the gaze has faded and has been supplemented and superseded by other discourses.[8] We argue that it is still relevant to revisit the original meaning of the tourist gaze, which resonates well with, and potentially casts light on, what is happening in current design practice for tourism landscapes.

The evolving tourist gaze

The concept of the tourist gaze and its evolution is central to addressing the tourist experience of staged visual encounters described above.[9] The evolutionary journey of the concept of the tourist gaze offers a valuable theoretical backdrop for an understanding of a private and disconnected gaze supported by design practices as well as various complementary and more engaging gazes that have the potential to inform the planning of contemporary peripheral landscapes.

Two books on tourism research are at the core of this theoretical evolution, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, by sociologist Dean MacCannell (1976), and *The Tourist Gaze* by sociologist John Urry (1990).[10] MacCannal's book was, in many respects, a fundamental leap forward in tourism research; however, it was Urry's book on the tourist gaze that initiated a long and complicated discourse on tourist consumption and the tourist subject. Urry's conceptualization of the tourist gaze derived from Foucault's notion of the medical gaze.[11] This institutionalized gaze is culturally determined, conceived and developed with professional assistance from the emerging tourism industry, photographers and the growing number of guidebooks, all promoting 'new ways of seeing'.[12] According to Urry, 'different gazes are "authorized" by different discourses', and 'different discourses imply different socialities'.[13] Initially, he distinguished two types of gaze, the 'romantic' and the 'collective' gaze. The romantic gaze is characterized by a private, 'semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze'.[14] While this type is connected to desolate landscapes free from human disturbance, the collective gaze 'involves conviviality' and large numbers of people that 'indicate that this is *the* place to be'.[15]

The Tourist Gaze prompted Dean MacCannell to argue that the concept failed to recognize a so-called 'second gaze', which is constituted by 'the viewing subject, not the object of the gaze, that is "caught, manipulated, captured in the field of vision"'.[16]

In MacCannell's reading, Urry's tourists—the gazing subjects—have no agency. This critique opened up a more sophisticated understanding of the relation between tourists and the tourism industry, which has the power to capture and affect the tourists' gazes. MacCannell argued that the so-called 'post-tourists' 'know better and delight in the inauthentic', and that a substantial number of tourists apply a 'second gaze' to see what is beyond the surface and find what is invisible at first glance.[17] MacCannell did not reject Urry's tourist gaze, but added layers to the overall idea. Subsequently, Urry introduced three new, distinctive gazes: the 'spectatorial', the 'environmental' and the 'anthropological'.[18] In the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), he proposed the 'mobilized' and the 'mediatized' gaze, and *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011) included a chapter on 'embodied gazing'—highlighting that 'tourists encounter places through a variety of senses'.[19] According to Urry, the distinctiveness of the tourist gaze was lost in postmodern popular culture, and several new, mobile and increasingly changeable tourist gazes surfaced as part of dynamic globalization processes.[20] Central to this article is that places are 'made and remade through the different forms of the gaze'.[21] Specifically, Urry and Larsen, when addressing 'places, buildings, and design', speak of places that 'are "in play" in relationship to multiple tourist gazes stretching in, through, and over apparently distinct places'.[22]

Accordingly, the tourism supply side has been forced to produce ever more complex 'gaze-interpretations'—embodied as spaces that accommodate several, superimposed gazes and multiple, fluctuating, cultural meanings.[23] In the light of these increasingly complex gaze interpretations, it is striking to see how little architectural interventions in peripheral landscapes evolve. Simple lookout point designs stage the romantic, individual gaze. In reality, however, buss tourism means that instead a strangely romantic and collective gaze hybrid is often facilitated.

A shift in touring route design

A wave of architectural place creation strategies for peripheral landscapes, promoting car-based, pedestrian and bike touring, has manifested itself in recent years.[24] Carefully designed routes that guide tourists to dramatic landscape moments are not new: 'to be on tour' and 'to be touring' carefully selected vantage points can be traced back to early forms of tourism.[25] Urry points to a period in the mid-nineteenth century when perceptions of the landscape changed as a consequence of an extraordinary number of innovations and spatial transformations, including the advent of photography and the emergence of the first railway travel agent in England.[26] Today, a new generation of elaborate and design-intensive touring programmes correspond to what Urry describes as 'the tourist gaze [that] is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary.'[27] These programmes are components of strategic government development plans and rely on interventions that, though limited in size, trigger substantial outcomes in visitor numbers and a mediated presence for these otherwise 'unseen' landscapes. Through architectural or sculptural interventions, designers detect, interpret and consolidate views and other landscape characteristics as part of a route. This creation of landscapes and routes is mediated through images and circulated via specific tools, such as tourists' photos, newspaper travel sections and architecture critiques. The designers of architectural strategies along touring routes in peripheral regions base this 'creation' of attraction on the experience

of movement through landscapes, rather than stimulating engagement with landscape materiality, cultural heritage or local human resources.[28]

The Norwegian Scenic Routes **project**

In the nineteenth century, landscape painters constructed the Nordic landscape by framing and selecting views that conveyed a particular understanding of, and emotional engagement with, the landscape—encoding it through a romantic gaze.[29] According to geographer Kenneth Olwig, the emergence of scenic notions of landscape corresponds closely with the rise of the modern nation-state.[30] In Norway, scientists, administrators and wealthy European tourists traversed and described vistas of coasts and valleys, and the romantic landscape became important to the growing national self-confidence.

