The Nyhavn Experience

A non-representational perspective

The deconstruction of the Nyhavn experience through hygge

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to challenge the existing way of doing tourism research by using a non-representational approach in looking into the tourist experience of Nyhavn, Denmark. The Nyhavn experience is deconstructed through the Danish phenomenon *hygge*, where it is being investigated how the contested space of Nyhavn with its many rationalities creates the frames, which *hygge* may unfold within. It is demonstrated how *hygge* is a multiple concept, which is constituted through various elements, including the audience, the actors and their actions, the weather, the sociality, the materiality and the political landscape in Nyhavn. The elements in the study are being discussed separately in order to give a better view on the different aspects. However, it is important to note point out that these aspects cannot be seen as merely individual aspects of establishing *hygge*, but that they are interrelated and interconnected in the creation of the atmosphere of *hygge*.

The collecting of the data was done via embodied methods inspired by the performative turn in tourism, where the focus is on the embodied and multisensous experience. This is carried out by integrating pictures, video and audio clips, observant participation and impressionist tales in order to try to make the ephemeral phenomenon *hygge* as concrete as possible. Furthermore, data have been collected via netnography on TripAdvisor and travel blogs respectively. The study is characterized by being transdisciplinary, where theory has been drawn in from various fields, such as tourism, human geography, sociology, anthropology and sociology of the senses. Within this framework *hygge* has been unravelled by looking at the phenomenon from various angles and drawing in different ways of investigating the phenomenon. The analysis is characterized by being multimodal in order to cover the multifaceted *hygge* in connection with the tourism experience, which in itself is perceived as being multimodal. The analysis consists of three main sections, which deal with *hygge* from a historical perspective, *hygge* as infrastructure and *hygge* as socio-materially constructed. These three aspects were shown to be not only part of the scenery in Nyhavn, but also to have an influence on whether *hygge* has the possibility to flourish, or whether it is disrupted or even destroyed.

Even though atmospheres are a central part of the tourism experience, it has not gained much interest within tourism research as a subject. The aim for this thesis has therefore been to contribute to the performative studies within tourism research by challenging the conservative ways in which the majority of tourism research is carried out.

Keywords:
Hygge
Non-representational
Atmospheres
Audio-visual methods
Sensescapes
Nyhavn

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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Standpoint

> Hygge was never meant to be translated – it was meant to be felt
> *Tove Maren Stakkestad, freelance writer and blogger*
>
> Hygge is about an atmosphere and an experience, rather than about things.
> It is about being with the people we love. A feeling of home. A feeling that we
> are safe, that we are shielded from the world and allow ourselves to let our
> guard down
> *Wiking 2016, p. 6*

The concept of *hygge* has been hyped in 2016, and during autumn and winter alone there has been published, at least nine English books dealing with the concept (Linnet 2016). According to the LinkedIn profile for VisitDenmark's *Viden & Analyse* (Knowledge and Analysis), you may even talk about an international *hygge*-hype, since there have never been as many searches on Google for *hygge* as there is now (Viden & Analyse 2017). It is added how the interest especially is huge in UK, USA, Poland, Canada and Germany and that they at VisitDenmark are trying to do whatever they can to get even more international tourists to come to Denmark and experience the phenomenon (Viden & Analyse 2017). Therefore *hygge* has been called the next big thing and it is mentioned in blogs, articles and books. Oxford Dictionaries even put *hygge* on the shortlist for the word of 2016 (Oxford Dictonaries 2016). You could actually claim that *hygge* may be seen as a part of the Danish DNA, something that is being and can be exported to the world as being truly Danish. Or as Jeppe Trolle Linnet[1] describes it: "what freedom is to Americans, *hygge* is to Danes" (Flood 2016).

Now for a short background history on the word *hygge*. It was included in the Danish language at the end of the 18th century (Ordnet n.d.; Nielsen 2004, p. 195). The etymology of *hygge* originates from Norwegian and further back from Old Norse (Linnet 2010, p. 22). Originally the word meant to comfort, to infuse someone with courage and happiness (Nielsen 2004, p. 195). In Old Norse, where the word appears as *hyggja*, it means to think, to feel, to mean and to feel content (ibid.). The Norwegian meaning of the word is well-being, according to Wiking (2016), and the word might originate from 'hug', which goes back to 'hugge' which means 'to embrace' (p. 44). As Wiking (2016) notes, it is interesting how all these words and meanings actually relate to the understanding of the phenomenon of *hygge* we have today.

Hygge appears in various forms. It is a concept that most Danes know about and something we like to share with each other, and something that is of importance when visiting friends or family. *Hygge* has been given the pride of place when having guests over or meeting with friends outside the home at for instance a café for a cup of coffee (Linnet 2011, Borish 1991). In this case, *hygge* can be recognized as a gesture and something that can be offered to people and something that has to do with the role of being a host. When researching the Internet, it becomes clear that *hygge* goes beyond just being a concept known by Danes as a gesture or something related to being a host. When the phenomenon is used outside Denmark there seems to be a tendency to broaden up the concept and making it fit various fields. The word *hygge* has been integrated into various different areas and businesses

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[1] Jeppe Trolle Linnet is an anthropologist, who has conducted research on *hygge*.

internationally in 2017 turning the phenomenon into a concept within the experience economy where it is being commoditized and commercialized. For instance café's[2], a working space (*wearehygge.com, US*), wood furniture[3], watches (*hygge-watches.com, Japan*), tea[4], art and furniture (*hyggebyberlin.dk, Denmark*), scented candles (*skandinavisk.com; hygge fragrance, Denmark*), hairdressers (*hyggeastoria.com, US*) and even the hair colour trend for 2017 is seemingly named as being *hygge (*Costume 2017; Refinery.com 2017). Moreover, you can even order *hygge* in a box![5] It is obviously a concept that has been picked up in various fields all over the world. Even though the concept does not seem to have played that big a role within the experience economy in Denmark, it now seems to have become something the Danes open up their eyes to when it comes to marketing and branding. For instance, Carlsberg just recently put out a commercial on the British market, where *hygge* is playing an important in presenting something essential Danish essence (Carlsberg 2017).

In addition, when looking to the UK, the concept of *hygge* is - at least for now - marketed as a lifestyle concept not quite as demanding as for instance Feng Shui, which has the power to change your life for the better (Linnet 2016). The way it is marketed, Linnet (2016) calls a '*quick fix'* where the nuances of the concept have been removed. In the marketing in the UK, *hygge* then appears as a concept, which has the ability to help change and create your identity in relation to your personality, political point of view and your philosophy of life.

Returning to Denmark, the so-called *Danmarkskanonen* was initiated in 2016 by the Minister for Culture in Denmark, Mr. Bertel Harder. The purpose of the project was to find 10 values for the future Danish society by having debates around the country and collecting data indicating what the Danes thought as especially Danish values. They ended up with 2,425 suggestions, which were then cut down to 10 central values. The ten winning values/concepts were the Christian cultural heritage, the Danish language, associational life and voluntariness, Liberty, broad-mindedness, *hygge*, gender equality, equal justice under the law, trust and the welfare society[6]. Thus, *hygge* has been chosen as one of the 10 final values, which the Danes believe are important when describing and defining the Danish society now and in the future. In this case, *hygge* represents a culture-historical concept.

It has been established that *hygge* can be seen as being the new black and it is something that people outside of Denmark have become familiar with as well. As described above there are several ontological approaches to *hygge*, which shows how the phenomenon encompasses multiple aspects. Though there are a lot of information and material about the *hygge* concept, when searching the web and the relevant literature, not much academic literature has been written on the phenomenon. An area, in which there is just a minimum of research, is how *hygge* can be approached as a phenomenological concept.

It makes sense to look at *hygge* from a phenomenological aspect, since it can be looked at as being sensuous, something that exist in time and space and something that we experience, which is ephemeral and difficult to capture. For this thesis it is therefore of interest to investigate *hygge* as an atmosphere, how it comes to life and how it is embodied. Even though atmospheres are a central part of the tourism experience, it has not gained much interest within tourism research as a subject.

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[2] Café Hygge (Berlin, Germany) and Café Hygge (Lörrach, Germany)
[3] hygge.com (Thailand) and traehygge.dk (Denmark)
[4] hooglytea.com (England) and A.C. Perch – hygge tea, Denmark.
[5] Livinghygge.co.uk and hyggebox.co.uk
[6] In Danish*: den kristne kulturarv, det danske sprog, foreningsliv og frivllighed, frihed, frisind, hygge, kønsligestilling, lighed for loven, tillid, velfærdssamfund* (Danmarkskanon 2016).

Therefore this thesis aims to contribute to the research within tourism by investigating atmospheres and contextualizing this study through *hygge* at a central tourist location in Copenhagen. In order to be researching the phenomenon, the location of Nyhavn has been chosen, because it is one of the greatest tourist locations in Copenhagen and it is also a contested location, where many different rationales are at stake, which makes it interesting to look at. A more thorough description of Nyhavn will follow in section 1.3 Setting the (*Hyggelige*) Scene. Due to it being contested, it is an interesting location to put *hygge* into play and look at whether *hygge* is so standardised in Nyhavn as one might think, and also look at how it unfolds and what is at stake.

1.2 Research Question

The abovementioned leads to the following research question:

What elements and aspects are impacting and constituting *hygge* in Nyhavn?

- What underlines and what disrupts the *hygge* in Nyhavn?
- What frames are created for *hygge* to unfold or diminish under?
- What controversial elements can be found that influences *hygge* in Nyhavn?

To give the reader a better understanding of the setting, in which *hygge* is investigated, a short introduction to Nyhavn is relevant. Nyhavn is a classic and famous spot to visit, and there are classical ways of looking at Nyhavn as a tourist space. Nevertheless, in this thesis Nyhavn will be looked at from a multisensuous perspective and the richness of the area will be animated. The idea is to challenge the classic and typical way of understanding tourism where the primary focus is on how it is portrayed as being visual. The other side of tourism, which is usually neglected in the presentation of Nyhavn, is how tourism is also something that is being felt and sensed.

1.3 Setting the (*Hyggelige*) Scene

Nyhavn is a classic and iconic place for tourists to visit when visiting Copenhagen. It is perceived as a must-visit place and a place that can give you that special Kodak-moment tourists are traditionally looking for. According to TripAdvisor, Nyhavn is in fact the number one activity for visitors to experience when in Copenhagen (TripAdvisor n.d. b). This is based on approximately 17,000 reviews from the spring of 2017.

At the official Nyhavn website (Nyhavn 2017) the word *hygge* is not used. However, a site called *Spis i Nyhavn* (Eat in Nyhavn), as the main descriptor, they write: 'The joy of food and *hygge* in Nyhavn' (own translation, Spis i Nyhavn 2017). As a borne and raised Dane, I would – amongst other things – describe Nyhavn as *hyggelig*, or having an element of *hygge* to a great extend. So how are the atmospheres experienced in Nyhavn? How is this phenomenon of *hygge* being expressed and experienced among those who visit the place? The main headline that meets the eye at the official website of Nyhavn describes it as a place of 'Gastronomy and good atmosphere in historic surroundings' (Nyhavn 2017). From their website – and from visiting the area – it becomes clear that Nyhavn is an area with many different aspects, spaces and elements.

Nyhavn offers events through out the year (*an exhibition of veteran cars, Midsummer's Eve, the Copenhagen Jazz festival, summer markets, Halloween and the annual Christmas market, amongst others*), culture, restaurants and canal tours (Nyhavn 2017). However, there is more to Nyhavn than what is presented at the official website. Apart from offering two different canal tours operating from Nyhavn, there are also 14 boats having a permanent berth in the canal, all belonging to the skipper guild of Nyhavn (Nyhavns Skipperlaug 2017). Besides from the classic restaurants lined up one after the other on the sunny side of the canal, there are also to be found ice-cream shops, hotels and even a classic Danish hot-dog stand (*pølsevogn*) to supplement the food offerings. Across the canal of the many restaurants on the shady side, you find Bådteatret (The boat theatre), a few restaurants, some hotels, the art museum Kunsthal Charlottenborg and the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. Aside from all these elements in Nyhavn, it is important to mention comes the people you will meet in the area: business people, employees, street musicians, sailors, locals and tourists both national and international. Thus, there are many different areas of interests that have to get along in Nyhavn.

The abovementioned aspects may be seen as playing a role in the conception of the atmospheres. Adding to these elements and aspects, it is also worth considering how the weather, time and season might play an additional role. All of these multifaceted aspects of various components may be looked at collectively as portraying the pulse of this specific area. This pulse of Nyhavn is what makes the place come alive – without all these components the place would not be what it is. Combined they all jot in to give the full experience of the feel of Nyhavn. Within this thesis I will try to deconstruct the classic understanding of Nyhavn through the concept of *hygge* by looking into what all of these different components contribute to the conception of the atmospheres of Nyhavn.

2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction: Grasping the Ungraspable

Trying to investigate a phenomenon like *hygge*, which is for Danes something that is so integrated in our culture and something that *just is* can seem as a very fluffy, intangible and perhaps even very ambitious project. Every Dane knows the concept and uses the word randomly in various contexts, but when you have to explain it to for instance a foreigner what it actually means, you would most likely fall short. Dealing with a concept that is part of the social reality in Denmark, calls for methods that are able to describe the complexity that the social reality entails. In a globalised world characterized by being '… complex, elusive, ephemeral, and unpredictable' you may maintain that 'if social science is to interfere in the realities of that world … it needs tools for understanding and practising the complex and the elusive' (Law & Urry 2004, p. 404).

In relation to what Law and Urry here state it became clear how an alternative way of looking at things was needed when wanting to investigate the complexity of *hygge*. When using methods that are based within the non-representational theory, the aim is '… to give a non-intentional view of social reality and tries to develop a manual approach that is practical and not cognitive' (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht 2008, p. 12). Non-representational theory will be further elaborated in 3.4 Embracing the Intangible. When using methods within the non-representational theory '… performance turns itself into a qualitative method which is aligned to the complexity of social life in modernity' (Dirkmeier & Helbrecht 2008, p. 13). By taking a stand in the non-representational theories, this thesis will make an attempt at trying to grasp the ungraspable phenomenon of *hygge* and try to make something that is rather intangible as concrete as possible and thereby try to show how it can be grasped and embraced.

In the chapter on methodology I will present how I have worked with the task, what choices have been made during the process and what challenges I have met along the way. To unfold and grasp the concept of *hygge* it has been necessary to make use of theory from other fields than just tourism, such as for instance the sociology of the senses, human geographies and non-representational theory. *Hygge* as a concept entails many different aspects, which has already been briefly demonstrated in the introduction and which will be further developed in the theory section.

As is evident from the above sections the use of the word *hygge* in this thesis will appear in Danish and in italics instead of being translated into English. This choice has been made since I believe that this is the best way of emphasizing what is being researched, since translating the word could be confusing for the main thread of the thesis and for the reader, as there is not one specific word that encapsulates the total meaning of the word. This issue will be developed in section 3.3 *Hygge* and its implications.

2.2 Case Study

In being able to look into an abstract phenomenon such as *hygge* I have chosen to take my starting point in a case in order to try to make the research as concrete as possible. Using a case study offers the opportunity of getting an understanding of the real-life phenomenon *hygge* and based on this specific case study it is possible to carry out an in depth analysis of the concept and find out which elements are connected to the concept from a real life example (Yin 2014, p. 16, 237). The chosen case is Nyhavn, which has been introduced above, why there will be no further introduction as such in the

following. In short, this case has been chosen due to it being a central tourist location and a place that is seemingly full of specific atmospheres and to some extent *hygge*, when looking at how it is being branded and how it is being described by people, who have visited the place.

Choosing a case study for this research project was relevant, since it gives the opportunity of experiencing complex issues (Flyvbjerg 2006, p. 219). One of the advantages of using a case-study, as Flyvbjerg (2006) describes it, is how 'it can "close in" on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice' (p. 235). Investigating the phenomena on *hygge* calls for a closer look into areas where it might appear. This makes it essential to choose a case in order to experience how it unfolds in practice and being able to grasp the intangible phenomenon.

When using the case study as a research method it entails a proximity to reality as Flyvbjerg (2006) describes it, which then is able to create the right setting for a useful learning process where advanced knowledge and understanding can be accomplished, when the researcher is placed within the context of the topic being studied (p. 236). Even though Flyvbjerg mentions how case studies entail a proximity to reality, in this thesis the theory is used somewhat differently. Instead of looking at the concept of *hygge* as being a specific object within the reality that can be found at a specific place, it is here being looked at as being socially constructed. This means that one specific understanding of reality is non-existing in this thesis, but instead seen in a poststructuralist light, where the concept is being socially constructed.

When presenting a case study in research, as Flyvbjerg says, 'the goal is to allow the study to be different things to different people' (idem, p. 238). In trying to achieve this it is important to describe the case with as many facets as possible, so that 'different readers may be attracted, or repelled, by different things in the case' (ibid.). In this thesis various forms of collecting data and retaining knowledge have been used in the hope of establishing as many facets as possible of the case, so there can be established as full of a picture and experience of the case as possible.

Some might criticise case studies for not being able to offer clear results or of offering generalizable results, but as Flyvbjerg (2006) argues, 'the case story is itself the result' (p. 238). He continues by explaining how that 'for the reader [who is] willing to enter this reality and explore it inside out, the payback is meant to be a sensitivity to the issues at hand that cannot be obtained from theory' (ibid.). In relation to this research matter, it is exactly of high value to be able to give the reader a chance of experiencing and exploring the sensitivities related to the concept of *hygge*. The goal when using the case study method in combination with the here used methods for obtaining data, is to take the reader into the world of the atmospheres, phenomena and concept of *hygge* and give the reader the chance to create his or her own experience and understanding of the phenomenon.

2.3 Data Collection

In the following section the methods of collecting data for the thesis will be presented and unfolded for the reader to understand what underlies the analysis and what approaches and choices there have been taken during the empirical data collection.

The collected data for this thesis qualifies as qualitative data, which made sense in relation to investigating *hygge*. Qualitative data 'focus on *naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings,* so that we have a strong handle on what "real life" is like' (italics in original, Miles et al. 2014, p. 11),

which creates a good foundation for looking into the research question of this thesis. The collecting of data at Nyhavn by making observations, taking pictures, filming and recording sound was carried out on location, which makes 'the possibility for understanding latent, underlying, or nonobvious issues' stronger (ibid.). The data was collected through various forms in trying to encapsulate the multifaceted aspects that *hygge* presents. In addition comes the material collected online from TripAdvisor and blogs to widen the conception and understanding of the experience in Nyhavn. The collecting of this material will be elaborated in section 2.3.3 Documentary Materials and Netnography.

The data in Nyhavn was gathered in the period between 30th of March to 10th of April 2017 on different timeslots during the days. Different timeslots was chosen in an attempt of experiencing as many aspects of Nyhavn as possible, so the data did not only present Nyhavn at for instance lunchtime. Thereby, the data stands as more representational of the overall experience in Nyhavn, since people of course visit the area at different hours. In total I was at location six days within this time period, where the four data collecting methods were used; sound- and video-recording, photographing and taking field notes when doing observant participation. In the following section the different data collecting methods will be unfolded.

2.3.1 Observant Participation

The reason for using observant participation was to see in which ways the embodied experiences of *hygge* amongst the visitors at Nyhavn came to life. Using this method made it possible to look at people from the outside, looking at what happened between people and the surroundings that Nyhavn offers, how the weather, the time and the other people affected the atmospheres and the surroundings. Though, it is important to acknowledge that it was not possible for me to experience the specific way people were experiencing the atmosphere of *hygge*, but the observations consisted of speculating in which details and aspects that is possible of being co-creators of creating *hygge*. It was an opportunity to see which reactions people had on each other and the surroundings and which non-verbal interactions were undertaken.

Being the researcher it was interesting to experience how I took up two roles at the same time - on one hand being the researcher observing and collecting data, and on the other hand also experiencing and taking part in the atmospheres being present in Nyhavn – the same exact thing that was the focus of the research. Though, it is also important to note that *hygge* was not seen as something that to some extent 'waited for me' in Nyhavn. Instead, the concept was understood as something that was being created, which makes it appear as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Here it was possible to see '… a synchronisation of performance as method and parallel observation comes into existence due to a scientific observer being also part of the performance' (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht 2008, p. 12). Thereby, I was a part of the studied field feeling the embodied experiences that was under investigation, which helps underline and brings forward the embodied nature of what the thesis sets out to investigate.

When doing research from a non-representational standpoint this is what is favoured, where 'the idea is to get embroiled in the site and allow ourselves to be infected by the effort, investment, and craze of the particular practice or experience being investigated' (Dewsbury 2010, p. 326). As the headline of this chapter notes, the method of observation is called observant participation, which is a method that is used less than participant observation. Choosing the former method instead of the latter, underlines 'the serious empirical involvement involved in non-representational theory's engagement with

practices, embodiment and materiality' (ibid, p. 327). The observant participation consisted of sensing, listening and witnessing, 'and involved the more experiential and felt qualities …' of Nyhavn, which for instance was 'materialities, awareness of spaces, bodies and emotions' (Morton 2005, p. 668). It was conducted through various forms of interacting with the area and space, so to speak. Meaning that I shifted between locations and places in the area throughout the fieldwork. Varying between experiencing the space from sitting at different spots on the quayside and thereby experiencing Nyhavn the local way (Appendix 3, l. 10), walking from one end to another both on the sunny as well as the shady side and sitting at a couple of different restaurants ordering food and/or beverages. By placing myself at different spots in Nyhavn and experiencing it both from a moving and a still position made it possible to detect different kinds of movements, actions and ways of being in the space of Nyhavn. In general taking in the ways people looked, talked, acted and reacted; postures, weather, life, vibrancy, time, sociality and how the materialities of the area had different effects on the people and played out different roles in terms of who interacted with them or not.

During the time spend in Nyhavn - observing the people, the area and the vibrancy that arose from the scenery - notes were being taken, some more fully described than others. This was done in order to remember what had happened while on location. During times when there was a lot of experiences and impressions at once, fewer and faster notes were taken, which afterwards were written out in more depth and detail. It was necessary to take the raw data from the field notes and transform it into 'expanded write-ups' for it to be an 'intelligible product', which then was easier to code, comment and analyse on (Miles et al 2014, p. 71).

2.3.2 Visual and Audio Methodologies

Today's media landscape 'permit us to achieve the visual *as* images rather than just through descriptive and evocative writing' (italics in original, Miles et al. 2014, p. 98), why it is evident to use visual and audio methods in obtaining data in this thesis that aims for grasping an intangible phenomenon. When researching the abstract and non-graspable *hygge*, the use of visual and audio data 'allows us to better account for affective modalities that are not necessarily confined by the structures of language, discourse and meaning' (Jensen 2016, p. 158).

The audio material in the data collection consists both of audio clips and the sound that appears in the video clips. By integrating sound as representation of the data collected, provides for 'innovative and multisensory ways to understand spatial dimensions, affective states and sensuous atmospheres in ways that words alone fail' (idem, p. 160-161). When integrating sound as a part of a non-representational approach, the sound is employed in order to 'animate situated experiences, affects and sensuous atmospheres' and to 'engage readers in the active interpretation of sensuous experiences by listening to recordings and generating an embodied understanding that complements more intellectual and textual knowledge forms' (idem, p. 159).

As Simpson (2009) notes about the sounds that surrounds us: 'It is about listening to it – to its materiality, rhythm, and timbre, and how this resonates in us and perpetually makes and unmakes us' (p. 2571). The listening to for instance music can influence people in various ways. It has the power to make us feel at peace, disturbed or unsettled or it even 'may make us feel like dancing or … make us feel like falling asleep [or] it may have little noticeable impact at all' (ibid.). So, by incorporating sounds into the data collection in trying to grasp the ungraspable, helps put a focus on how sound can be a component that influences the space, the atmospheres and the bodies.

The reason for choosing video, as part of the data collection methods, is that video as a method 'is associated with the sensory, affective and empathetic forms of engagement and communication' (Pink et al. 2014, p. 345-355), which then supports the idea of engaging with and investigating the non-representational 'dimensions of how affective and sensory elements of our worlds are experienced and made' (ibid.). As a medium it gives the viewer the possibility to engage with the presented, 'which imply that it could enable us to perceive ... elements of the non-representational dimensions of the experience of atmosphere' (idem, p. 364). Even though it does not seem possible to disseminate the exact atmospheres from one place to another, the medium of video is the closest one can get to capture the essence of the atmospheres and then from this being able to elaborate and analyse it. So, even though video is not able to capture the specific atmospheres, 'it can be used to invoke our imaginative capacities to engage with the experiential dimensions of other people's worlds – both as ethnographers researching 'in the middle of it 'and as viewers invited to imagine being there' (idem, p. 366).

The visual and audio data obtained in the field was done with my personal smartphone. It was convenient and right at hand, which made the situation of taking pictures, recoding video and sound rather natural since it was my personal device, which I am familiar with. Not bringing an actual video camera and a dictaphone along with me made my observations and recordings more part of the natural surroundings and the normal behavioural scene of Nyhavn. Being the researcher in the field with the purpose of collecting data with my smartphone, I was also a participant in the same field I was investigating. This might have influenced the atmospheres and the *hygge* of the area - something that is important to keep in mind when analysing the collected data.

Pictures, video and audio clips can be found on Dropbox, YouTube and SoundCloud respectively. The links to different categories can be found in the appendences. The accounts have been created in order to make it easy to integrate the sound and video files into the written text via hyperlinks. In doing so the text is being enriched by the video and sound, which has the possibility to give the reader a different, wider and more sensuous experience when reading the collected data. By integrating these 'impressionistic accounts and audio examples' it becomes possible 'to enliven the sound of the non-representational, listening to spaces and how they resonate in us' (Jensen et al. 2015, p. 70).

2.3.3 Documentary Materials and Netnography

Besides the observant participation, field notes, photographs, video and sound clips, written material has also been used for gathering information. These written and external material have consisted of books, academic articles, political documents concerning Nyhavn, online articles, websites and blogs. I will get back to the online material, when elaborating the concept of netnography and the use of it in this thesis. Primarily, the academic articles and books have been reviewed and relevant information from these has been put together to form the literature review, which will follow this chapter. To have a literature review that connects relevant fields when looking into this specific research area creates the foundation for a thorough, reflexive and fruitful analysis. As mentioned previously, it has been necessary to draw in theory and knowledge from other fields than tourism, in being able to grasp and study the intangible phenomenon *hygge*.

One of the methods used for obtaining data in this thesis is netnography. Here reviews and statements about Nyhavn have been gathered from respectively TripAdvisor and (travelling) blogs. Netnography is described as being a 'qualitative method devised specifically to investigate the consumer behavior of

cultures and communities present on the Internet' (Kozinets 1998, p. 366) – in other words, it is a way of doing ethnographic research online. There are many advantages of netnography, where one of them is the fact that it in most cases are 'time-saving and inexpensive' (Wu & Pearce 2013, p. 465); the only things you need to have as a researcher is a computer and access to the internet – or another technical device that is able to go online - in order to access the online communities you wish to investigate. Another advantage of using netnography is how it is found 'to be a powerful method in eliciting natural and detailed descriptions about both general activities and some sensitive activities' (ibid.). Furthermore, netnography gives the researcher a chance of looking at the customer/tourists experience of a given place, which is not affected by the researchers presence, given that the customer/tourist expresses his or her point of view of the experience after the visit is over (Rageh et al. 2013, p. 131).

Since netnography is not used as the primary method in this thesis and way of exploring the concept of *hygge,* the purpose of its integration is not to get a look into a specific forum online or the like. The purpose in integrating it is to gather reviews, opinions, experiences and statements about Nyhavn that is fruitful in connection with exploring the atmospheres of the research area. In narrowing down the information on the internet of relevance for this thesis, I chose to have two main areas from where the data was collected; TripAdvisor and blogs. TripAdvisor was chosen since it is the worlds largest travelling website, where travellers from all over the world share their experiences of visited places (TripAdvisor n.d. a). Here it was possible to get a rather easy access to all the information available about Nyhavn in one place.

2.3.3.1 TripAdvisor

Nyhavn rates number 1 out of 352 activities to do in Copenhagen and there are at present time 17,274 reviews in total (TripAdvisor n.d. b). TripAdvisor offers the possibility to navigate in all the reviews by having various categories to reduce the reviews. You can choose on a scale between the best and the worst rated experiences (*excellent, really good, average, dissatisfied, awful*), what kind of traveller visited Nyhavn (*families, couples, solo traveller, business or friends*), time of the year (*March-May, June-August, September-November, December-February*) and language of the review (*all languages, Danish, English, Italian, Spanish etc.*)[7]. Furthermore, there is the option of searching for specific words in the reviews. Since it did not make sense to look through all of the 17,000+ reviews – and time did not allow it – I chose to do two different searches within the review material.

First, I searched for the word *hygge* in the reviews to see how many used the specific word in describing their experience in Nyhavn. Other than writing the word in the search field no other delimitations were chosen for the search, since it was insignificant to the research topic who the reviewer were, when they visited and what their experiences were rated as. Doing this, a result of 266 reviews in total appeared. At the time being, all the reviews using the word *hygge* were written in Danish, and thereby no foreigners had used the word in their reviews of Nyhavn. Though, it is also important to have in mind how the atmosphere of *hygge* can be present, expressed and described

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[7] The majority of the reviews are in Danish, English, Italian and Spanish. In total there appears (at present time) reviews concerning Nyhavn in 28 different languages. Here mentioned in the order of the most popular language of the review to the least: English, Danish, Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, German, Swedish, Russian, Dutch, Norwegian, Japanese, Chinese (traditional), Chinese (simplified), Turkish, Polish, Greek, Korean, Finnish, Indonesian, Thai, Czech, Hungarian, Hebrew, Slovakian, Arabic, Serbian and Vietnamese.

without the exact word, but with other words describing the phenomenon. I went through all 266 reviews and picked out the ones that I characterized as having enough depth and relevance in terms of describing their experience and the atmospheres of Nyhavn. The chosen reviews were gathered in a document in order to give a better overview of the collected material, which can be found in Appendix 1. By gathering them in one document also made the coding and analysing process easier.

Since all of the reviews in the first search appeared to be written by Danes, another search was necessary, since it also was of interest to see what foreign tourists experienced when visiting Nyhavn, not only national ones and locals. Furthermore, it was of interest to look at not only what was described as being *hyggeligt*, but also what to some extent tried to challenge or influence the conception of *hygge* in Nyhavn. Therefore, the second search was done within the reviews where the criteria were the reviews should be rated with dissatisfied and awful (1 and 2 respectively out of 5 possible, where 5 is the best rated). In total it gave a result of 209 reviews, where 161 of them were categorized as being dissatisfied and 48 were awful. From the 161 reviews, 70 were picked out as being of relevance to the topic of the study, which can be found in Appendix 2. The reviews appeared in several different languages, which have been incorporated in the appendix. Though, the ones not appearing in English and Danish have been translated into English with help from Google Translate, which appears under the original review in a grey colour.

2.3.3.2 Blogs

Some of the data was also collected from (travelling) blogs. In this case, a search on Google was undertaken with a mix of the words 'Nyhavn', 'travelling' and 'blog'. The criteria for being taken into consideration as relevant data was that it had to be a person who had visited Nyhavn and written their experience of how they had perceived Nyhavn as a space. Age, nationality, number of travellers and occupation was of no importance in proportion to the topic of the research, why this was not being considered of relevance in the selection. On the contrary, it was of importance that they described their perception of the space of Nyhavn after their visit. By looking through blogs with experiences of Nyhavn I was able to add to the data collected from TripAdvisor. In this way I got opinions and statements from people that possibly did not write about their experience at TripAdvisor. The ones found relevant in the search can be found in Appendix 3.

2.4 Data Collection Process

2.4.1 Coding

When all the data was collected, it was important to get an overview of the material. This was done by using coding, so that it was possible to divide the material into categories and see what issues and areas of interest arose from the data collected (Miles et al. 2014, p. 71). Once started on the coding, the analysis already began to take shape, since coding emerges as 'deep reflection about, and thus, deep analysis and interpretation of the data's meanings' (idem, p. 72). Coding is usually used to look into similar data chunks (ibid.), where the data in the case of this thesis, takes various forms. Though, I have found the method relevant anyway to give an overall view of the collected data, and thereby making it easier to 'quickly find, pull out, and cluster the segments relating to a particular research question … or theme' (ibid.). The practicalities concerning the coding, was to work with one category

of data at the time. Each category was looked thoroughly through and notes were taken at the same time at a big piece of paper, so that in the end the coding of all the material was gathered in one place. Subsequently, the notes were looked through once again to establish recurring themes and patterns, '… seeing plausibility and clustering, making metaphors, counting, making contrasts/comparisons, partitioning variables … [and] noting the relations between variables and finding intervening variables' (Miles et al. 2014, p. 290). Hereby, it was easier to generate meaning from the total data collection.

2.4.2 Describing Action: Impressionist Tales

Trying to grasp the ungraspable alternative methods must be used to present the collected data, as have been mentioned earlier. Besides from the collection process being different than for instance the classic interview technique, the presentation of the data itself would benefit from alternative ways of presenting. One way this is tried to be done is by the use of so-called impressionist tales, which are inspired by Van Maanen (2011). An impressionist tale is a way of expressing and showing what has been experienced during the fieldwork, and 'they reconstruct in dramatic form those periods the author regards as especially notable and hence reportable' (idem, p. 102). The whole idea with using impressionist tales as a way of presenting fieldwork and other data collection is to draw the audience 'into an unfamiliar story world and allow it, as far as possible, to see, hear, and feel as the fieldworker saw, heard, and felt' (idem, p. 103). This way of presenting corresponds well with the understandings presented within the non-representational theory, and in the case of wanting to study the intangible phenomenon of *hygge*. By using this rather alternative way of working with and presenting data, I am seeking to contribute to the rather conservative tourism research as it is today and have been for many years so that it might become less conservative, fixed and bounded in the way it is carried out (Xiao et al. 2015, p. 374). With the non-presentational approaches it has opened up for new ways to attend the embodied emotions and performances that is an inevitable part of being a tourist (Xiao et al. 2015, p. 373). Xiao et al. (2015) proposes that the next step for tourism research could be in the direction of the non-representational approaches in order to develop and strengthen the field. Accordingly, this is what is aimed for within this study.