Today, descendant strategies for landscape consumption have re-emerged in the Norwegian Scenic Routes project, a thematizing landscape perception along selected stretches of road in peripheral regions. The car touring project conforms with Urry's 'romantic' tourist gaze, as visitors are drawn by the prospect of encountering the landscape 'alone' in their cars.[31] At the same time, design interventions along the routes follow MacCannell's idea about the 'second gaze', operating as the semiotic demarcations of 'sights' that create the tourists' relationship with places in the landscape.[32] Thus, the project integrates the construction of landscape through the gaze and the creation of place through architectural interventions in the landscape.

The Norwegian Public Roads Administration began the Norwegian Scenic Routes project in 1993, and the project is to be completed in 2029. It was inspired by the French *Route de Vins* and the German *Romantische Straße* projects, as well as the US National Scenic Byways Program.[33] It consists of eighteen stretches of road dispersed over the entire country, particularly in the mountainous and peripheral parts of the country, and it will have a total length of over 2,000 km (Fig. 1). The purpose of the project is to develop local economies, and it has indeed brought profit for local tourism businesses.[34] The project has also served to profile Norway abroad. It has received widespread international media coverage and has become part of the government's national branding strategy.[35] For this reason, most tourists will be aware of the Tourist Routes before arriving in Norway, which echoes Urry's notion of the tourist gaze as 'visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly captured.'[36]

Figures 2 to 4 show a selection of architectural interventions that are part of the Norwegian Scenic Routes project. All interventions facilitate a spectacular view that is easily communicated in visual representations. As a result of competitions and direct commissions, there are currently 148 completed designs by Norwegian and international architects, landscape architects and artists along the scenic routes, and the number is projected to grow to 250 by 2029.[37] The Norwegian Scenic Routes project has promoted Norwegian architecture and landscape architecture abroad and supported a new generation of architects and designers.[38]

Despite this success, the project has also met resistance, and critics have accused it of being a case of top-down planning, with little input from local authorities.[39] The project has relied heavily on experts, and there has been little room for local residents' opinions on the overall localization strategy and the aesthetics of specific installations.[40] Critics have also complained that the Norwegian Scenic Routes ignore local history or cultural heritage, and, at the same time, that the project installations have excluded more contemporary conceptions of landscape.[41]

According to MacCannell's theories on the construction of attraction, the physical signs of the Tourist Routes project (road signs, information material and design installations) function as indicators of attractive experiences in the landscape.[42] Landscape theorist Janike Kampevold Larsen argues that, by turning the landscape into attraction, the project and the installations reinstall a Western aesthetic landscape tradition, encapsulated in the view, which locates the observer outside the observed landscape.[43]

Engaging with landscapes for place creation

By now, the Norwegian Scenic Routes project has also started 'travelling' through representation and has become a reference for tourism authorities around the world, including those in Sweden, Iceland and Denmark.[44] The publicity and success in attracting visitors have made the project a model for a range of spatial interventions in other peripheral regions. In 2015, the president of the Danish Association of Landscape Architects, Karen Sejr, proposed that the Norwegian project was relevant to the development of peripheral Danish coastal landscapes, and, interestingly, that the approach would enable municipalities to focus 'on more authentic experiences—the real thing'.[45] We will briefly look at a few Danish project examples before returning to the Sejr's request for 'more authentic experiences' below. Figures 5 to 7 show designs for viewpoints by renowned architects, who often claim that their plans are based on detailed mappings of the unique places.[46] However, despite this self-proclaimed place-adaptation, the designs are often remarkably similar and resemble the Norwegian projects presented in figures 2 to 4. In contrast to what the designers claim, the projects demonstrate a uniformity or universal approach.[47] Shared design tropes include platforms cantilevering over cliffs and water, a combination of Corten steel and cast-*in-situ* concrete, long and winding ramps, and the reuse of heritage buildings through new, inserted elements. All designs facilitate a staged view of the landscape, to be enjoyed from a distance, and to support the detached, individual 'romantic' gaze.