Adding to the form of the impressionist tale, I draw inspiration from Jensen et al. (2015), where they in their portraying of the tales incorporate hyperlinks, which leads the reader to respectively YouTube and SoundCloud, where audio-visual material are found to reinforce the experience of reading the impressionist tale. Choosing the form of the impressionist tales in a way of presenting data was done due to its '… ability to animate spaces of …' (idem, p. 66) a given place, which in this case is Nyhavn. Furthermore, by integrating the audio-visual material it offers a representation of the '… rich examples to capture the inherent multisensuality of experiences in ways that discrete methods would not allow' (ibid.).

2.5 Implications and Limitations

When looking to the non-representational theory, it gives the opportunity to work with data collection in a different way, and tries to not take a position in the traditional way of collecting data (Dirksmeier & Helbrecht 2014, p. 6-7). The original thought was to interview tourists on site in Nyhavn in

connection with the data collection. But during the fieldwork I learned how it put me as a researcher in an awkward position when intruding their personal space of *hygge*. Furthermore, when following the non-representational theory and wanting to investigate a phenomenon as complex as *hygge*, it calls for a different approach than the traditional form of the interview. It requires an alternative, performative way of investigating to meet the requirements of the complexity it entails (ibid.). Therefore, 'participative and open methods of performance ... should be favoured over traditional methods of the generation of representations like the interview, [and] group discussions ... as the centre of the method spectrum' (ibid.). With the focus on performance opens up for new ways of doing research, where it becomes important to witness in order to understand 'not just how people describe their world – but how they act in their world ... [and] witnessing this 'doing' can offer opportunities to access a range of experiences and emotions that are not easily expressed through interview talk' (Pratt 2009, p. 526).

With the combination of fieldwork, me as a researcher and the theoretical and methodological comprehension it became clear how the situation of the phenomenon of *hygge* would have been dispersed by collecting the data with the classic interview form. And as Pink et al. (2014) argues how for instance interviewing doubtlessly can produce great research, but when doing research into atmospheres, it might be beneficial with the 'more reflexive research approaches and video techniques' (p. 363). Thus, the creative approach inspired by the non-representational approach used in this project is a way to some extent to provoke the traditional methods within tourism research and an attempt to think out of the box in a different and innovative way in a conforming and not so experimenting research field. In addition, incorporating these alternative ways of doing research, also forces me as a researcher to think differently and in other ways than I have been used to. Thereby placing me in a position where it was necessary to experiment and develop new realms of understanding the tourism experience.

The role of the researcher is also something that is of relevance when talking about validity. Being a native Dane in a research study on a Danish phenomenon is something that must be given some thought. During my whole life I have lived in Denmark, why I have lifelong experience with the customs of interaction in the Danish society, the language and the embedded meanings in the concept of *hygge*. Though, as much as possible I have tried to distance myself from my role of being native, both during the field research and throughout the writings. But it is important to note that it might have unconsciously resulted in my role as a researcher not being as critical or observant during the observations as would have been preferred, due to my personal biases. Nevertheless, a researcher is of course an active interpreter of the experiences and not simply a passive recipient (Dewsbury 2010, p. 331), why it is important being able to take a reflexive stance, since it is the personal experience that '... is at the centre of the learning ...' (Pink et al. 2014, p. 363). I believe, I have used self-reflection and several research methods in trying to '... reduce potential researcher bias' (Dwyer et al., 2012, p. 386) throughout the process.

When trying to encapsulate the atmospheres to some extent via the methods used in this project – and in general - it is also important to be aware of the traces the researcher might leave in the collected data (Pink et al. 2014, p. 365). It is namely not only what is '... in front of the camera that is important to attend to, but also the question of how we ourselves use recordings to image other people's experiences of atmospheres' (ibid.). In addition, Dirksmeier and Helbrecht (2008) explain how, the entire research process '... is (part of the) performance', which creates a situation where the researcher is included '... as an active part into the research process ...' (p. 13).

2.6 Validity

To improve the validity of this research project there has been a focus on triangulation within the methods, which is the strategy of combining '… multiple methods of data collection and analysis to improve internal validity, to produce more rigorous research outcomes and improve confidence in the findings' (Dwyer et al. 2012, p. 427). The triangulation can be applied on different levels, such as triangulation through data sources, methods, researcher, theory and data types (Miles et al. 2014, p. 299). In regards to this thesis, there has been adapted triangulation into each of the mentioned forms of triangulation, except researcher triangulation.

The triangulation is present in the data sources, where there have been collected data from Nyhavn at different times during the day, from TripAdvisor and blogs. Methods of obtaining the data has also been multiple as shown in the previous; photographs, video, sound clips and observant participation, which then also showcases different types of data. And finally, the theoretical triangulation consists of various fields of theory, which have been drawn in to make sure there has been used multiple perspectives to interpret the collected data (Decrop 1999, p. 160). By making use of triangulation, it makes sure the information comes from different angles, and thereby it '… can be used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research problem' (idem, p. 158). Furthermore, it limits the '… personal and methodological biases and enhances a study's generalizability' (ibid.).

2.7 Methodological Conclusion

As Vannini (2015) puts it:

> Non-representational research styles aim to enliven rather than report, to render rather than represent, to resonate rather than validate, to rupture and reimagine rather than to faithfully describe, to generate possibilities of encounter rather than construct representative ideal types (p. 15).

This is what is being aimed for within this thesis, and what the abovementioned methodology section aims for. In trying to deconstruct the experience of Nyhavn with the concept of *hygge*, which appears as a part of the social reality of Denmark, it calls for alternative methods in order to being able to grasp the social reality. These alternative methods have been inspired by the non-representational theory and methods, which are ideal for looking into the complexity of social life that *hygge* represents. In order to cover the vast majority of the aspects of *hygge* various methods have been used. First, Nyhavn as a case has been chosen in order to have a better chance at grasping the ungraspable through a specific case, and being able to take the reader into the world of the specific atmospheres from where he/she can create their own understanding of the phenomenon. Moreover, the data collections consisted of various methods such as observant participation, visual and audio methods such as pictures, video and audio, impressionist tales and different documents and netnography in order to get into as many corners of *hygge* in Nyhavn as possible.

3 Literature review

3.1 Theoretical Introduction

As described in the method section, the theory used for this project will be a mixture of literature from different fields, such as tourism, human geography, sociology of the sense, sociology, anthropology and non-representational methodologies, which makes it a transdisciplinary project. Hence, the following theory section will cover and unfold various fields of theory in order to encapsulate the concept of *hygge* and to build an understanding of the rather multifaceted notion that *hygge* entails. First, the performative turn in tourism will be unfolded in order to place the project within the field of tourism research, where the meaning of tourism spaces will be unfolded as well as the notion of senses and sensescapes. Second, *hygge* will be investigated with different literature. Not much have been written within academia, but the interest in *hygge* is rather big online. Characteristics of the concept will be covered as well as the negatives sides that are to be found and finally it will be discussed if *hygge* is experienced of everyone present. Third, the non-representational theory will be elaborated, wherein atmospheres as a theoretical aspect will be investigated. Moreover, light is presented as an essential co-creator of atmospheres.

3.2 The Performative Turn in Tourism

Within tourism research there has been a tendency towards focusing on the visual aspect as the main way to do and experience tourism. But as William and Lew (2015) notes, 'holidays revolve around bodily experiences' such as eating, walking, drinking and dancing (p. 125), and 'part of the motivation of tourism is to immerse oneself in these sensual, bodily experiences. In this way, the embodied experience becomes critical to the overall process of consumption, perhaps even marking its culmination' (ibid.). Since the mid 1990s this primary focus on the visuals within tourism has been shaken up by the performative turn (Dirksmeier & Helbrect 2008, p. 5). The turn has brought ways of looking at tourism experiences, behaviour and doings, which are more multisensuous, where the 'bodily sensations' also are taken into account, such as smelling, hearing, touching, feeling etc. (Ek et al. 2008, p. 125). Thereby, it has been emphasized how 'the doings of tourism are physical and corporeal and not merely visual' (Larsen & Urry 2011, p. 1110). In this way of looking at the world, practices are more important than representations found in texts, and what is being studied is the '… 'liveliness' of social life by highlighting how tourists experience places in multisensuous ways involving bodily sensations and affect as well as various technologies' (Larsen & Urry 2011, p. 1112). As Ek et al. (2008) put it metaphorically: 'in addition to looking at stages, tourists step into them and enact them corporeally" (p. 125).

In relation to the abovementioned, the concept of the tourist gaze, which has been written by John Urry in 1990, has been under critique of exactly 'reducing tourism to visual experiences' (Larsen & Urry 2011, p. 1111). Though, this critique is defended by Larsen and Urry (2011), where they rethink the understanding of the tourist gaze and bring out how the concept of gazing is not merely containing the aspect of seeing, but also 'is embodied, multimodal, and involves other sensescapes' (p. 1115). They further describe the gazing as involving:

> ... physical movement through landscapes, cities and sights, aesthetic sensibility, connecting signs and their referents, daydreaming and mind travelling, and embodied practices capturing places and social relations photographically but also touching, smelling, and hearing objects of the gaze; and most sightseeing involves some modes of listening ... Tourists touch, stroke, walk or climb upon, and even collect the building and objects that they lay their eyes upon (ibid.).

So the concept of gazing in relation to tourism is not *just* about the visuals, it is multisensuous as here shown by Larsen and Urry (2011). In addition, they emphasize how the visual is though not an aspect that can be ignored in relation to looking at tourism from a performative stand, since '... it is the organising sense ... [that] organises the place, role, and effect of the other senses' (p. 1111). For instance, if you are hungry, hung-over, thirsty, cold or something else that effects the body's well-being, your opinion of the gaze might be affected (idem, p. 1115).

Besides from having a focus on the multisensuous, the performative turn also has a focus on how the tourist rarely travels alone, and thereby are travelling and experiencing in the company of others (Ek et al. 2008, p. 125). By acknowledging this fact, it becomes clear how tourism not only contains the aspect of experiencing events and places, 'but also emotional geographies of sociability, of being together with close friends and family members. While traveling together, couples, families and friends are actually together, not separated by work, homework, leisure activities and geographical distances' (ibid.). Thereby, the tourist does not experience the places just by themselves, but 'they gaze upon [places and things] ... within a sea of known others, tourists, locals, and other agents of power' (Larsen & Urry 2011, p. 1116). Then, the way places and things are being observed, experienced and taken in by the tourist have to be seen in connection with the surroundings and who the person is travelling with, since it influences the tourists 'emotional and affective experiences' (idem, p. 1117).

In relation to the performative turn it is of relevance to draw in Goffman (1990), who is known for his use of a dramaturgical approach to the everyday life, where he presents his idea of how people relate and communicate with each other in everyday life. He presents the concepts of front and back region (or backstage) in describing the life of people as performers, and talks about how we as performers are performing on two stages; front region and back region and how the people surrounding us can be called the audience (Goffman 1990). Front region is the place where people meet and play out different roles, where the performers always try to do their best in connection to their audience (Goffman 1990, pp. 109-110). The back region as a place stands more like a private space, where the impressions are being made that are going to create your role (idem, p. 114). In relation to this thesis it is relevant to use Goffman's theory when looking at Nyhavn as the scene that the tourists step into where they as performers are performing and having an embodied experience. Besides from being a scene, Nyhavn also stands out as a tourism space. This term will be elaborated in the following.

3.2.1 Tourism Spaces

Tourism is characterized by being an 'escape from the 'stresses and strains' of mundane, everyday life' (Edensor 2007, p. 1999), which defines the setting one should look at tourism from. Even though it is characterized as an escape from the everyday life and the habits connected to this, the tourists 'carry quotidian habits an responses with them along with their luggage' (idem, p. 200). Thereby, Edensor suggest throughout his article that tourism 'is imbricated with the mundane and quotidian' (idem, p.

211). Furthermore, an important point put forward by Edensor (2007) is, how the lines have been blurred between touristic activities during a holiday compared to leisure activities within an ordinary week (p. 211).

When being a tourist, there are specific shared conventions on how to 'do tourism' in the correct way in terms of what to do, how to travel, how to behave and what to see, all depending on what kind of tourist category you belong to; be it backpacker, charter, city traveller etc. (Edensor 2007, p. 202). When visiting for instance Copenhagen as a tourist destination, these classic 'must-sees' could be the little mermaid, Nyhavn and maybe even to experience some *hygge*. When travelling, it is often preferred to want to experience the otherness and the specific culture of the place being visited (Edensor 2007). Here Edensor (2007) points out a paradox within tourism, which is concerned with how 'the confrontation of alterity is desired, [but] the disruption this creates can engender self-doubt or self-consciousness, not conductive to having a good time' (p. 202). So if something is experienced as perhaps too different from oneself it can cause negative effects within the tourist.

The way people behave within tourism spaces is specific for this particular concept and it is grounded in the unique way the body moves, acts and perceives the surroundings. When being a tourist, the feel of the space does have an influence on the body, where the feeling '… impresses itself upon the body, provoking sensations and coercing its actions' (Edensor 2007, p. 207). As Edensor notes, the experience of space within tourism is not something that only is experienced within for instance 'spectacular attractions and symbolic landscapes' (p. 206). The experience of space is also rooted through the 'mundane routines and sensations of touristscapes and enmeshed in the performance of predictable and habitual routines undertaken by people who posses a practical unreflexive knowledge of such spaces' (ibid.).

In addition, the tourist space is not just for tourists. It is also important to note how tourist sites also involve the people who work at the location, which turns the tourist site into a space where 'the routines of workers and tourists intersect' (Edensor 2007, p. 205). The tourism space is then characterized by 'a matrix of attractions, hotels, restaurants and other facilities which may be mixed with other non-touristic amenities, activities and sites, or may be somewhat enclavic' (ibid.). Thereby, the spaces that tourism operates in are a mixture of all these different spaces that also touches upon the inhabitants and workers of the place (Edensor 2007, p. 205). In some spaces, where tourists are being the main focus, the sensualities 'are concerned with managing the sensual world, keeping strong smells, loud noises and rough textures at bay' (Edensor 2007, p. 208). By doing this, there are created what can be called a 'blandscape' where nothing stands out (Drobnick 2002 in Edensor 2007, p. 209).

The 'blandscape' is characterized by being without character and formed and guided by 'deodorization', just assimilating itself into being insipid (Edensor 2007, p. 209). Within this space there is put an effort into not disrupting 'the calm, toned down atmosphere, which has become synonymous with relaxation, and soundscapes compromising the tinkle of the fountain and piped music drift through restaurants and hotels' (ibid.). In accordance to the notion of the blandscape, it then becomes important to have control over the soundscape, so that nothing disrupts the feeling of relaxation and peacefulness. When investigating soundscapes it is important to have in mind how it 'cannot be reduced to the study of 'sound' but are spatially, affectually and socially productive as they display different expectations, habits, practices and responses' (Jensen et al. 2015, p. 70). Other than the soundscapes being considered as important in connection to the tourist experience, other aspects of how to make the body feel relaxed and comfortable in the spaces of a tourism setting, are for instance the furnishing. What is important in this relation would be a focus on the 'linen sheets, plump,

cushioned furniture and air-conditioning' (Edensor 2007, p. 209), so that the body can feel relaxed. In this context the focus on the sense of touch comes into the picture as being an important aspect of a tourism setting. In the following section the senses and sensescapes will be investigated further in order to get a better understanding of what is important to look at in the case of this project.

3.2.2 Senses and the Sensescapes

When looking at tourism from a performative perspective, the embodied experience and all the various senses become the focus of research as mentioned earlier. Looking at senses from a non-representational point of view implies the notion of senses not just as 'a passive receptor but rather as an interface' (Vannini & Taggart 2014, p. 66). In this way of understanding senses they are being acknowledged as hubs of activities, sensibilities, skills and orientations to modulate the world and treated 'as a type of affect' (ibid.). Vannini and Taggart describe how affect is understood as 'a bodily pull and push' and it 'is the body's capacity to be moved and be affected, and the body's capacity to move and affect other people and other things' (ibid.). The most referred to senses are the five senses of vision, hearing, smell, taste and touch. Besides from these five senses there are to be found more – precisely how many, depends on whom you ask. Though, this discussion belongs in another project, why I just wish to bring in one more sense besides the five: thermoception. This sense deals with temperature and our ability to perceive and distinguish between hot and cold (Vannini & Taggart 2014, p. 62).

In relation to the senses, weather plays a significant role, where Vannini et al. (2011) have shown how 'people experience weather multisensorially and how the weather plays a central role in the way individuals and collectives define sense of place' (p. 361). The weather is something that is an inevitable aspect of life. As Vannini et al. (2011) further elaborates, the weather can be seen as a 'taskscape' (p. 369), which 'occasions activities, provides us with resources, facilitates certain types of actions and discourages others ...' (ibid.). Looking at weather as being a taskscape entails that it 'invokes the works of our senses' and it 'brings forth a distinct sensual dimension to place. The weather immerses us into a world of sensations that underwrite our capacity to touch, taste, see, smell, and hear place, by affording us with possibilities for movement, for action' (ibid.). Thereby, does the weather appear as this constant component that influences our everyday life by having an affect on our bodies, actions and the senses.

According to the sense of thermoception, it is relevant to bring in the concept of thermalscapes, which is presented by Jensen et al. (2015). The term is shown to be important in connection with the touristic experience, since the temperature of a place or space is a component that can speed up, slow down '... and alter human behaviour, moods and travel sensations' (p. 71). Jensen et al. (2015) express how the thermalscapes 'are not just spaces through which bodies move, but instead a set of dynamic and kinetic affects' (ibid.). Thereby, the thermalscapes becomes a significant component to be aware of when looking at the tourist experience, since it has the potential to 'segregate, conjoin and influence the behaviour and affective experiences of travellers' (idem, p. 73).

The concept of lightscape will be elaborated in the section *3.4.1.1 Light - an Co-creator of Atmospheres* since it immediately stands as an important component in establishing an atmosphere described by *hygge*. The next section will take the reader into the world of *hygge* and give a better understanding of the phenomenon and how it is being grasped.

3.3 Hygge and its implications

The representation of the concept of *hygge* within the academia literature is rather sparse as earlier mentioned. Though, there are a few who deal with the phenomenon. Linnet (2010, 2011, 2016) is the author who has been dealing with the concept most comprehensively at present. In his work 'Money Can't Buy Me Hygge' (2011) he suggests that 'the experience of *hygge* represents a charging of everyday spatiality and sociality with cultural meanings that are egalitarian in that they work as countermeasures to the hierarchy between social classes' (p. 41). This understanding of *hygge* as containing the characteristic of involving to some extent equality amongst the people experiencing the *hygge* is expressed several places in the literature (Borish 1991, Linnet 2010, Wiking 2016, Levinsen 2012).

Throughout Linnet's work he shows how various conditions may play a role in the creation of the concept *hygge* in Denmark and how it has been evolving into what it is today (Linnet 2011). He mentions the conditions being historical, environmental, religious, economic and political aspects, which combined have helped form the concept of *hygge* as it is perceived amongst Danes today (Linnet 2011, p. 40). Moreover, he explains how the specifically Danish characteristic of *hygge* is expressed through it being 'simultaneously a national icon, a contested ideological ground, and a ubiquitous feature of everyday sociality' (ibid.). In relation to this, Boye (2010) also describes how *hygge* is a natural part of the Danes' everyday life and how there exist a more or less common understanding of the concept and of when something is *hyggeligt* or not (p. 180). She continues by describing how the phenomenon of *hygge* is so embedded in the Danish culture that it can be difficult for the natives to describe it precisely and hard for the people from outside the culture to understand the concept fully (ibid.).

Several authors are expressing thoughts concerning if it is possible to translate *hygge* or not. Borish (1991) comments that it is not possible to come up with a simple translation since it is 'deeply embedded in a rich and complicated system of symbolically elaborated cultural meanings' (p. 266). Thereby, explaining the concept to a non-Dane would be hard with just one foreign word. So there might not be one specific word to translate *hygge* into English, as there simply is no word within the English vocabulary that quite captures the entirety of the concept. But as Linnet (2011) puts it: 'The mode of sociality referred to as *hygge* may be universal' (p. 39). Hereby the feelings and the state of mind entailed in *hygge* are probably to be found a lot of other places around the world. But many might wonder and question if the concept is then typically Danish in that many might think it is something they have experienced themselves in their own country when the concept is being described for them (Linnet 2016). The answer to this, according to Linnet (2011, 2016), is that in an anthropological sense it is uniquely Danish in that in Denmark a society, which appreciates equality has been established and a great safety and home oriented middleclass has been created where the concept of *hygge* has become the Danes' 'central cultural ideal in terms of how people should behave towards other people' (own translation, Linnet 2016; Linnet 2011).

The idea about the ubiquity of *hygge* is an important aspect of the concept. It is seen everywhere as is shown in his work – and in others (Borish 1991, Bille 2013, Boye 2010, Levinsen 2012) - and the word is used in various constellation in expressing gratitude amongst friends, family and acquaintances. Here *hygge* is being expressed as a performative gesture. Moreover, Borish (1991) notes how *hygge* is not just for one part of the society in regards of age, region or social class, but is to be found in various groups of people, where it though might be practiced in different ways (p. 267-268). In its ubiquity the notion of *hygge* becomes therefore a 'cultural reference point that all Danes relate to, even if they

disagree about its attractiveness and legitimacy' (Linnet 2011, p. 38). The aspect of people experiencing and practicing *hygge* in different ways will be infolded in the section 3.2.3 Is it *hyggeligt* for everyone?

3.3.1 Characteristics of *Hygge*

As mentioned in the introduction *hygge* fits into many categories. In the following it will be unfolded further what characterizes the phenomenon. The common characteristics being emphasised by the authors who have concerned themselves with *hygge* are mainly within the positive spectre of the vocabulary (see Figure 1 and Appendix 4). Linnet (2011) notes how *hygge* entails 'a safe, low-key, intimate form of socialization' and that 'the home seems to be the most common setting for *hygge*' (p. 23). From this perspective, *hygge* appears as a homely space. In addition, it is described by being 'a way of being together which is ideally experienced as friendly, safe, good-humored, inclusive and devoid of conflict or demands' (Linnet 2010, p. 172). In this context it appears as what can be named an interactive social negotiation between the people involved. The house of the family 'becomes a home by virtue of a special kind of togetherness that is lacking in the modern public sphere, to which it acts as a countermeasure' (idem, p. 30). *Hygge* is thereby seen as a concept that is closely connected to family and home, and a *hyggelig* setting should express something home-like to the person (ibid.). Thus, the home-like feeling creates the basics for describing how the space should feel like if one is to experience *hygge*.

Figure 1 Word cloud consisting of words used by authors to describe hygge.

As Bille (2013) describes: '*Hygge* denotes a particular feeling of space and way of being together but is also a term used extensively in everyday life to describe the atmospheric quality of individual objects, events, or … a particular light' (p. 58-59). Here the aspect of light is brought forward in connection to *hygge*, which will be unfolded further in section 3.3.1.1 Light – a Co-creator of Atmospheres. Furthermore, 'people experience a sense of closeness, often based on sharing food and drinks' (ibid.). The aspect of sharing food and drinks in relation to *hygge*, is something Boye (2010) concerns herself with, where she shows how food and beverages have cultural embedded meanings, which underpins different situations and that it is rarely that people get together without ingesting some kind of food or beverages (p. 148). In these cultural embedded meanings, it appears how '"Hygge" is perceived to be mentally healthy but physically unhealthy' (Boye 2010, p. 299), which points at the conclusion of her study, where she shows how Danes are of the belief that it is okay to eat unhealthy in a situation of *hygge* (Boye 2010). In accordance to this, Linnet (2010) notes how *hygge* constitutes '… a certain social pressure on people to take part in the consumption of these snacks and beverages' (p. 181). By saying no to what is being served in a situation of *hygge* can be perceived as being rude or disrespectful and then ruin the *hygge* (Linnet 2010, p. 181; Boye 2010, p. 237). Thus, food and

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beverages serve as some of the material character that are to be found within the understanding of *hygge*, where it in the main part is all about '… coming together through things: food, candy, television, or being alone with a book and a cup of tea, whereby the material infrastructure becomes the media through which cosiness unfolds' (Bille 2015, p. 263). From this the materiality of *hygge* appears and can be expressed through for instance light, food and beverages as some of the material components that connect and create the atmospheres of *hygge*.

3.3.2 The Downside of *Hygge*

Even though a lot of positive things have been written about *hygge*, there also exist a negative side of the phenomenon. As Linnet (2011) notes, in general *hygge* is perceived and explained quite fondly by foreign observers, and when it comes to Danes themselves, it is presented more self-critically and polemically, where 'the Danish nation is depicted as a naively sleeping child who does not face up the world' (p. 33). This goes well along with the literature that has been found for this thesis in covering the concept of *hygge*, where in the case of foreign literature on the subject it is treated rather positively and fondly, while in the Danish material there is a tendency to be a bit more critical towards the concept. For instance, *hygge* has been the center of attention in some newspaper articles published in Denmark (Bennike 2016, Dencik 2006) where the tone is a bit more negative than in for instance international articles on the concept. Bennike (2016) writes how he believes it is wrong to present Danes as being happy *because* of *hygge* as it is portrayed in a vast amount of foreign captions of the concept. He describes how *hygge* is understood as the story of the good life, the correct way of social behaviour, a room where there are no adversaries and no conflicts of interests (ibid.). From these points he unfolds his critique of the concept as follows:

> *Hygge* is not liberating and *hygge* can't contain the big questions of life, because the big questions are never tranquil and non-controversial. *Hygge* is a conservative ideology where everything ideally should be as it usually is. The roaring sides of human life – everything that truly makes us happy – are not *hyggelige*. Therefore it is not *hygge,* which have made the Danes to the happiest people of the world. Quite the contrary (own translation, Bennike 2016).

So even though many would be of the opinion that *hygge* appears as a non-political concept, there is to be found political elements within the concept concerning the community, space and atmospheres *hygge* creates. As noted by Bennike (2016), Dencik (2006) also touched upon how *hygge* is a space where there is no room for what is different and diverging since it would ruin the *hygge*. This he elaborates in the following way: 'people who can't drink a beer or squeeze down a regular red, Danish sausage like everyone else, for instance due to they are Muslims, people like that you cannot *hygge* yourself with!' (own translation, Dencik 2006). He continues with establishing that 'the Danish *hygge* is per definition only for real Danes' (ibid.). Throughout the article it is clear how irony and sarcasm is being used to put things to the edge and he succeeds in being able to shake up the concept to some extent. The article is concluded with establishing how *hygge* is in its definition and design very excluding (ibid.).

In relation to some of the critique, Borish (1991) – as a foreign author who have spent time in Denmark - notes how 'perhaps a good deal of Danish hygge does have an artificial, papier mâché quality to it, based on a need to keep from awareness things one would rather not see, such as the

unpleasant realities of the invisible poverty' (p. 332). From this critique it becomes clear how there is also a negative side to the seemingly predominant positive perception of *hygge*. It appears how *hygge* can also be comprehended as containing an excluding component and 'power' in some situations, where some people might not feel a part of *hyggen* and excluded from the fellowship and community others are experiencing.

3.3.3 Is it *Hyggeligt* for Everyone?

When an atmosphere is *hyggelig* one could wonder if it is something all who are present are experiencing. In relation to this, Pink et al. (2014) states how atmospheres are being 'felt from the inside' and they are 'felt differently by different people' (p. 353). Moreover, it is not 'possible to ever feel, sense or know the 'same' things as others' (idem, p. 364). However, in Bille's (2013) research in a neighbourhood on Islands Brygge, he presents how every individual in the neighbourhood might not have the exact same feelings towards the atmospheres presented within the area. Nevertheless there is still an affective impact to be found, and a common understanding of when atmospheres is being *hyggelig* (p. 58). With this in mind a person is '... not *in* an atmosphere but *part* of an atmosphere, and this partaking connects individuals that may otherwise not feel or seem connected' (ibid). But as Bille points out, even though they take part in the specific atmosphere there is most likely to be found differences in the feelings connected to the atmospheres. Borish (1991) portrays how 'split or partial' *hygge* can occur in the case of something being *hyggeligt* for some and not for others – as he puts it: 'one man's meat often being another man's poison' (p. 273). The different experience of what is being *hyggeligt* and what is not, can be a result of 'differences in taste and values stemming from rural-urban divisions, political ideologies, social class perspectives, or intergenerational boundaries ... [and] family gatherings [where] what is *hyggeligt* for the older generation may be quite *dødkedeligt* ("deadly boring") for members of the younger' (ibid.).

Thus, it is not possible to generalize since it is not everyone who feels *hygge* at the same time and at the same place. It is seen as an individual state of mind, which depends on several different aspects that can affect the experience of the individual, which will be investigated in the analysis. In relation to this it is important to bear in mind that the world consist of 'affects and presences (or absences, or presence of absences) [which] constantly shape the impression of the world through a haze, without necessarily a clear separation between things' (Bille 2015, p. 269). This haze being produced by the atmospheres with its diffuse borders and vagueness in its definition is the creator of the world becoming 'shaped as a sensed place [which is] at times shared, but with the possibility of radically different perceptions among the people in the same attuned space; some will find it cosy, others not' (ibid.). Thereby, it can be hard to establish 'what the atmosphere precisely *is* in a given situation. Yet as an element of social practice, atmospheres also structure what the world *should* be – in all its unclarity' (ibid.). This leads us to taking a closer look on how to work with something as intangible as atmospheres.

3.4 Embracing the Intangible

When dealing with the intangible phenomenon of atmospheres, which is an important aspect and component of human life, it has been inherent to look at the discipline of human geography. One of the areas in human geography that is central to look at is the body, and the discipline has been reworking

traditional themes, where performance and tourism are amongst some of them, which are of importance in connection to this study (Gregory 2009, p. 354). Furthermore, human geography is a field '… that is centrally concerned with the ways in which lace, space and environment are both the condition and in part the consequence of human activities' (idem, p. 350). When it comes to atmospheres, human geography contains interesting approaches of studying this phenomenon, which for instance is expressed through the non-representational theory.

As Vannini (2014) puts it, non-representational theory works as a 'hybrid genre for a hybrid world' (p. 3), which makes it a relevant theory to encapsulate the notion of *hygge* as being a specific atmosphere. The theory of the non-representational approach opens up for '… ways of attending to embodied emotions, performances and affects that are an integral part of being tourist' (Xiao et al. 2013, p. 373), which makes the non-representational theory suitable for looking into the concept of *hygge* within a tourist setting. As Vannini (2014) describes, non-representational theories '… wants to make us feel something powerful, to give us a sense of the ephemeral, the fleeting, and the not-quite-graspable. It hopes to give life to the inanimate and the more-than-human' (p. 6-7). The theory is suitable for looking into events, relations, doings, affective resonances and backgrounds (Vannini 2014, pp. 7-9), which creates a good foundation and reasoning for implicating this research field into this work. With this refocusing of our attention to be looking at '… performances … and manifestations of everyday life within tourism, we can begin to witness the vitality of tourist worlds as they unfold' (Xiao et al. 2013, p. 374).

Especially the concept of affective resonances fits the concept of *hygge;* here described in the words of Vannini (2014, p. 9):

> Affect is a pull and push, an intensity of feeling, a sensation, a passion and atmosphere, an urge, a mood, a drive – all of the above and none of the above in particular. Affect is embodied but not coterminous with the body.

This leads to that affect is being examined as a capacity within the non-representational theory, where 'the body's capacity to be moved and be affected, and the body's capacity to move and affect other people and other things' (ibid.) are of focus. The affects then appears as being '… partly about a non-conscious and background sense that flies under the radar of thought, deliberation and reflection', which both can emerge as being individual, but it '… can also take a more collective shape in terms of shared atmospheres or vibes that are experienced by many in a particular place' (Xiao et al. 2013, p. 375).

As Dewsbury (2010) notes, it is often the case with shared intangible experiences – as for instance in the case of sharing a specific atmosphere as *hygge* with others – that they appear as '… bridges between individuality and communicability …' (p. 331), where there can be pointed '… to the copresencing that comes about in sharing the same physical space and the same temporal frame in a direct and immediate relationship through a broadly similar physicality …' (ibid.). When looking at the intangible experiences from this point of view, constitutes the way '… we construct the meaning-making of our lives …' and we thereby give '… credence to, and wish to track as research, those moments when something 'happens' that glues us together' (ibid.).

Hygge can be described as an atmosphere, and atmosphere is described as a background within the non-representational theory, where the atmospheres appear as 'the sites that fall outside of common awareness' and 'the places in which habitual dispositions regularly unfold' (Vannini 2014, p. 9). Furthermore, atmospheres are described as being a 'part of the "ubiquitous backdrop" of life and

thought, while at the same time exerting some kind of force' (Anderson & Ash 2014, p. 35). This leads us to the next section, which will detail and outline the concept of atmospheres and how it makes sense to look at this when investigating the phenomenon *hygge*.

3.4.1 Atmospheres

In their work, Anderson and Ash (2014) describe how atmospheres are being presented and how to work with it. They present how the immediate problem, when working with atmospheres, is that it is both a condition and itself conditioned (idem, p. 35). In other words, atmospheres are a concept that needs to be investigated from the aspect of how it is established, but also how it affects the surroundings. Throughout the thesis, atmospheres will be used in plural to underline the social construction that exists within the concept. In relation to this, Pink et al. (2014) note how atmospheres should be seen as part of the environment, and thereby '… it is something that we live through, as much as being something that we make' (p. 354), which relates back to what Anderson and Ash notes on how atmospheres are both a condition and itself conditioned.

When looking at atmospheres, Anderson and Ash (2014) bring up four issues of interest: identification, co-existence, casual powers and transformations. The latter three have been found of relevance for this project, why they will be looked further into in the following in order to bring out some of the paradoxes when looking at atmospheres and to unfold the complexity that lies within atmospheres as a research area. One of the questions asked by Anderson and Ash (2014) is if different atmospheres can exist at the same time in the same place (p. 36). From their research (within a hospital waiting room) they explain how there are several atmospheres present, and it would be hard to define an overarching atmosphere for the specific space of the waiting room (idem, p. 39). Here the problem of co-existence comes into light. They elaborate by explaining how an atmosphere can 'coexist alongside one another without fusing or melting together precisely because the objects and bodies that make up an atmosphere do not exist as a set of totally interactive or accessible relations' (idem, p. 40). Moreover they mention the concept of weight within creating an atmosphere, which covers how 'bodies or objects have a mass, which shapes their capacity to affect, but do not necessarily weigh upon one another' (idem, p. 41). This concept will be further investigated within the description of the issue of transformations further down.