Karen Sejr's request for authentic experiences is characteristic of how designers and tourism professionals apply the term in different contexts.[48] The experience of the 'authentic', mostly meaning engagement with local landscapes, is central to the aforementioned exchange between Urry and MacCannel. Contrary to MacCannell, Urry did not accept the premise that 'the organisation of tourism' was based on 'a search for authenticity'.[49] He aligned with Jean Baudrillard, who stated that 'in a "hyper-real" context, dominated by simulation and the mixed use of copies and originals, it did not make sense to discuss authenticity'.[50] Nuancing this divergence, art critic Lucy Lippard suggests that MacCannell 'offers the tantalizing possibility that tourism might contribute to the simultaneous "deconstruction of the attraction" and "reconstruction of authentic otherness . . . as having an intelligence that is not our intelligence"'.[51] In the multifaceted dispute about authenticity, Lippard thus engages discussions surrounding *existential authenticity*—an activity-based approach that focuses on what geographer Jillian Rickly-Boyd defines as 'a state of Being rather than an essentialist, objective quality'.[52] This entails an intensified emphasis on design solutions that do not stage and invent preconceived experiences, but instead support and advance existing or emerging activities.

In the following, we briefly discuss two alternative examples of activity-based tourism in the peripheries of Denmark and Norway: 'Cold Hawaii' in Klitmøller and 'Birding Destination Varanger' in Vardø. These examples are not designed and planned exclusively for touring visitors, but we find that they represent relevant alternative

design practices for the tourism sector. The two projects emerge from activities that engage specific features of the local landscape (water, wind, biodiversity). The examples are both the outcome of encounters between newcomers and local actors, and both developed organically before receiving support from larger strategic bodies targeting peripheral place development. The two locations provide examples of an embodied landscape gaze and a landscape interaction that is not only scenic, but relates to more intensive forms of bodily engagement. Understood in this way, these projects are examples of what Rickly-Boyd calls 'existential authenticity', because they demonstrate that 'from the materiality of landscape to the imaginative, landscape is the medium with which tourists interact as they perform place'.[53]

Cold Hawaii

Klitmøller, on the Danish West Coast, is one of the most geographically peripheral villages in the country. It still has an active fishing community, but experienced economic decline after all the larger cutters moved elsewhere in the late 1960s. A decade later, a group of surfers found that the sleepy community had access to some of the best surfing waters in Europe. The surfers called the place Cold Hawaii and slowly started to settle permanently. Cold Hawaii is an example of landscape-based place creation, because it was developed by a group of people who, from the very beginning, transgressed the definition of local/tourist. The surfers' bodily exploration of the waterscape using surfboards is quite different from the disengaged romantic gaze on a coastal landscape. Place creation and community change here derived from a changed 'gaze' on the water; the water was transformed, in the viewers' eyes, from a fishing resource into a recreational asset.

Today Cold Hawaii has been integrated into the development strategies of the local municipality. After decades of struggles between surfers and fishermen over the waves, the municipality developed a master plan in 2007 to handle conflicts over the limited space and infrastructure.[54] Cold Hawaii has also been integrated into two strategic development programmes for peripheral Danish regions run by the philanthropic Realdania Foundation.[55] The first programme, *Mulighedernes Land* (Land of Opportunities), which ran from 2007 to 2012, was a partnership with the municipality and local stakeholders, who financed new facilities along the coastline to service surfers, fishermen and other beach users (Figs. 8, 9 & 10). This facilitation of local users differs from the visitors' remote gaze enabled by the Norwegian projects. Inspired by Land of Opportunities, Realdania initiated another programme called *Stedet Tæller* (Place Matters), between 2011 and 2016, with the overall ambition of finding innovative ways to develop rural districts and villages in Denmark.[56] Place Matters was inspired by the Norwegian Scenic Routes project, but its scope extended beyond tourism development by mandating that interventions should be inscribed in local political planning agendas, that they should be aligned with other projects and that the locals should be involved.[57]

Today, Klitmøller is a village with growing resident and visitor numbers. New housing is being built, and tourist revenue is increasing due to the village's surf schools and other key facilities like the so-called 'Association Path' (the concrete beach promenade, realized in 2012), the 'Lobster House' (the community house on the beach, also realized in 2012), and the 'New Association Path' (a wooden path linking to hinterland services, realized in 2020). The transformation of Klitmøller is the result of a longer range of strategic projects based on locally anchored ideas.[58] An exciting spinoff from the Cold Hawaii project is that the municipality is currently expanding its strategic planning to the hinterland, through a project called Cold Hawaii Inland.[59]

Birding Destination Varanger

Biotope is an architectural practice established by Tormod Amundsen and Elin Taranger on Vardø, an Arctic island northeast of mainland Norway. The partners initially focused on providing shelters for birdwatchers in the harsh environment—designing elegant but straightforward wooden shelters that they carefully located in the landscape according to intimate local knowledge of bird behaviour (Fig. 11).[60] This approach led to their involvement in a feasibility study on landscape-related, regional tourism development, Birding Destination Varanger.[61] The project involved multiple local partners and businesses and has contributed to attracting international visitors. Biotope has put Vardø and the Varanger region on the map of the international birding community. Its interventions have received widespread media attention, but Biotope is only one of several arts and architecture practices that are involved in place-making projects in the region, where communities have been shrinking for years as fishing boats have moved elsewhere.[62] Biotope is designing interfaces between ecosystems and people in ways that generate place awareness among locals, for instance by teaching elementary school children about the local bird population and organizing a yearly birding festival. While a conventional touristic gaze cannot easily encompass Biotope's mode of furthering place-making practices by enlisting local ecological resources, the architects still enable the viewing of landscapes from privileged positions—although intensified dramatically beyond 'gazing' by using technology and powerful telephoto lenses.[63] The practice has resulted in a changed landscape 'gaze' on the Varanger Peninsula that emphasizes ecosystems and engenders new and transformed reciprocal action with tourism-development strategies. In this case, by mobilizing a group of expert tourists (birders), who involve themselves in the local landscape in particular and alternative ways. Biotope is an example of a 'new indigenous architecture' in the Arctic that engages local landscapes and communities in ways that contrast with the Tourist Routes project, which caters to the itinerant visitor.[64] At the same time, several of the birdwatching shelters have been included in the Norwegian Scenic Routes project on the Varanger Peninsula—thus also providing an example of how local place-making practices are central to the success of top-down programmes.