The issue about causal powers is expressed through how the phenomenon is irreducible in the sense that it is 'neither wholly separate from the relations that form them, nor wholly determined by those relations' (Anderson & Ash 2014, p. 42). Not only is atmospheres ambiguous as in regards to the distinction between cause and effect, but also in connection with the distinction between absence/presence and subjective/objective (idem, p. 44). Thus, the formation of atmospheres is rather ambiguous and fluent. On this aspect, Bille (2015) explains how 'the atmosphere is shaped through the intersection of ecstatic matter and people's state of mind, social practices, communication and expectations, which thereby shapes what the thing momentarily is or needs to be' (p. 269). Furthermore, atmosphere is being described as being an "emergent cause" due to the fact that it is uncertain which effects it will have on the bodies, which is where the character of the atmosphere is being expressed; through 'bodily feelings, and qualified in emotions and other actions' (Anderson & Ash 2014, p. 44).

The last issue, transformations, can 'occur through interior changes' or when an 'atmosphere encounters another and overrides or defuses its potency to affect' (idem, p. 45). This distinction opens

up for looking at 'differentiations that multiply … potential ways of knowing and forms of understanding atmospheres' (ibid). Thus it is possible to look at change from the perspective of atmospheres being able to produce or fail to produce 'new relations between the entities within that atmosphere' (idem, p. 46). When looking into what ways the different entities and the atmosphere affects each other or not, the best way to capture and describe this process is using the terms 'thresholds' and 'tipping points' instead of 'the addition or subtraction of elements to/from an atmosphere' (ibid.). To further develop the idea of transformations regarding atmospheres, Anderson and Ash (2014) explains how:

> Mass determines an atmosphere's threshold at which it undergoes internal change, whereas the relational weighing between atmospheres determines their tipping point, or the point at which an atmosphere is subsumed or overridden by the external change brought about by another atmosphere (p. 47).

Here the concepts of weigh and mass are also mentioned as important aspects of the transformations able to be happening within atmospheres. Closely connected to the phenomenon of atmosphere we find light, which has the ability of creating specific atmospheres – especially the atmosphere of *hygge* (Bille 2013). Bille notes how '… light continuously take part in tincturing the atmospheres that act as the invisible medium for expressing and unfolding social and emotional life' (Bille 2013, p. 57). About atmospheres Bille (2013) further states how they '… are dynamic, manipulated, culturally experienced and continually evaluated in people's lives, for instance through negotiating power, gender roles and a sense of community' (p. 57). In the next section light will be further investigated to get a clearer understanding of the measures and impacts of light in connection with atmospheres.

3.4.1.1 Light - a Co-creator of Atmospheres

Bille (2015) portrays how light is not just simply light; all at once it works as 'a marker, an activator of action, a sign and a scene setter that shapes social spaces out of physical spaces, but without a clear meaning, more as a particular presence' (p. 262). Hence, one of the abilities of light is to stage atmospheres and by using light for this purpose it becomes a '… part of orchestrating a presence at a distance, which connects, separates and blurs the boundaries between people and things, and shape an affective presence of the world … ' (Bille 2013, p. 62). In connection with the specific atmosphere of *hygge*, lightning is playing a key role in creating this phenomenon and 'hence, social life in Denmark' (Bille 2015, p. 258).

Thus, light is an important and essential aspect of looking at what creates the specific atmosphere of *hygge*. Bille (2015) presents the term lightscape in connection with his research, where all his 'informants describe *hygge* as shaped by a particular kind of lightscape defined by dimming and shielding the electrical lights or using candlelight …' (ibid.). In connection to this it is important to note how light works as a significant part of shaping atmospheres, though, it is not the only factor playing a role (Bille 2015, p. 261). Having this influential position, light has the ability to create new (visual) spaces within a space with its 'flickering flame' (Bille 2013, p. 59), and by creating a space within a space, without for instance walls, the light is contributing in staging a specific kind of atmosphere. The atmosphere of *hygge* involves '… dimmed, 'warm' lightning dispersed across the room' to create these spaces within the space, which can be seen as a foundation stone of the Danish understanding of

cosiness' (Bille 2013, p. 59). When using candles the feeling you experience is much more connected to 'intimacy and confidentiality (Bille 2015, p. 261).

Not only is light, in its various forms, capable of imposing itself 'onto the material world', as explained above, the light '… also imposes itself on people: the feeling of being at home, or being a part of a community …' (Bille 2013, p. 62). Thus, it is an aspect of highly importance both to subjects, objects and the space surrounding them. Furthermore, Bille (2013) also states how light does not only impact the human body in regards of the abovementioned, but it appears to be 'something that happens to and between people' (p. 60) as well. An example of this is in his data, where he finds how light is associated to the two Danish words *tryghed* (safety/comfort) and *fællesskab* (community/fellowship) (Bille 2013, p. 56). In connection with this Bille proposes the word *secureness* to more fully capture the meaning of *tryghed*, which he relates to 'a feeling of sheltered-ness, nested-ness and well-being' (idem, p. 59).

Light then becomes an aspect, which offers the person a feeling of secureness and community/fellowship and he shows in his work how light bathed 'the surroundings in a gleam of *hygge*' and 'in that way, the ontological vagueness of atmospheres … becomes the medium for expressing and unfolding social and emotional life through the varied visibility that light and darkness offers' (p. 62). The people in the neighbourhood he investigated was somehow connected through the 'gleam of *hygge'*, which was co-created from the light coming from the different apartments in the area. Besides, it is not only the light, which is an 'actor' within this creation of the gleam of *hygge*, also its counterpart 'darkness and shadows – in the absences and invisibilities' partake in the creation of people' (Bille 2013, p. 61). Thus, light – and its counterparts in form of darkness and shadows - can help to create a specific atmosphere.

3.5 Theoretical Conclusion

From the presented theory section it is seen how *hygge* is a very complex phenomenon and with the approach of the multisensory it will open up for the possibility to get closer to a better understanding of *hygge*. The project is characterized as transdisciplinary, which gives several of theories to look at *hygge* with. As explained, the performative turn brings with it a focus on how tourism should not just be experienced as visual, but it is also embodied, multimodal and involves several sensescapes. This new way of looking at tourism goes well with looking into an intangible phenomenon as *hygge*, which is a concept that is hard to grasp. Just as tourism from a performative perspective concentrates on for instance the multimodal, the senses, the emotional geography of sociality and the surroundings, *hygge* can be seen to have the same focus points or similarities. Thereby, the two is thought to complement each other rather well in the analysis. The upcoming analysis draws on the abovementioned theories in combination with the data collection, and incorporates impressionist tales, pictures and hyperlinks to video and audio clips respectively. Hereby the thought is to make the text come as much alive as is possible with the format of a text in order to drag on the performative aspects. Thereby, this *hygge* project contributes to the performative studies within tourism research with its new way of looking at Nyhavn by deconstructing the space with *hygge* and concentrating on the multisensours and embodied experiences in Nyhavn instead of the classic way of looking only at the visuals within tourism.

4 Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Throughout the analysis the different elements, such as the historical perspective, the infrastructure and the socio-materially aspects that constitute the atmospheres in Nyhavn will be deconstructed through the phenomenon *hygge*. The elements will be separated to give a better view on the different parts separately. Even though the different aspects of *hygge* here will be separated, it is important to note how all of these aspects cannot be seen as single aspects of establishing the phenomenon, but that they are interrelated and interconnected in the creation of the atmosphere of *hygge*, as will be shown throughout the following. The analysis will consist of both descriptive and more exploratory parts in order to cover the multifaceted phenomenon *hygge* to the greatest extent possible[8].

The purpose is to examine the controversial elements that exist in relation to *hygge* as a social, cultural, practical and political atmosphere, and in this way try to break with the traditional social conventions that exist of the concept. Since there exist a more or less common understanding of the meaning of *hygge* among the Danes there are certain social conventions associated to *hygge* (Boye 2010, Linnet 2011, 2016). These social conventions have been unfolded in 3.3. Hygge and its Implications where it is also shown how *hygge* is a ubiquitous feature of everyday sociality in Denmark (Linnet 2011). Thereby, the Danes are familiar with the conventions about how to do and create *hygge*, how a place like Nyhavn is and how it should be perceived. Here it is interesting to look at if the tourists are experiencing the space of Nyhavn in a different way, which will be investigated through the collected data. Furthermore, the frames that are set in Nyhavn, which *hygge* has to be created within, will be unfolded and discussed in order to see what underlies the space of Nyhavn. Here frames should be understood as how political, technological and material influences interact with the creation of *hygge*, which social tensions and powers are at stake and which controversies that may influence, create or disrupt the phenomenon. In other words, this analysis aims to unravel or unpack the concept of *hygge* in Nyhavn by using various ways of looking at the phenomenon, in order to develop a new theoretical framing to understand how the sociality is constituted, held together and negotiated through atmospheres in Nyhavn.

4.2 *Hygge* from a Historical Perspective

The municipal plan from 2011 selected 12 valued cultural environments in Copenhagen, which are seen as important to be secured and taken care of since they are important for the development of the city and stands as having invaluable significant for the city's distinctive character (Københavns Kommune 2011). One of these valued cultural environments is Nyhavn. Today anno 2017 the space of Nyhavn is heterogeneous and made up by different customs and rationalities. It is a place for tourists, a place with restaurants and cafés with outdoor servings and employees, it is passage and a transit space, where delivery trucks, bicycles, pedestrians etc. moves, it is a space that needs maintenance and

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[8] In order to get the full benefit and experience out of the following analysis, it is advisable to be reading the analysis on a computer with Internet access. This is due to the incorporation of hyperlinks to audio- and video clips.

it is a space for maritime activities. In the following these different rationalities will be investigated further in order to look at which frames *hygge* as an atmosphere is being created and unfolding within.

Picture 1 Sunny (left) and shady (right) side of Nyhavn.

To start with, there are two sides of Nyhavn – the sunny and the shady side, where the concentration of people is increased at the sunny side, where also the majority of restaurants are located. The two sides represent two different kinds of life – the buzzing café/restaurant life on the sunny side, and the museum and more quiet life on the shady side. When standing on the shady side you get the chance to soak up the life of Nyhavn from a more observing point of view. As one reviewer notes, it is better to take the pictures on the shady side (Appendix 2, l. 355-358), and another describes it in the following words:

> On one side of the bank, there are shops, alfresco dining areas, musicians, baskers, people sitting down talking, enjoying the free live music. And on the other side of the bank, you can be an observer, witnessing the action but not being a part of it (Appendix 3, l. 28-30).

Picture 2 Observing the 'promised land' from the shady side

This division has been a part of the space in Nyhavn for several years, as described by Lynge (2015). He writes about his experiences as a police officer in Nyhavn starting in 1957, where he describes the Swedes as being very fascinated by the myth of Nyhavn, and how you at your '… first visit did not go directly into the harbor area, you just observed it from the other side of the canal (the decent side), from where you could observe the life in the Promised Land' (own translation, Lynge 2015, p. 9). It is interesting how Lynge describes Nyhavn as the Promised Land, which to some

extent still can describe the area today just entailing a different definition. Instead of observing the Promised Land of the sailors, the drunks and the like and perhaps feeling slightly afraid of entering the harbour area, today you can observe the Promised Land of tourists, locals and others from afar. With this in mind you can say that the atmospheres being felt and observed from the shady side of Nyhavn has changed throughout the years to entailing a more welcoming place that is open for the majority.

The sunny side was in the old days known for being the indecent and 'naughty' side of Nyhavn where the uneven numbered houses are located. The shady side was known for being the decent and nice side where the even numbered houses are located (Greiner n.d.). The historical aspect comes up as a thing of interest in the collected data. For instance, one of the reviewers describe how he has been coming in Nyhavn since he was a soldier in 1961 and how the area has changed radically from being a place where soldiers in uniform could get a free beer, a place with no drunken swedes and a place that is rather indecent, into a place described as being decent and fashionable where people soak up the sun and put themselves up for display. Though, he does not see the change as a negative one, but that he quite enjoys the *hyggelig* atmosphere and setting that he now seems to be experiencing when visiting Nyhavn, where he enjoys sitting with a draught beer and looking at the passing people (Appendix 1, l. 295-304).

4.2.1 Nostalgia and Imagined Space

Here it becomes relevant to talk about the aspect of consuming nostalgia, how spaces are being imagined and how *hygge* can be seen as a concept that articulates nostalgic expectations. From the above, *hygge* can be seen as being partially rooted in a historical sense in the expectations, old anecdotes and it entails a touch of nostalgia connected to the space of Nyhavn. The aspect of nostalgia is interesting in relation to *hygge*, where it can appear as a '… nostalgic gaze on the past as a golden era', where people to some extent relive the memories in spirit through this gaze (William & Lew 2015, p. 203). It is important to note that the nostalgic gaze is then socially constructed and within this it can appear as being slightly selective, where the 'unappealing aspects of the past are filtered out, so that the memories or feelings that remain are essentially positive and reassuring …' (ibid.). Having this is mind the nostalgic gaze has the power to affect the atmospheres being experienced and how this perception is organized in complex relations to the past.

Furthermore, it is portrayed how a space is being imagined, which is depended on the person of question. The space of Nyhavn has been build and constructed many years ago, where the imagined space stood as being rather different from what it is today. Throughout the years planners, developers and the like, have changed the frames for the conception of Nyhavn, and consumption has been intersected in the development of the area as a modern city, where consumption has become '… the basis of contemporary place promotion strategies and creating place images' (Lew & William 2015, p. 237). Though, there is an intended way of being in and experiencing the space from the initiatives being taken by architects, planners and developers, it is important to note how a space like Nyhavn is being consumed in a range of various ways, whereby '… the process of consuming space will alter its intended meanings and functions through the divergent ways that space is seen and used by consumers' (ibid.). For instance, when a tourist uses the space it is usually characterized by leisure and for locals it might be a seen as a more functional space (ibid.) – a transit space, a working area, a place for enjoying an after-work-beer or casting a nostalgic gaze on the past as in the abovementioned example.

Finally, we can look at how *hygge* as a concept is capable of articulating nostalgic expectations. As Karlsen (1965) notes about the concept: '... hygge is in its nature conservative. Hygge thrives best in the unchangeable' (p. 83). If we accept that *hygge* has its best conditions in the unchangeable, it connects very well with the nostalgic gaze, where the past is often put on a pedestal and the negative things are left out. It then turns into this space of no conflicts and demands that is also characterizing for *hygge* (Linnet 2011), which brings out parallels that connects the two. Further, the aspect of *hygge* that often is characterized by being a homely space as elaborated in 3.3.1 Characteristics of *Hygge*, can as well be related to the idea of the nostalgic gaze, where the modern understanding of the nostalgic term relates to homesickness as described by William and Lew (2015), which '... is prompted by the fears and discomforts that some people encounter when they are removed from the security of the familiar and the known' (p. 203). Thus, nostalgia and *hygge* is found to be closely connected in how they are being outlived and experienced, and from this *hygge* – in the case of the examples from Nyhavn – is capable of articulating the nostalgic expectations that are found.

From the same time frame of Nyhavns history as described in the aforementioned quote, an old officer who patrolled Nyhavn from 1957 describes in detail and very picturesque about his time as an officer in the area (Lynge 2015). Nyhavn in that time area was very notorious and the most exposed area that the police station covered (idem, p. 5), and a '... dangerous place to be if you did not exhibit a slightly harsh behaviour' (idem, p. 9). It was a place filled with drunks, bums and people who were not afraid to pick up a fight. About the police officers work at Nyhavn, Lynge writes:

> The patrolling police officers walked in pairs shoulder to shoulder at the pavement and one did not give way for the visitors of the harbour, who often got a shoulder if they did not give space. It was not tolerated for anyone to sit on the stone steps or anything the like. Immediately they were encouraged to get moving and leave the area. Drinking outside the harbours pubs was not tolerated ... (own translation, Lynge 2015, p. 6).

Then, when looking back to the 1950-1960s it becomes clear that the atmosphere and vibe of Nyhavn was experienced quite differently than it is today. The big difference lies in the fact that it was not a place that was suited for everybody as it is today. As Lynge (2015) describes in the above quote, it was not tolerated for people to stay outside the pubs

Picture 3 People sitting at the quay in Nyhavn on a sunny day.

with alcohol and neither was it allowed to just sit and hang around outside when he was a working police officer in Nyhavn. If we look at the scene of Nyhavn today, it must be said to be quite the opposite. Today Nyhavn is famous for the outside servings and for the local way of sitting at the quay with beverages and/or food people have brought with them – and all this without any interference from the police. (At least as long as people behave themselves).

The point is it is no longer a space that is constantly under the eye of the police as it used to be and it has become an area where all kinds of people are

coming. Even though the space as such always have been characterized as a public space, you could say it stands more out as being a public space, where it before could tend to be a slightly more private space, since it was not all kinds of people who were welcome or dared to be in Nyhavn. When people nowadays walk into Nyhavn you could assume that the majority are aware of it being a public space most often characterized as crowded with people – at least when the weather is fairly good. Though, as of today, there are to be found frictions between the public and private space in Nyhavn. These will be looked further into in 4.4.3 Overarching Social Essence.

Other reviews deal with the historical aspect of the space of Nyhavn as well. For instance, a woman who has frequently been visiting Nyhavn through the years describes how she believes it is only a few of the restaurants that still have the old 'soul' of Nyhavn, and just because it has become a trendy place, as she describes it, this should not be a reason for losing quality (Appendix 1, l. 183-191). Another one writes how Nyhavn has become very popular for tourists, and that the neighbourhood has changed radically throughout the last decades into something that has become wimpy, too packed and worn down (Appendix 2, l. 424-429). In the case, of these reviews we can see how the understanding of Nyhavn is coloured by their nostalgic gaze and how they see the past 'as a golden era', as has been elaborated in the above section. The nostalgic gaze here puts todays Nyhavn in a negative light and disrupts their former conception of Nyhavn as a place characterized by higher quality and being a greater place in the old days. Many of the reviews that reflects on the historical aspect is often rooted in comments on quality and price of the food and beverages (ibid.; Appendix1, l. 491-501). Though, as one reviewer says: 'The environment by the quay on a sunny day is though as it has always been, people with Høker beers in a bag, musicians and portrait artists in abundance. Authentic or not, it's hyggeligt' (own translation, appendix 1, l. 188-190). So even though things might have changed, this reviewer still believes *hygge* can be found in Nyhavn.

When the abovementioned reviewer claims that he still believes that '*hygge* can be found', it points at *hygge* being something essential, something that people tend to believe is something that actually *can* be found in the specific area of Nyhavn, as long as there is a specific mix of people, materialities and modalities. For this concerned reviewer, *hygge* can be experienced in Nyhavn, as long as there are beers, musicians and sunshine. For him this is what characterizes *hygge*, and as long as these elements are in place, he expects to walk in to Nyhavn and find *hygge*. Though, this understanding of how *hygge* is something that exists out there and something that can be found in a specific place, goes against the non-representational way of thinking (Vannini 2014, Anderson & Ash 2014, Anderson & Harrison 2010). It opposes the understanding of *hygge* as being an atmosphere and an ephemeral phenomenon, which is a co-creation of various elements – such as sociality, materiality, time, space etc. – and thereby it is not something that can be expected to exist in one specific place at a specific time. This understanding of *hygge* is also found in the literature, where for instance the writer Tove Ditlevsen underlines how *hygge* is not something that can be forced and something that exist due to certain arrangements:

'Hygge cannot be induced by any known incantation such as flickering candlelight, tone downed lamps, home-baked goods and nice music. Just like its cousin happiness it is an unpredictable guest that comes and goes as it pleases it and most often when nobody has called it. If someone mentions its name it tends to disappear ...' (own translation, Ditlevsen 1965, p. 17)

This characteristic of *hygge* is also mentioned by Linnet (2010), where the concept appears as a social negotiation between the people involved, and hereby a concept that is being established – or not - in the given moment dependent on various factors. In relation to the above, where the historical dimension can be seen as being interrelated in the understanding of the experience in Nyhavn, it shows how history has an ability to interact with the way we experience *hygge*.

Nostalgia, the historic dimension and the way spaces are being imagined can be seen as relating to the discussion about authenticity; when can something be characterized as being authentic? Drawing on Wang (1999), authenticity is a concept that entails different viewpoints, where something that is seen as being inauthentic or staged by the elite, experts of intellectuals might '... be experienced as authentic and real from an emic perspective – this may be the very way that mass tourism experience authenticity' (p. 353). In other words, the experience of authenticity is thereby subjective and the viewpoints of the tourist '... are real in their own right, no matter whether experts may purpose an opposite view from an objective perspective' (idem, p. 355). Thus, authenticity can be seen as a fluent concept that adjusts the person using it, whereby if the tourist feels something is authentic, it can be understood as being authentic. By drawing in the notion of authenticity in relation to the historical aspect, it can be seen how some people are connecting *hygge* with Nyhavn's authenticity in the abovementioned examples, which then appears as one out of many ways of defining *hygge* in Nyhavn. A counterpart to authenticity can be commercialism, which is a part of the way the history of Nyhavn has evolved. Today Nyhavn is characterized as being a place with a high degree of consumption, and the commercial aspect will be developed in the following.

4.2.1 The Commercial Aspect

In regards to the commercial aspect of Nyhavn, one reviewer notes how there were many great places to eat 10 years ago, but the tendency now is that the places are too absorbed by their location and with this focus the food seems to become secondary (Appendix 1, l. 491-502). Though, he notes how it is really *hyggeligt* to sit at a restaurant on a warm summer day with a cold beverage and how Nyhavn is an amazing location. The significance of beverages in relation to the atmospheres in Nyhavn will be elaborated in 4.4.2 Food and Beverages. However, he brings up two negative aspects of sitting at the restaurants. Firstly, how one is often met with the comment from a waiter about sitting is only for people who order food, which the reviewer describes as something being not very Danish (ibid.). Secondly, when one wants to pay you have to actively choose if you want to give tips or not. Both of these experiences he describes as being very unsympathetic (ibid.). Further, he describes this as being the typical experience for him from 5-6 yearly visits throughout the years, why he in the future will look for other alternatives to Nyhavn (ibid.). Thus, here the otherwise *hyggelige* experience is being interrupted and broken up by the way waiters have been schooled to only let people sit if they are ordering food, and how the technology of the paying system is being set up to ask if the customer wants to add tips.

This is an example of the way that Nyhavn has turned into a commercial space throughout the years and how *hygge* within these frames is co-created - and sometimes disrupted - by the commercial space that Nyhavn also entails. The commercial space contains several different aspects, for instance the way service is being handled at the restaurants and the logic and practices of business, which also have an impact on the creation and experience of *hygge*. In the case of the abovementioned quote, the way the service procedures are being taken care of goes in and interrupts the otherwise *hyggelige* experience the reviewer was describing – that it is not always possible to be allowed to sit down for just a drink and enjoy the vibrancy and atmospheres in Nyhavn, but how it has been decided that the employees of the restaurants have the power to say no to people, if they are not ordering food along with their beverages. This is a distinct business oriented decision that can be seen as being made in order to get people to pay more pr. visit.

Both of the experiences the reviewer here mentions are situations that also occurred during my field study. Once sitting at a table, just finished eating my food, the table next to me became free. Two younger German speaking women were about to sit down, when a waiter came over to ask them if they were ordering lunch. One of the girls asked in English if it was possible to order coffee. The waiter answered with a short 'only for lunch'. This situation played out one more time while I was sitting there, where the next couple trying to occupy the much-coveted seats were met with the same answer, and as well just wanted to sit for drinks. When the waiter left and just before the two people left the area, they said it was weird he said it was only for lunch, since the time was almost four in the afternoon. This frustration also popped up in the collected reviews, where one reviewer who just wanted to sit down for drinks at 3 pm since they already had eaten lunch: 'Then [we] got chased away as only people actually eating lunch (3pm?!) are allowed to sit there. Fine, it's their right, but it seems a tad greedy' (Appendix 2, l. 283-284). The business logic which is characterizing the way of doing service within the restaurants are here being experienced as greedy and thereby leaves the reviewer with a negative impression of the area. We see how the experience of the reviewers and people visiting Nyhavn is being influenced by the commercial pulse that exist in Nyhavn today, where the beautiful houses are occupied by restaurants or the like, which aim is to gain profit from all the people visiting. Also the canal is characterized by being commercialized in terms of the two operating canal tours.

One reviewer writes: 'Forget the postcards with featured colourful houses and be prepared to find a bar or a restaurant in all of the houses for tourists. I do not like such tourist places where everything now seems fake' (Appendix 2, l. 176-178). Here we see how the reviewer seemingly got disappointed by what she experienced in Nyhavn – she was not aware of what the space of Nyhavn in reality consisted of by looking at the pictures on beforehand. She must have imagined the space differently from the pictures and did not expect the space to be as commercialized as it is. Other reviewers also touch upon the fact that they perceived Nyhavn as fake and commercialized (Appendix 1, l. 359-360, Appendix 2, l. 142, l. 245, l. 527-528, l. 638-639), and it thereby did not live up to their expectations. In relation to the notion on authenticity, a reviewer describes how Nyhavn seems more like a film set than something authentic Danish (Appendix 1, l. 359), whereby the reviewer experiences the commercialization overruling the authentic aspect of Nyhavn. Though, the headline of her review is: '*Hyggeligt*, but very touristy' (idem, l. 357), which makes it clear how she in spite of the commercialization of Nyhavn finds it *hyggeligt*. Another one also notes how Nyhavn is 'very touristy, but that does not matter' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 506-507). Hence, as with the notion of authenticity, it seems as if the fact that Nyhavn is a very commercialized space, does not entail an unambiguous influence on the people visiting. For some it is perceived as a destroyer and interrupter of *hygge* and the good experience, and for others it does not matter too much in terms of the experience of *hygge* – it might even add another dimension to the *hygge*. Though, when taking the

commercial aspect into consideration, it becomes clear how it is not possible to reduce *hygge* to only being an isolated, nice and romantic phenomenon in itself, since there are commercial values to be found underlying the understanding of *hygge* in Nyhavn as shown in the above.

4.3 *Hygge* as infrastructure

Regarding the infrastructure, Nyhavn has obviously evolved throughout its history from being mainly a harbour for trades via the water (Københavns Kommune 2011, p. 3) into what it is today, where the infrastructure is characterized by a vast amount of transportation opportunities. Within a short walking distance from Nyhavn the Metro, various busses including tourist busses are located. In Nyhavn itself you find the harbour bus, bicycles, pedestrians, cars, boats and the newly opened Inner Harbour Bridge▶ (*Inderhavnsbroen*) that connects Nyhavn with the district of Christianshavn. The Inner Harbour Bridge was originally thought to generate 3-7,000 users pr. day the first couple of years (Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 8), but instead there are now around 16,000 daily users, which must be categorized as a roaring success (Skarum 2017). With this new addition to the possibilities of getting to and from Nyhavn, it opens up for an even greater flow of people in and out the area.

An essential part of Nyhavn is the harbour itself, which is also part of Denmark's maritime cultural heritage. Here old veteran ships are moored representing the long history about Copenhagen as a harbour city and as a sailing ship port.

 Since 1976 the sunny side of Nyhavn has been a port for wooden ships and in 1980 the promenade got pedestrianized (Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 5). There is a regulative between the Nyhavn Association (*Nyhavnsforeningen*) and the Copenhagen Municipality, which among other things regulates that all the ships moored have to be wooden ships and seaworthy (idem, p. 9). This applies to the sunny side of the harbour, whereas boats on the shady side are characterized by being more business-oriented; Liva II, the boat theatre (*Bådteatret*) and three boats owned by the National Museum of Denmark (ibid.). With the regulative about which ships and boats are allowed to use the quay in Nyhavn, it is made sure that there is a consistent narrative of the harbour so that it fits into the historical scenery. The harbour in Nyhavn is also called a museum harbour, why it is important that there are regulations (Københavns Kommune 2011, p. 4). In this way precautions are taken precautions against an inconsistent narrative being told and experienced in Nyhavn. Thus, the local politicians try to stage the expression of Nyhavn with the sunny side where the old wooden ships are located, while the shady side is prioritized differently and experienced as perhaps more cultural with the business ships, museums and only a few restaurants.

 Here the frames for *hygge* can be seen as being partly set by the politicians and rooted politically

Picture 4 Ships moored in the harbor of Nyhavn.

due to the regulations from the municipality and the Nyhavn Association.

Within the political agenda concerning the area, the district plan for Nyhavn from 2015 has the following goal: '... to ensure a versatile and vivacious urban environment in the central urban area at the landside as well as the waterside' (own translation, Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 18). The district plan also mentions how all the activity on the sunny side of Nyhavn is the reason for many conflicts of interest between the outdoor servings, the pedestrians, the residents, the sailors and the traders, wherefore it is a goal to have specific rules for the outdoor serving areas, the promenade and free access to the quay in order to avoid conflicts that could disrupt the great atmosphere of *hygge* (Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 9). When looking at figure 2 we can see what the regulations are for the promenade on the sunny side at Nyhavn. Here we see how the promenade is divided into zones in order to satisfy as many needs as possible. Hereby trying to ensure that everyone feels welcome and that this can create a breeding ground for an overall good and *hyggelig* atmosphere without too many conflicts the users in between.
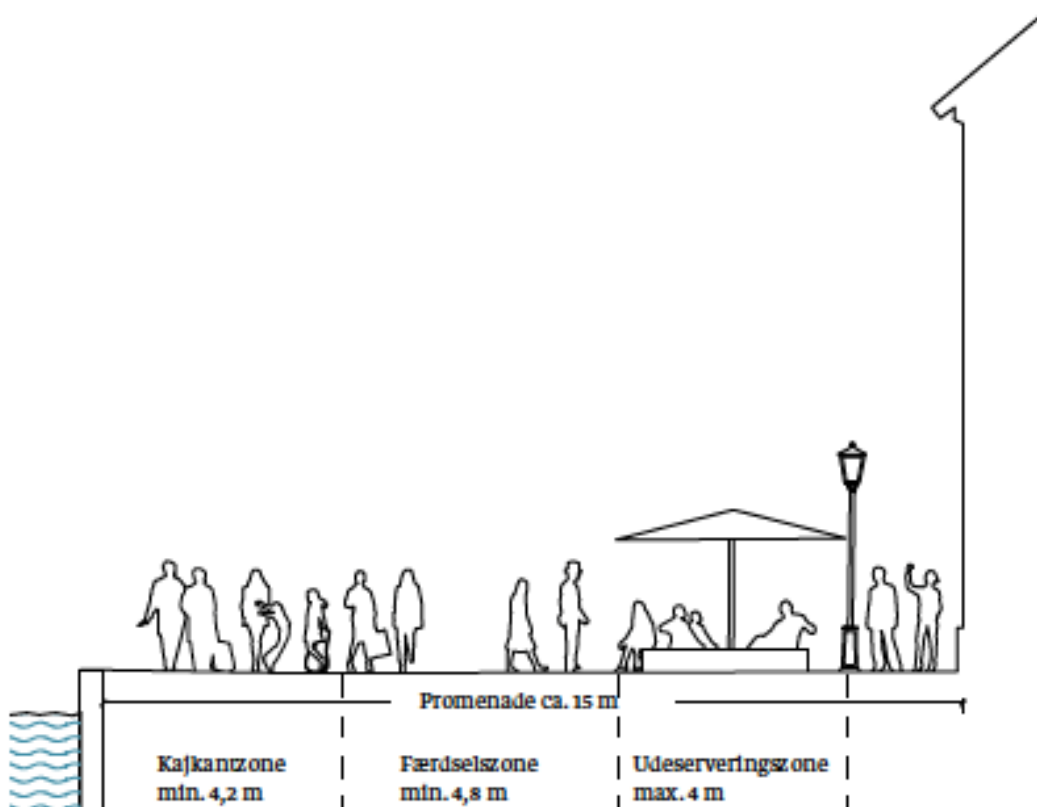

Figure 2 Regulations for the promenade on the sunny side of Nyhavn. *Source: Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 37*

Moreover, it is a wish to extend the promenade so that there is more room for the good atmosphere that is intended to characterize Nyhavn (Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 10). A road physically divides the sunny side of Nyhavn, where the first part of the sunny side coming from Kongens Nytorv is by far the most crowded. The other end of Nyhavn after the crossing of the road is characterized by being more quiet and not as crowded. Today the so-called 'dead end' of Nyhavn functions more as a passive connection in getting to for instance the Royal Play House, therefore the vision is to turn the entire sunny side into a lively promenade. Looking at Figure 3 we can see how this is to be worked out, making it possible to sit outside and have outdoor-servings throughout the whole season along the whole promenade of Nyhavn, whereby the sunny side will get a more coherent expression than the

division that is experienced today (Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 22). One reviewer points out this 'issue' as well: 'One half of the street… is dead. The other half is overrated, overpriced and very crowded pun/food outlets serving the atypical Scandinavian bland and odd offerings at a premium' (Appendix 2, l. 95-98). If succeeding in extending the same level of vibrancy to the existing 'dead end'

of Nyhavn, it might help diminishing the negative comments on Nyhavn as being extremely crowded during the high season, as this reviewer – amongst others – notes. This is of course just speculation. Though, by having a focus upon extending the vibrancy of the now very concentrated area within Nyhavn, perhaps it could to some extent meet some of the critique and open up for using the space of Nyhavn to its fullest potential.
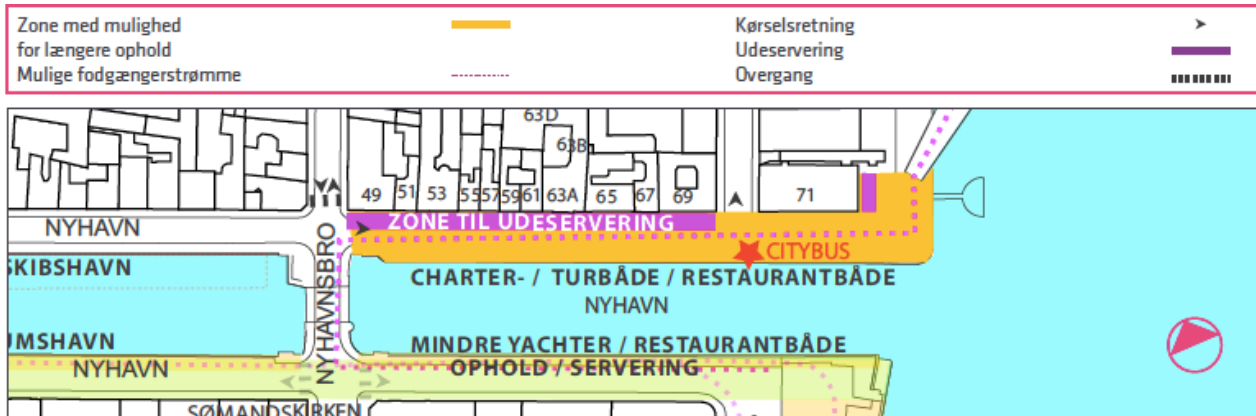

Figure 3 Plan for bringing more life to the 'dead end' of the sunny side in Nyhavn. *Source: Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 22*.