Peripheral place creation

Returning to the discussion about design, (Figures 2 to 4, and 5 to 7), urbanist Karl Otto Ellefsen, a member of the Norwegian Scenic Routes Quality Council, claims that the designers, as experts, are 'guided by ambitions to create place. By this I mean the project is intended to realise a potential that has always existed, but one that few have seen and few have utilised.'[65] Ellefsen echoes a phenomenological notion that architecture manifests unique pre-existing place dimensions in the landscape. In reality, design solutions for tourism projects are similar across contexts. Realdania programme director Stine Jacobi thus acknowledges that there is some *zeitgeist* across the designs of the Place Matters projects.[66] Critical of the sameness of tourist landscape interventions, landscape architect Ellen Braae warns that 'what is fantastic in one context, does not automatically transfer into another'.[67] In contrast to Ellefsen, Braae emphasizes perception and argues that locating a design should make it possible for the visitor to perceive the inherent qualities of the landscape and simultaneously perceive the landscape in its totality—including oneself and the object within the landscape.[68] In these instances, the architectural object adds new dimensions to the landscape.

Governments and designers engage in place-making practices, but place is constituted at various other levels: referring to a ‘sense of place’, but also to any ‘locale’ of social interaction.[69] Geographer Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and sociologist Brynhild Granås agree with Doreen Massey that a sense of place in the periphery is enacted in an expanded network of social relations.[70] We think this insight is suitable for addressing peripheral landscape tourism, since ‘a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings [of place are] constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself’.[71] Tourism can be intimately tied to places, and facilitating tourism through design and planning can be seen as place-making, while the touristic practices in themselves constitute a continuous (re)production of place. In this way, conventional architectural conceptions of place, and even place attachment in a phenomenological sense of ‘dwelling’, are challenged by tourism, since the tourist is, by definition, from elsewhere.[72] However, as the examples above illustrate, what constitutes a ‘tourist’ is not always straightforward.[73] While ‘outsiders’, the surfers and the birders are ‘experts’, whose engagement with local landscapes are facilitated by their peers who have become locals. According to relational concepts of place, place creation in these cases is not the sole prerogative of resident populations, but also involves outside perceptions of localities.

The framing of projects through the tourist gaze demonstrates that designers reproduce gazes by adhering to similar architectural tropes and object-like installations that are often disconnected from local landscapes and communities. Comparing the Tourist Routes project with two alternative peripheral place-making practices reveals a contrast between approaches dominated by a belief in designers’ expert capacity for place creation and situations where locals, visitors and experts are involved in a transformed use of and ‘gaze’ on the local landscape. The two alternative examples in the article demonstrate that an updated idea of the gaze uncovers more complex place creation in the interactions among tourists, locals and peripheral landscapes.

Conclusion

Discussions of the tourist gaze have developed over recent decades, opening a multitude of understandings of the relation between landscapes and tourism. At the same time, the concept of the ‘tourist’ has been deconstructed and expanded. Some of these insights are useful when critically assessing different design approaches to tourism-related development and place-making in Nordic peripheral regions. The Tourist Routes project has been very successful as part of a national tourism strategy, attracting tourists and promoting Norwegian architecture. Its focus on architectural quality, defined through top-down procedures, has, nevertheless, produced a designed uniformity and an undifferentiated landscape gaze that is easily reproduced. Informed by discussions of the tourist gaze it becomes clear that the visitor success of the Norwegian Scenic Routes project has resulted in the export of a stereotype for engaging with landscapes. Alternative approaches, found in Cold Hawaii and Birding Destination Varanger, employ more complex relations to the local communities and landscapes, making it possible for the landscape users to complicate traditional distinctions between tourists and locals. These projects are not defined by a singular gaze, but enable the development of strategies that are more inclusive to a multitude of actors and tourism-related businesses in peripheral regions. As practices, they open up the possibility of several shifting and overlapping gazes, and possibly also more place-sensitive ways of place-making through tourism.