Besides from the vision to extend the life on the sunny side of Nyhavn, it is of interest to do something about the big imbalance that exists between the shady and the sunny side. The sunny side is filled with life and ambience far into the night, whereas the offers on the shady side close down during the afternoon leaving the area rather dead (Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 12). Here the municipality comes up with an idea that can be seen at Figure 4, where we can see how they would try to bring more life to the shady side by removing the current parking lots and the traffic for regular cars.
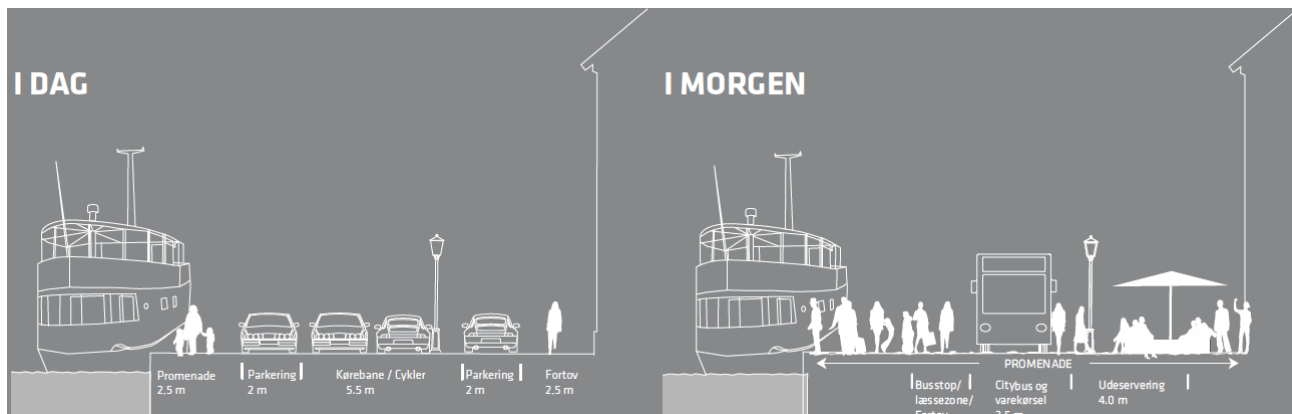

Figure 4 Plan for bringing more vibrancy to the shady side of Nyhavn. The left side is how it is today, and the right represents how it could be in the future. *Source: Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 23.*

Instead the traffic should only consist of city busses and delivery trucks and a space for outdoor servings should be implemented on the pavement area for outdoor servings. By suggesting this new use of the space on the shady side, it seems the idea is to create the same kind of vibrancy that the

sunny side entails. Though a bit different, obviously, since there will still be city busses according to the present plan. However, a great part of the vibrancy and life on the sunny side is based on exactly the sun's presence, something that it is physically impossible to create on the shady side due to the architecture. But implementing regulations for less traffic and making room for sitting outside enjoying food or beverages is a big step towards trying to encapsulate some of same atmosphere of *hygge* that it is possible to create on the sunny side.

Furthermore, it is stated as a goal in the district plan of Nyhavn to re-establish the original view from the city centre along the canal to Christianshavn (Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 9). The issue about the view is also something the Nyhavn association finds problematic and something they wish to have changed. They have been working on getting the tourist signs and the ticket office belonging to the canal tours removed, since they believe it ruins the view completely (Gotved 2010).

Picture 6 Picture of the view to Christianshavn that is being spoiled by the canal tours ticket office.

Another issue that comes up with regard to the canal tours is that there is a high degree of maritime traffic▶ due to the canal tours, especially during the summer season. Once in a while there is a collision between the other boats in the harbour and the veteran and museum ships, which results in some of the veteran ships leaving Nyhavn during the most busy periods in the harbour in order to avoid possible damages (Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 9). In order to keep Nyhavn as a museum harbour as is the intention the Nyhavn association suggests that the canal tours need to be removed from Nyhavn in order to secure the veteran ships from collisions (Gotved 2010). In addition, it is mentioned how the size of the tour boats has increased remarkably into something that is not safe any more (ibid.). By removing the canal touring boats from Nyhavn the ticket office will also be removed,

which would recreate the original view from Kongens Nytorv across the canal to Christianshavn and that way the earlier the mentioned issue would be solved according to the Nyhavn association.

Thus, there is tension between the involved stakeholders in Nyhavn in connection with how they see the space used in the best possible way and in how the best conditions are created for *hygge*. This tension has the possibility of disrupting the creation of *hygge*. As established the municipality has listened to the Nyhavn association and tried to meet their concerns. However, they do not agree with removing the canal tours completely, but puts up a suggestion of removing the ticket office to another location where it is not disturbing the view as it is today (Københavns Kommune 2009, p. 25). By being responsive to the different stakeholders in Nyhavn, the municipality creates the best frames for the creation of *hygge* – the more harmony between the various stakeholders and users of Nyhavn, the bigger chance of succeeding in keeping and/or creating *hyggelige* atmospheres.

Another important aspect of the politically created frames that influence the creation of *hygge* in Nyhavn is the lightning. As pointed out in 3.4.1.1 Light – a Co-creator of Atmospheres light is an important aspect when wanting to establish and create atmospheres and *hygge*. Rules are established for the lightning in Nyhavn as well by the district plan. The three points that are mentioned are as follows:

> a) The lightning in Nyhavn must be just as the existing old power gas lamps.
> b) Lightning at traffic lanes and cycle paths, at the quayside as well as the sporadic evocative lightning must be using dimmed lightning, which does not make the areas dominant in the harbor space.
> c) The lightning must not be annoying or blinding for road users or residents in the area, and the darkness of the night sky must be taken into consideration by limiting the emitted light upwards (own translation, Københavns Kommune 2015, p. 21)

These regulations show how the lightning in Nyhavn is being controlled politically in order to obtain a certain expression and narrative in Nyhavn. It needs to be characterized by dimmed electrical lightning, which is a way of creating the atmosphere of *hygge* (Bille 2015). Hence, these regulations are the basis for the specific lightscape that sets up the frames for how Nyhavn should be conceived after dark – a space characterized by *hygge*. And *hygge* as the atmosphere created by the lightscape becomes a medium for unfolding and expressing the social and emotional life through the varied visibility that light and darkness offer (Bille 2013). In other words, the lightscape creates a specific foundation for sociality characterized by *hygge* to unfold. Besides from the regulations made by the politicians, the restaurants are also adding to the lightscape of Nyhavn by having [petroleum lamps]▸ put on the majority of the tables outside, where the flickering flames are jotting in to the lightscape characterized by *hygge*.

Picture 6 Parked bicycles in the beginning of Nyhavn.

The promenade on the sunny side is characterized by having the mostly people walking back and forth and staying at this side, be it at the restaurants or the quay. However, also delivery trucks and bicycles are allowed. During the field studies in Nyhavn it was experienced several times that cars or delivery trucks as

well as bicycles drove through Nyhavn. However, most of the bicycles were parked at the end or the beginning of Nyhavn.

One reviewer mentions how his experience of Nyhavn was overall negative due to the crowdedness where it was easy to trip over the street furniture and if one came early in the morning, you could get hit by a delivery truck (Appendix 2, l. 393-395). Thus, the legality of cars driving at the promenade can possibly disturb people's experience of Nyhavn and disrupt the *hygge*. When sitting at one of the restaurants, I personally experienced a [car driving by]▶, and since there is not much room at the promenade, the car took up quite some space and came rather close to the tables closets to the promenade. It disturbed and took the attention away from the *hyggelige* moment, and made you focus on something different for a while. People walking had to stop up and move to the side and await the cars passing in order to continue their walk. Hence, the moment got interrupted and people seemed vaguely annoyed by the disruption.

To end this section on *hygge* and the infrastructure, it seems relevant to touch upon a new element that has been installed in Nyhavn, which has an impact on the infrastructure and the accessibility. On May 9th 2017 concrete blocks were placed in Nyhavn. These blocks were also placed at other landmarks in Copenhagen, such as Strøget (the main shopping street), the City Hall Square and Tivoli (Petersen 2017). This safeguard has been made after the terror attack at a Christmas market in Berlin, December 2016 in order to secure busy and significant landmarks from terror attacks (ibid.).

Picture 7 Concrete blocks installed in Nyhavn. *Source: Scanpix/Liselotte Sabroe, Metroexpress (https://www.mx.dk/nyheder/kobenhavn/story/31908069)*

The concrete blocks have been installed different places around Copenhagen for some time, but the reason for installing them in Nyhavn now as well is that the summer season is getting closer meaning bigger crowds, which puts the area in the category of a possible place for a terror attack (ibid.). This is yet another example of how the political landscape plays a role in how the frames for *hygge* are created in the space of Nyhavn. Nowadays terror is seen as a threat within the western world, and many countries are taking their precautions against possible attacks – for instance with concrete blocks at highly crowded places as in the case of Nyhavn. By installing these concrete blocks there is a risk of turning the attention to the possible threat of a terrorist attack which is something that people

might not have given any thought up till now. Perhaps people might not know that the concrete blocks are there in order to prevent a possible attack. If the latter is the case, the concrete blocks might just be experienced as being an annoying, ugly and useless element that is in the way. However, the peak season of Nyhavn - at the time of writing - is still to come, therefore it must be assumed that *when* the peak season arrives, the concrete blocks become another source of irritation within the infrastructure and the accessibility in Nyhavn for the people visiting. In addition, the atmosphere of *hygge* risks being affected by their presence in terms of people being more aware of Nyhavn being a possible target for terror attacks.

4.4 *Hygge* as Socio-Materially Constructed

Hygge should not be perceived as something purely cognitive. That is, it is not only something that goes on inside people's mind and their way of thinking. *Hygge* is also affected by the modalities that are at play in the way of doing and creating the feeling of *hygge*. The materialities we meet on our way have an important impact on the way we experience the world and the way *hygge* is being done, so to speak. Besides the material, the sociality also plays a substantial role in creating *hygge*. Thus, in this section of the analysis the focus will be upon the socio-material aspects that have an impact on how *hygge* is being constructed. It will encompass the weather, social essence, food and beverages and trash as the main areas, and minor areas within these aspects will be covered as well.

4.4.1 The Weather

As has been unfolded in 3.2.2 Senses and Sensescapes the weather can be seen as a taskscape, which encourages certain kinds of actions and discourages others, and that it actually plays an important role in how a place is being defined and perceived (Vannini et al. 2011). Within this subsection of the analysis the weather will be in focus among other things by looking at how the weather has the ability to change the scenery and the conception of *hygge* in Nyhavn. From the fieldwork and the collected

data, it is evident precisely how the weather played a significant role in how people acted in the space of Nyhavn and how they behaved as tourists. Especially two days stand out as opposites – a Sunday with a clear sky, sunshine and temperatures at 10+ degrees and a Monday that was cloudy and rather chilly due to the cold winds.

Picture 8 Nyhavn on a Sunday with clear sky, sunshine and rather warm (left)

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and Nyhavn on a day with rain, colder temperatures and wind (right).

> Envision yourself walking in a slow pace. You have just arrived at Nyhavn, where [people already are sitting]▶ and enjoying the sun. The sun is shining from a clear sky, it is warm and a light breeze is blowing. You take a [stroll down the promenade on the sunny side]♫ of Nyhavn where an ambient buzzing meets your ear mixed with sporadic laughs, music from the street musicians and snatches of conversations. You find a free spot on the quay and decide to sit down – your feet are dangling from the quay and you look at the [sun in the water]▶ feeling at peace and soaking up the sun. Suddenly a [tourist boat]▶ comes along and adds to the ambient buzzing with its chugging sound.
>
> *[Impressionist tale, April, 2017]*

In the first part we will take a look at the impact of sunshine. Though, we will shortly cast a glance at the impact of the day itself, which might be of importance. However, this might mostly be of importance to the locals visiting the area, since tourists must be assumed not to be as dependent on which day of the week it is. As Boye (2010) notes, weekends are the 'high season' for *hygge*, since it is here the majority of people have time off from work (p. 147). In relation to the importance of the day of the week, Levinsen's work from 2012 is very useful. Here he presents a table that shows how many hits showed up on Google in February 2008 and September 2010 respectively on searches entailing a combination of every day of the week plus *hygge* – for instance *søndagshygge* (Sunday*hygge*) (see Appendix 5). In his work he shows how the popularity of searches on Google increases within the two years and that *fredagshygge* (Friday *hygge*) is the most searched for combination with 71% of the hits in 2010. In this thesis it would be of importance to find out whether things had changed since 2010, therefore a similar search on Google in February, March, April and May 2017 was carried out (See Table 1 and Appendix 5).

Picture 9 Street musicians playing in Nyhavn.

Weekday+hygge	February 2017	March 2017	April 2017	May 2017
fredagshygge 'friday-*hygge*'	81,700 (24%)	86,600 (24%)	99,900 (24%)	95,900 (25%)
søndagshygge 'sunday-*hygge*'	131,000 (38%)	141,000 (39%)	158,000 (39%)	149,000 (38%)
lørdagshygge 'saturday-*hygge*'	74,900 (22%)	78,500 (22%)	87,900 (22%)	83,800 (22%)
torsdagshygge 'thursday-*hygge*'	13,600 (4%)	14,600 (4 %)	15,700 (4%)	15,300 (4%)
Onsdagshygge 'wednesday-*hygge*'	12,100 (4%)	12,500 (3%)	14,300 (3%)	13,200 (3%)
mandagshygge 'monday-*hygge*'	16,900 (5%)	17,800 (5%)	19,000 (5%)	18,700 (5%)
tirsdagshygge 'tuesday-*hygge*'	11,600 (3%)	12,100 (3%)	13,900 (3%)	13,200 (3%)

Table 1 Collected data on "weekday+hygge" search on Google.

Looking at which day of the week brings in the highest amount of hits for *hygge*, it has changed from Friday to Sunday since 2010. The two days have become more equal, now Sunday has 39% of the '*hygge* hits' and Friday 24%. Hence, Sunday is both a day of the weekend – the 'high season' of *hygge* - and seemingly the day of the week that people associate the most with *hygge*, if looking to the Google searches. Adding to this, the specific Sunday of the fieldwork was the first weekend of the Easter school holidays in Denmark. All these conditions – including the clear sky, sunshine and the relatively high temperatures for Denmark in April resulted in a very lively Nyhavn.

Returning to the importance of the weather, it is something that is mentioned as a significant aspect of the experience of Nyhavn in the reviews (Appendix 1, l. 3, l. 69-70, l. 134-135, l. 253-254, l. 342; Appendix 2, l. 387). One mentions how Nyhavn is a place that must be visited when being in Copenhagen, but it should be experienced during summer (Appendix 1, l. 3) implying that is has to be warm and sunny in order to get the optimum experience. Another reviewer notes how Nyhavn 'is not as *hyggeligt* in rainy weather as in bright sunshine. But then you just grab a cup of coffee or hot chocolate with a Belgian waffle so you can keep warm' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 134-135). Thus, the ideal conditions with regard to the weather to experience Nyhavn are a clear sky and sunshine. However, as the latter review expresses, it can also be *hyggeligt* in rainy and colder weather▶ , as long as you just use the facilities and the options that Nyhavn offers in a slightly different way than the more general picture of how to be in and experience Nyhavn.

> Imagine yourself walking on the shady side of Nyhavn♫, the weather is rather cold, cloudy and windy. There is not much sound besides from your own walking, only interrupted by a few other people walking, and few bicycles and cars passing by. When you reach the end of the street you decide to cross over to the sunny side♫, where the buzzing gets a bit more

intense, but still it seems quite calm besides from the wind you feel on your body and hear in your ears. The streets are rather deserted, though you observe a <u>few tourists</u>▶ walking in the windy weather. You decide to sit down at a restaurant, where other people are sitting and tugging themselves in a blanket under the heating lamps. You order some food and a beverage; while you wait you look at how the <u>flags are flapped</u>▶ in the strong wind while the seagulls are chirping. Your food arrives and you see how <u>it is affected by the wind</u>▶ as well as the <u>flags</u>▶ were. Though the wind is cold, you wrap yourself in the blankets, move a little closer to the heating lamp and enjoy the more quiet, but *hyggelige* atmospheres that arises, while you observe the few people who are strolling along the canals.