Biographical notes
Jens Christian Pasgaard is an architect and associate professor at the Aarhus School of Architecture. Research interests include urban design, strategic thinking, and the phenomenon of tourism. Of particular importance for this study is his PhD thesis on *Tourism and Strategic Planning* (2012) and his contribution to the cross-institutional research project *Rethinking Tourism in a Coastal City: Design for New Engagements* (2016-2019).

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Notes

Captions

Fig. 1
Map of Norwegian Scenic Routes projects. The eighteen routes were selected to

present a variety of landscapes to tourists, and each route has a distinct profile. The project is manifested both in the form of informational material, maps and road signs, and in a series of architectural installations by the roadside, such as scenic vantage points, lay-bys and rest areas. The map is produced by Ingvild Hansen. ©Kartverket. The background map is accessible at https://kartkatalog.geonorge.no/metadata/norges-grunnkart-cache/860f8b53-1dcf-4a39-87a4-71b3e9125dcb, accessed 2020-10-24).

Fig. 2
The vantage point at Trollstigen. Architectural intervention as part of the Norwegian Scenic Routes project, realized in 2012 on the Geiranger-Trollstigen route. Architect: Reiulf Ramstad Arkitekter as; landscape architect: Multiconsult
Photo: Roger Ellingsen/The Norwegian Public Roads Administration

Fig. 3
The vantage point at Stegastein. Architectural intervention as part of the Norwegian Scenic Routes project, realized in 2006 on the Aurlandsfjellet route. Architect: Todd Saunders and Tommie Wilhelmsen
Photo: Per Ritzler/The Norwegian Public Roads Administration

Fig. 4
The vantage point at Askevågen. Architectural intervention as part of the Norwegian Scenic Routes project, realized in 2006 on the Atlanterhavsvegen route. Architect: 3RW arkitekter; landscape architect: Smedsvig
Photo: Roger Ellingsen /The Norwegian Public Roads Administration

Fig. 5
The vantage point at Kalø Castle Ruins, Denmark. Architectural intervention as part of the strategic campaign Place Matters. The project was realized in 2016. Architect: David Garcia, MAP Architects
Photos: authors, 14 April 2019

Fig. 6
The vantage point on the Danish island Fur. Architectural intervention as part of the so-called Fur Diatoms project and part of the strategic campaign Place Matters. The project was realized in 2015. Architects: Reiulf Ramstad Architects and Sneh & GORI
Photo: authors, 11 April 2019

Fig 7
The vantage point at Pikkerbakken in the Danish port city of Frederikshavn. The project was realized in 2018. Design by project leader Steen Heftholm and architect Marie Staal (City of Frederikshavn)
Photo: authors, 19 April 2019

Fig. 8
Oblique aerial photograph (2017) of the beachfront at the small coastal town Klitmøller on the west coast of Denmark. The philanthropic foundation Realdania has funded several strategic projects in town. The key project is the new 400-m-long promenade called the *Foreningsvejen* (Association Path). The promenade is an

important piece of infrastructure linking a number of different spaces and activities. The promenade was designed by landscape architect Preben Skaarup and was completed in 2012. Another important project is the community house called the *Hummerhuset* (Lobster House), situated at the top of the photograph (at the southern end of the promenade). It was designed by Force4 Architects and built on top of existing building structures, and was also completed in 2012. The house contains a kitchen, changing rooms and a meeting room. The roof functions as a significant public terrace.
The aerial photograph is by Styrelsen for Dataforsyning og Effektivisering, the map was downloaded from skraafoto.kortforsyningen.dk on 1 May 2019

Fig. 9
Klitmøller. The ramp at the northern end connects the main parking lot to the beach. The ramp makes the beach accessible for baby carriages and walking-impaired people. Multiple long benches in wood and concrete invite people to stay and provide a view of the surfers engaging the water landscape.
Photo: authors, 11 April 2019

Fig 10
Klitmøller. The promenade has a number of 'side streets' linking the beach to the fishermen's workshops and storage rooms. The design of the promenade is informal—with no obvious desire to tidy up the space. Existing stones and asphalt surfaces are incorporated in the overall layout. The sand moves around freely.
Photo: authors, 11 April 2019

Fig 11
The Steilnes bird hide (Vardø, Norway, 2012) is carefully located in relation to view, microclimate and bird behaviour. Design: Biotope
Photos: Tormod Amundsen, Biotope

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1 The first manuals on tourism destination planning appeared in the 1970s. See, for instance: Manuel Baud-Bovy and Fred H. Lawson, *Tourism and Recreational Development: Handbook of Physical Planning* (London/Boston: The Architectural Press/CBI Publishing Company, 1976) or Clare A. Gunn, *Vacationscape: Developing Tourist Areas* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 1997 [1976]). The publications address the typical components and concerns of destination planning: zoning, site development, infrastructure, building regulations, parking areas, attractions, accommodation facilities, sports facilities and other amenities.

2 The initiative 'Invest in Coastal Tourism in Denmark' by the national fund *Dansk Kyst- og Naturturisme* (DKNT) is an example of a very traditional way of working with destination planning. The intention is to attract international tourism developers who can make large-scale investments close to the spectacular wide white beaches on the west coast of Denmark. See: investin.kystognaturturisme.dk/en/, accessed 24 February 2020. The newly established North German marina resorts are used as a conceptual role model. For instance Heiligenhafen, which has experienced impressive growth rates in terms of visitor numbers.

3 The issue of finding and establishing attractions and ‘reasons to go’ has been an integrated part of tourism planning since the 1970s. At present, the phrase ‘reasons to go’ is used in several strategic development plans in Denmark. See, for instance, the overall development plan for the west coast of Denmark: issuu.com/realdania.dk/docs/udviklingsplan-for-vestkysten, accessed 8 August 2020.

4 In the last decade, architectural projects facilitating spectacular views appeared in large numbers in architecture magazines. For example themed issues of *Topos*: no. 57 on Architecture and Landscape (2006), no. 79 on Small-Scale Interventions (2012) and no. 92 on Landscape Identity (2015). See also exhibitions like ‘Lookout: Architecture with a View’, held at the Swiss Architecture Museum in Basel in 2014, sam-basel.org/en/exhibitions/lookout-architecture-view, accessed 10 August 2020.

5 Scenic highways are mentioned in most publications that address tourism planning, for example the chapter on ‘Destination Planning Concepts’, in: Clare A. Gunn and Turgut Var, *Tourism Planning, Fourth Edition: Basics, Concepts, Cases* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002 [1988]). However, the attention paid to the architectural design of lookout points happens later, especially from the mid-1990s onwards as a consequence of the development of, for instance, the Norwegian Tourist Routes project.

6 The project was widely published and is an example of a typical layout that includes parking, a walk and the ambitiously designed lookout point. The interior facilitates an extraordinary view of the Dovrefjell mountains. See the diagrammatic layout at nvs.villrein.no/viewpoint-snhetta/, accessed 10 August 2020.

7 When using the hyphenated term place-making, we refer to the conceptual clarification made by Alan A. Lew, ‘Tourism Planning and Place Making: Place-Making or Placemaking?’, *Tourism Geographies*, 19/1 (2017), 448–466.

8 The renewed interest in the tourist gaze was demonstrated at the conference ‘TouriScape 1 on Transversal Tourism and Landscape’ where the two gaze duelists Dean MacCannell and Jonas Larsen (Larsen is the co-author of the third edition of Urry’s *The Tourist Gaze*) were invited as the main keynote speakers. The conference was held in Torremolinos, Malaga in 2018. See: touriscape.org/en/video/, accessed 25 February 2020. For more advanced discourses in tourism studies see, for example: C. Michael Hall, Allan M. Williams and Alan A. Lew, ‘Tourism: Conceptualizations, Disciplinarity, Institutions, and Issues’, in: Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Tourism* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 3–22.

9 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990). For a discussion of the development of the concept of the tourist gaze, see, for instance: Jens Christian Pasgaard, *Tourism and Strategic Planning* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Kunstakademis Skoler for Arkitektur, Design og Konservering, 2012), 10–40.

10 Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berlin: Schocken Books, 1976), and Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 9).

11 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1973).

12 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Second Edition* (London: Sage, 2002), 4 and 149.

13 Carol Crawshaw and John Urry, ‘Tourism and the Photographic Eye’, in: Chris Rojek and John Urry (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), 176–195.

14 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 150.

15 Ibid., 150.

16 Dean MacCannell, ‘Tourist Agency’, *Tourist Studies* 1 (2001), 23-38: 30. (Here, MacCannell is quoting French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan.) See also: José L. López-González, ‘Ethics and Tourism: In dialogue with Dean MacCannell’, *Recerca: Revista de Pensament i Anàlisi* 23 (2018), 239–248.

17 Ibid., 24. MacCannell and John Urry use the terms post-tourists and post-tourism. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 90–92. However, this concept was actually coined a bit earlier in: Maxine Feifer, *Going Places* (London: Macmillan, 1985). See also a description of the concept in Melanie Smith, Nicola Macleod and Margaret Hart Robertson, *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies* (London: Sage, 2010), 129–133.

18 John Urry, ‘The Tourist Gaze “Revisited”’, *American Behavioral Scientist* 36/2 (1992), 172–186.

19 John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage Publications, 2011).

20 On the loss of distinctiveness, see: Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 91.

21 Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, op. cit. (note 19), 119.

22 Ibid., 119.

23 The supply side typically covers the functioning of tourism as a whole. Clare Gunn proposes a ‘model of the functional tourism system’ that includes: attractions, promotion, information, transportation and services. See Gunn, *Vacationscape,* op. cit. (note 1), 31–42. On fluctuating meanings, see: Pasgaard, *Tourism and Strategic Planning*, op. cit. (note 9), 18.

24 For car-based touring see note 5. On pedestrian and bike based touring, see, for example, the cycling tour project in Limburg, Belgium: architecturaldigest.com/story/cyclists-belgium-bike-forest-lake?mbid=social_facebook&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook&utm_social-type=owned&utm_brand=ad&fbclid=IwAR3ozcc-AIM30fHYIcZIt5Q9jvixFfo2BI0rFOS-vKjF5oNUre-9Jguz0n0, accessed 24 February 2020, or the architectural installations along the walkways in Hanstholm Nature Reserve (Denmark), arkitektforeningen.dk/arkitekten/hanstholm-vildtreservat/, accessed 18 August 2020.

25 For the link between ‘the tour’ and cognitive tourism, see, for example: Per Åke Nilsson ‘Turismens Historie’, in: Anders Sørensen (ed.), *Grundbog I Turisme* (Frydenlund, 2007).

26 John Urry, ‘Tourism Mobilities’ (transcription of lecture), in: Jens Christain Pasgaard (ed.), *Tourism and Strategic Planning: Conference Report* (Centre for Urbanism, The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 2010), 10–26. See also the chapter ‘Looking for Sights’ in: Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

27 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 3.

28 Regarding the 'creation' of attraction, see: MacCannell, *The Tourist*, op. cit. (note 10).

29 Mari Hvattum et al. (eds.), *Routes, Roads and Landscapes* (London: Ashgate, 2011).

30 Kenneth Olwig, *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); see also: Don Mitchell, 'Cultural Landscapes: Just Landscapes or Landscapes of Justice?', *Progress in Human Geography* 27/6 (2003), 787–796.

31 Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen, 'Roaming Romantics: Solitude-Seeking and Self-Centredness in Scenic Sightseeing', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 4/1 (2004), 5–23.

32 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, op. cit. (note 10).

33 Jan Andresen, 'A National Attraction Comes to Life', in: Silja Lena Løken, Thor Arvid Dyrerud and Jan Neste (eds.), *National Tourist Routes in Norway* (Oslo: Forlaget Press, 2017), 13–17; Hans Antonson and Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen, 'Tourism Development Strategy or Just Brown Signage? Comparing Road Administration Policies and Designation Procedures for Official Tourism Routes in Two Scandinavian Countries', *Land Use Policy* 36 (January 2014), 342–350.

34 Prosjektdirektiv, *Satsingsområdet Nasjonale Turistvegar 2002–2015* (Oslo: Vegdirektoratet, 2004); Menon Economics, *Effektmåling av Nasjonale turistveger. Lokaløkonomiske effekter av de nasjonale turistvegene Rondane og Varanger* (Oslo: Menon, 2017).

35 See media coverage at: nasjonaleturistveger.no/en/about-us/media-coverage, accessed 15 January 2019.

36 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 3.

37 Statens Vegvesen, *2017/2018 Turistvegarbeidet, Annual Report* (Oslo: Statens Vegvesen, 2018).

38 Nina Berre, 'Architecture and Design: Added Value Along Tourist Routes', in: Hege Lysholm and Nina Berre (eds.), *Detour: Architecture and Design Along 18 National Tourist Routes in Norway* (Oslo: Statens Vegvesen and Norsk Form, 2008), 28–31. See also: Karl Otto Ellefsen, 'Detoured Installations: The Policies and Architecture of the Norwegian National Tourist Routes Project', *Architectural Design* 85/2 (2015), 64–75. By 2017, the project had been exhibited in 33 international locations. The project and individual installations have received numerous design and tourism awards. See: nasjonaleturistveger.no/no/om-oss/Utstillinger, accessed 15 January 2019, and nasjonaleturistveger.no/en/about-us/prizes-and-awards, accessed 15 January 2019.

39 Ellefsen, 'Detoured Installations', op. cit. (note 38); Antonson and Jacobsen, 'Tourism Development Strategy', op. cit. (note 33); see also: Alana Iles and Bruce Prideaux, 'The Savannah Way: Developing a Successful Touring Route', in: Dean Carson and Bruce Prideaux (eds.), *Drive Tourism: Trends and Emerging Markets*, vol. 17 (London: Routledge, 2011), 311–322.

40 Karl Otto Ellefsen, 'Architecture and Design: Added Value Along Tourist Routes', in: Hege Lysholm and Nina Berre (eds.), *Detour: Architecture and Design Along 18*

National Tourist Routes in Norway (Oslo: Statens Vegvesen and Norsk Form, 2008), 14–21.

41 Antonson and Jacobsen, 'Tourism Development Strategy', op. cit. (note 33).

42 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, op. cit. (note 10).

43 Janike Kampevold Larsen, 'Curating Views, The Norwegian Tourist Route Project', in: Mari Hvattum et al. (eds.), *Routes, Roads and Landscapes* (London: Ashgate, 2011), 179–190; Janike Kampevold Larsen, 'Global Tourism Practices as Living Heritage: Viewing the Norwegian Tourist Route Project', *Future Anterior* 9/1 (2012), 66–87; Janike Kampevold Larsen, 'Geologic Presence in a Twenty-First Century Scenic Garden', in: John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 85–100. See also: Tore Edvard Bergaust and Kristin Evjen, 'Nasjonale Turistveger: Nasjonalromantikk i Moderne Innpakning', *Plan: Tidsskrift for Samfunnsplanlegging, Byplan og Regional Utvikling* 3-4 (2010); Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen, 'Nasjonale turistveger på rett veg inn i fremtiden?', *Plan: Tidsskrift for Samfunnsplanlegging, Byplan og Regional Utvikling* 1 (2010), 48–51.

44 Antonson and Jacobsen, 'Tourism Development Strategy', op. cit. (note 33). See also emerging tourism infrastructure projects, such as 'The Nordic Ways', funded by The Icelandic Design Fund. The project is briefly described at: thenordicways.com, accessed 15 January 2019. Patsy Healey and Robert Upton (eds), *Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

45 Karen Sejr, 'Den nye kystlov er forfejlet', *The Association of Danish Landscape Architects*, contribution to the debate on coastal development in Denmark, www.landskabsarkitekter.dk/aktuelt/den_nye_kystlov_er_forfejlet, accessed 15 January 2019.

46 See, for instance, the office presentation by Leth & Gori which presents itself as an 'architectural studio specialising in site-specific construction projects of high architectural calibre', lethgori.dk/category/about/, accessed 17 August 2020. We could have taken company profiles from many professional landscape architects. Most offices claim that they have a sensitive design approach based on a careful reading of the local context.

47 See, for instance, the recent project 'Path of Perspectives' (2019) by Snøhetta outside Innsbruck, www.archipanic.com/path-of-perspective-snohetta/, accessed 18 August 2020. The resemblance between this project and the Scandinavian projects is striking.

48 Authenticity is widely used in current planning documents. See, for instance, the overall development plan for the west coast of Denmark, op. cit. (note 3). The plan includes phrases like: 'vibrant and authentic town centres' and 'authentic stories and local nuances'.

49 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, op. cit. (note 12), 12.

50 Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, translated by S. F. Glaser (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994 [1981]).

51 Lucy R. Lippard, 'Foreword: Looking On', in: Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999 [1976]), ix-xiii: xiii.

52 Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, ‘Existential Authenticity: Place Matters’, *Tourism Geographies* 15/4 (2013), 680–686; see also: Jørgen Dehs, *Det Autentiske: Fortællinger om Nutidens Kunstbegreb* (Copenhagen: Forlaget Vandkunsten, 2012).

53 Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd et al., *Tourism, Performance, and Place: A Geographic Perspective* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2014), 3.

54 See: dokument.plandata.dk/70_1071877_PROPOSAL_1202399960112.pdf, accessed 18 August 2020.

55 See description at: realdania.dk, accessed 15 January 2019.

56 Bark Rådgivning A/S and Realdania, *Stedet Tæller: Perspektiver og Erfaringer* (Copenhagen: Realdania, 2017). See also the project description at: stedet-taeller.dk/, accessed 15 January 2019.

57 Ibid.

58 See the thorough case study by Anne Tietjen and Gertrud Jørgensen, ‘Translating a Wicked Problem: A Strategic Planning Approach to Rural Shrinkage in Denmark’, *Landscape and Urban Planning* 154 (2016), 29–43.

59 See project description at: thisted.dk/Borger/NaturMiljoe/AktuelleProjekter/CHI.aspx, accessed 15 January 2019.

60 See office description at: biotope.no/, accessed 15 January 2019.

61 See: biotope.no/2012/10/birding-destination-varanger-pro-nature.html, accessed 15 January 2019.

62 Janike Kampevold Larsen and Peter Hemmersam, ‘Landscapes on Hold: The Norwegian and Russian Barents Sea Coast in the New North’, in: Kevin Maier and Sarah Jaquette Ray (eds.), *Critical Norths: Space, Theory, Nature* (Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 2017), 171–190.

63 Ibid.

64 Peter Hemmersam, ‘Arctic Architectures’, *Polar Record* 52/4 (2016), 412–422.

65 Ellefsen, ‘Architecture and Design’, op. cit. (note 40), 16.

66 Stine Lea Jacobi, ‘Vi Udvikler Særlige Steder: Alt Andet end “Sameness”’, blog entry at turisme.nu/vi-udvikler-saerlige-steder-alt-andet-end-sameness/, accessed 15 January 2019.

67 Ellen Braae ‘Stedernes landskab’, in: Signe Marie Rohde and Christian Andersen (eds.), *Steder i landskabet* (Copenhagen: Realdania, 2012), 10–11 (authors’ translation).

68 Ibid.

69 John A. Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

70 Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and Brynhild Granås (eds.) *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern European Peripheries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

71 Ibid., 154.

72 Rickly-Boyd et al., *Tourism, Performance, and Place*, op. cit. (note 53).

73 The Danish sociologist Henrik Dahl wrote a short and illustrative description of the absurdity of the present definition. See Henrik Dahl, *Turisters Kulturforbrug: Pilotstudie til Baggrund for Spydspidsprojekt* (Copenhagen: Wonderful Copenhagen, 2004), 4.