[Impressionist tale, April, 2017]

In Denmark it is generally known that you cannot trust the weather during summer to be only blue skies, sunshine and high degrees. In order to be prepared for less ideal weather it is noticeable how Nyhavn takes its precautions. This is seen in how the majority of the restaurants have installed heating lamps on their parasols and have blankets on the chairs outside. Hence, the restaurants in Nyhavn try to establish frames and conditions through material elements for *hygge* to evolve by taking these precautions and preparing for possible 'bad' weather. Looking to the data, it can be seen how taking these precautions actually does help in creating material frames for increasing the sense of *hygge*. As a reviewer writes: 'The weather was not the best, but blankets and 'heaters' in almost all of the taverns help to make it to become *hyggeligt* nevertheless' (own translation, Appendix 1, p. 253-254). Thereby the restaurants in Nyhavn are trying to create the best conditions for *hygge* with different materialities.
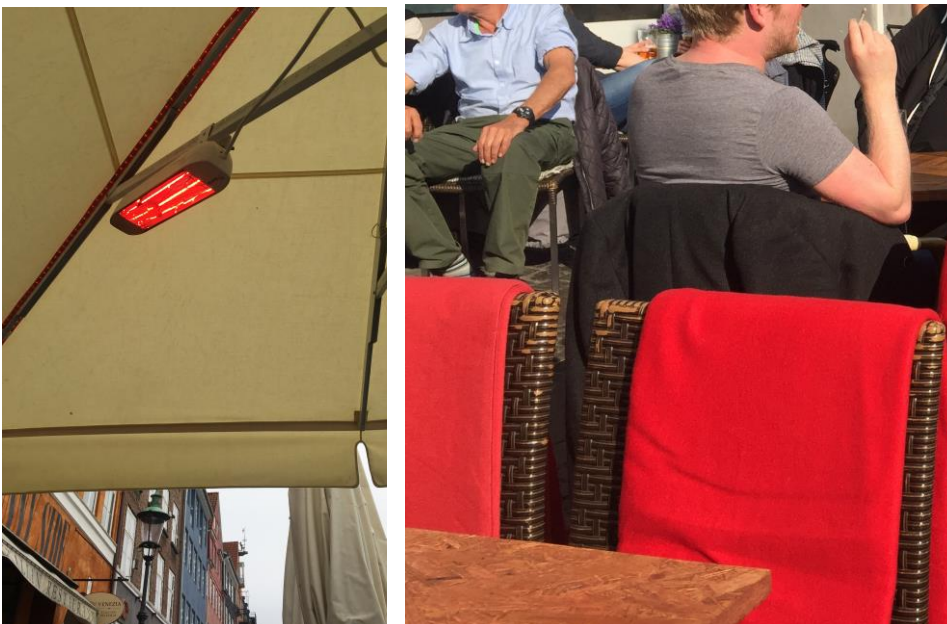
Picture 10 Heating lamps and blankets respectively at restaurants in Nyhavn.

As pointed out in 3.4.1 Atmospheres, interior changes are some of the elements that can result in transformations of atmospheres (Anderson & Ash 2014). On a cold day this can also be seen when the heating lamps are turned on and people are wrapping themselves in blankets. Instead of standing or walking along in the cold weather, the restaurants offer – to some extent – a transformation of the

atmosphere, if a person chooses to step into the space that is created underneath the big parasols with heating lamps and blankets. You could say that the materialities the restaurants are offering create a smaller space within the bigger space of Nyhavn. The creating of a space within a space is unfolded in 3.4.1.1 Light – a Co-Creator of Atmosphere, where it is described how light has the ability to create social spaces within a physical space and thereby staging certain atmospheres (Bille 2015). At the majority of the restaurants in Nyhavn, besides from blankets and heating lamps, there are also petroleum lamps on the tables. Even though, these lamps are not the main source of creating warmth on a cold day, it helps co-create the specific space that is offered underneath the parasols. Furthermore, as mentioned in the theory section, light has a special ability with its flickering flame to create a certain kind of mood within the space that is more connected to intimacy and confidentiality than electrical light (Bille 2015). In addition, light – or the flickering flame - can also be seen as something that has the ability to create a space characterized by comfort, community/fellowship and safety – or secureness, as a word Bille (2013) proposes. Thus, using petroleum lamps on the tables help create a space within the space characterized by secureness, an aspect that is essential when defining the atmosphere characteristics of *hygge* as elaborated in 3.3.1 Characteristics of *Hygge*.

Another reviewer notes: 'when the weather is good there is a really unique and *hyggelig* atmosphere [in Nyhavn]' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 342). Here we see how the direct connection is established between how the weather is and how the atmosphere is experienced. The abovementioned examples underpin the aspect of the weather playing a role in how a place is being defined as Vannini et al. (2011) note, and how the weather is experienced multisensorially since it affects our bodies, our actions and our senses. Nyhavn is [not nearly as crowded]▸ on a cold, windy day as on a warm, sunny day, which shows how the weather has an impact on the feeling of doing specific things. A generally known aspect of the Danish weather is that as soon as the sun comes out seemingly everybody comes outside in shorts and sunglasses and enjoys the nascent sunrays, even though it might not be that warm. However, the sun has the effect of getting people outside, be it parks, the beach or for instance Nyhavn. People rally to cafés and restaurants with outdoor seating to catch a ray of sunshine and to enjoy themselves in the sun. Thus, the weather does have a significant affect on how *hygge* is being experienced in Nyhavn. The majority of people prefer to experience Nyhavn on a sunny, warm day, but a different kind of *hygge* can be found on a colder day.

4.4.1.1 Thermalscapes

When talking about the weather, it is relevant to draw upon the notion of thermalscapes, as touched upon in 3.2.2 Senses and the Sensescapes (Jensen et al. 2015). Within thermalscapes the affects of temperature become of focus as something, which has the ability to influence the way people, experience a situation and a given place. The temperature might have an impact on how fast people move, how their mood is and how their general behaviour is. During the fieldwork in Nyhavn on a warm, sunny day and on a windy, cloudy day respectively, it was obvious how people had rather diverse postures and ways of moving and being in the space of Nyhavn, which underpins how the weather invokes our senses (Vannini et al. 2011). The first thing to notice is that on the cloudy, windy day the crowd of people was significantly reduced with only a few groups of tourists walking around.

They walked much faster compared to the way they walked on a warm, sunny day, where I observed how there was not as much dwelling in the way they absorbed the atmosphere as on sunny days. Furthermore, no one was sitting on the quay, compared to the sunny day when it was hard to get a

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seat. The atmospheres, then, seemed to play out differently – people behaved, acted and moved differently without much idling when it was cold. Thus, the weather has an influence on people's behaviour and their mood – and people's mood is a co-shaping element of the atmospheres (Bille 2015). It was not because the tourists did not take any pictures, this they still did, but the act of taking pictures was characterized by being more reduced and transient than on sunny days. The quay was deserted, though there were still a few people sitting at the tables outside the restaurants. Due to the lack of outside customers one restaurant had felled compelled to close their outdoor service, and the few people sitting outside were gathered at a couple of restaurants.

This observation can be related to the description of how the heating lamps the blankets and the petroleum lamps offered a social space within the physical space of Nyhavn. These materialities in combination add to the feeling of secureness, which the restaurants offer to the passers-by. Moreover, it seemed as if there were already sitting other people outside at a restaurant, it had an impact on whether people chose to sit down or not. It also meant that everybody visited the same few restaurants and the rest were deserted. Hence, if people were already sitting down looking comfortable and enjoying themselves, it added to the materialities that created the specific space of secureness. Thus, the thermalscape that is created under the parasols with the heating lamps outside the restaurants functions as an initiative that offer the passers-by a social space within the physical space of Nyhavn on colds days, and within this a space characterized by secureness and the materialities for *hygge* to emerge. From the spaces created in Nyhavn and the influence of weather and thermalscape, we move on to the influence of food and beverages in the next subsection of the analysis.

4.4.2 Food and Beverages

As explained in 3.3.1 Characteristics of *Hygge* food and beverages may be considered culturally embedded in the conception of *hygge* because people rarely meet without sharing some kind of food or beverage, which often tend to be more or less unhealthy (Boye 2010). In this section, the focus will be concerned with which role food and beverages play in relation to the conception of atmospheres in Nyhavn and how it influences the experience of *hygge*.

Food and beverages plays a significant role when people describe their experiences in Nyhavn with regard to *hygge*. This aspect may be found in many of the reviews in relation to describing people's experience as being positive or *hyggelig* (Appendix 1, l. 44-45, l. 59-60, l. 103-105, l. 230-232, l. 275-276, l. 457-459, l. 466-467). These reviews also show how the materiality of food and beverages adds to and promotes the sense of *hygge*. For instance, one reviewer describes how: 'It is hyggeligt to sit at the quay and get a couple of beers and look at all the different people who walk by' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 59-60). Another one writes: 'Hyggeligt to sit here on a warm summer evening and have a drink, while you look at the old ships. A talented street musician♫ made the experience even better' (Appendix 1, l. 275-276). In these examples – and others throughout the thesis – it is evident how the materiality of beer – or any other beverage for that matter - appears as a central and important actor in the experience and creation of *hygge*.

> Envision yourself sitting at one of the restaurants along the sunny side of Nyhavn. You look down and a pigeon is walking▶ careless between your feet and the other tables▶ while you listen to the buzzing sound♫ that surrounds you. There are sitting three younger Swedish women on your left, who are

enjoying themselves with cold alcoholic drinks and lively talk and laughter that have just finished a meal. On your right an American middle-aged couple is sitting in what seems a like an awkward silence, the women just nipping and looking at the food from behind her sunglasses, the man has finished his plate. Quietly she says the food tastes boring and there is something about it she does not like. The man does not respond. The women goes to the restroom, the waiter comes down and the man pays. No words are exchanged while playing. They leave in silence, while [the ambient buzzing]♫ continues and another couple comes and sits down at the table.

[Impressionist tale, April, 2017]

Though the beverages and food are associated with a positive experience and the creating of *hygge*, there are also negative comments in relation to this aspect. The major part of the negative reviews written about Nyhavn contains remarks regarding the quality of the food, the prices and the service, which are portrayed as having an influence on the total experience of Nyhavn and the creation of *hygge* (Appendix 2, l. 13, l. 53-54, l. 107, l. 150-151, l. 156-157, l. 168, l. 189-192, l. 223-224, l 252-253, l. 280-281, l. 313, l. 334-338, l. 348, 357-358, l. 413-414, l. 427-428, l. 441-442, l. 461-462, l. 500-501, l. 534-535, l. 548-551, l. 558, l. 565, l. 578, l. 589, l. 629-631, l. 654-655, l. 659). In the reviews prices, quality and service attract so much negative attention that it ends up ruining the good experience and destroying the *hygge*. One reviewer notes how Nyhavn is not a place that he would recommend since he paid 140 DKK for two 40 cl beers and the glasses they were served in were warm and dirty (Appendix 2, l. 60). So, where other reviewers have noted how the beer played an important role in creating *hygge*, the experience in this case is that *hygge* is non-existent due to the price and the bad service in connection with the beer. Other reviewers note how they experience Nyhavn as being a tourist trap, hence the high prices and that you are better off finding another place to eat, which represents a more authentic Copenhagen experience (Appendix 2, l. 107-108, l. 280-282, l. 578-579). One reviewer describes in detail the food they were served and how it did not live up to their expectations at all and on top of that, the food was overpriced (Appendix 2, l. 334-339). In the end the reviewer writes: 'They should be ashamed to call themselves chefs. A shame for the profession. Look at the harbour district and enjoy the day but fingers away from the restaurants' (Appendix 2, l. 338-339).

However, some of the reviewers who describe the quality and the prices negatively, points out an important element: 'Food and price is not connected, but if you add in *hyggen* and the ambience then it is okay' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 15-16). Another one writes: 'Beer is rather expensive, but where else in Denmark is it possible to get the experience with people, old ships, old culture[?] So it's worth it' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 336-338). This shows how even though some still believe the prices are too high, it does not keep them from purchasing, since they see the ambience, *hyggen* and the surroundings as something that is incorporated in the price, which adds to the value and makes the price reasonable to some extent.

4.4.2.1 Smellscape

In connection with the materialities of food and beverages the notion of smellscape arises. Smell being one of the senses, it gives you information about the outside world and it has the capacity to move and affect the way you experience the world. As explained in 3.2.2 Senses and Sensescapes when looking at senses from a non-representational point of view, they are perceived as being an interface, in the way that the senses become a kind of affect, which then is seen as a bodily pull and push (Vannini &

Taggart 2014). Then, when looking at the smellscape of a place, it can affect the way a person experiences and relates to the specific area. An example of this is to be found in one of the sources: 'It's a couple of houses at a canal, it smells bad (and I'm from New York), everything is expensive and people are rude and pushy' (Appendix 2, l. 4-6). Here we see the reviewer describing how one of the factors that left him with a negative impression of Nyhavn was the smell. He underlines his statement by saying he lives in New York, implying that the smellscape of New York is bad. With this in mind, he experiences the smell of Nyhavn as being really bad and affecting him quite negatively. The reviewer does not go into details about the smell itself – if smell derives from the canal and the water, the people, the food, the restaurants, the trash or the like. Hence we must assume that it is the total smellscape of Nyhavn that he finds repulsive, wherefore I imagine it is a combination of for instance all the abovementioned elements that create smell in the area. Another reviewer also points out how smell was one of the negative components of his/her experience in Nyhavn: 'Being one of the most popular, top ten MUST of CPH, it's extremely crowded, noisy, smelly, and expensive' (Appendix 2, l. 564-565). This reviewer sheds light on how the reason for Nyhavn being smelly, amongst other things, is due to the fact that it is one of the most popular things for tourists to do when visiting Copenhagen. Thus the space of Nyhavn automatically becomes crowded and with the crowds come a specific (negative) smellscape, at least when looking to these to reviewers.

However, there are also data that indicate that some people perceive the smellscape in Nyhavn more positively: 'A lovely sunny day and you are almost guaranteed a great day. Nyhavn oozes ambience and hygge from everywhere. Businesses and eateries. Beautiful buildings, scents, the water and the ships. Need I say more?' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 159-161). As with the aforementioned quote, it is in this context not outlined what the specific scents consist of, why it must be assumed that it is a mixture of the scents that the reviewer finds characteristic of Nyhavn. Another reviewer notes how the specific scent of ice-cream cones affects her experience in a positive way (Appendix 1, l. 506-507). This scent was also quite distinct during the field studies. It comes from the two ice-cream shops that create both their own waffles and ice-cream cones *in* the shop, which results in a lovely, sweet scent that in the busy periods spreads to outside the shop.

Taking these two views into consideration, it portrays two obviously contradictory conceptions of the smellscape in Nyhavn. Though they are opposites, neither of them should be regarded as being more true than the other. People experience and perceive places differently, also in regards to the smellscape. Some people are more sensitive to smells and scents than others, which influences the way the smellscape is perceived. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that the specific day of the visit in Nyhavn plays an important role as well. The direction of the wind, the degrees, the busyness and the people are all components that have an influence on how the smellscape plays out. Since Nyhavn is characterized by being a space with many different elements and rationalities, it would be hard to turn the space into a so-called blandscape, as has been presented in 3.2.1 Tourism Spaces, where there are no distinct noise, feel or smell and everything is more or less vapid and with no specific characteristics (Edensor 2007). Consequently, a varied smellscape in Nyhavn emerges creating different perceptions and thereby different responses within the person visiting. For some it results in an overall negative experience, and for others an overall positive one. If you are bothered by the smellscape, it affects your experience of the atmospheres and the mood, wherefore the smell or scents of a place have a direct influence on the creation or disruption of *hygge*.

From the quotations used in the analysis so far it is evident that there is a very close link between food/beverages and sociality. When looking at how the positive experiences are being described the

majority of the reviews encompass food and/or beverages and an element of sociality. Therefore, the aspect of sociality will be discussed in the following subcategory of the analysis.

4.4.3 Overarching Social Essence

When reading about Nyhavn it is often mentioned how there seems to be a specific atmosphere. Though, when taking the non-representational point of view into consideration, atmospheres are not something that can be expected to be in a specific place at a specific time. However, it is interesting to look into how, why and if people are talking about this specific (*hyggelige*) atmosphere in Nyhavn and if it to some extent is possible to talk about a shared sense in this regard. From the already mentioned elements that constitute – or disrupt – the *hygge* it is interesting to look at the social essence that seems to be connected to the creation of *hygge* and what affect and function this element has in the creation of *hygge*. This will be investigated in the following.

As elaborated in 4.2 Hygge from a Historical Perspective, you are able to observe 'the Promised Land' of Nyhavn from the shady side and seeing how people act in the specific setting of Nyhavn. Moreover, it is of course also possible to sit at the sunny side and be a part of the observed setting. Though, it is still possible to be an observer on the sunny side, it is slightly different, where you as an observer get a closer look at the people and their actions you are observing. The data establish that 'people watching' is something that stands out amongst the reviewers as something highly interesting (Appendix 1, l. 103-105, l. 230-231, l. 335-336, l. 466-467; Appendix 3, l. 28-30, l. 99-100). 'People watching' is one of the many things that are co-creating the atmosphere of *hygge* in Nyhavn. One reviewer describes it in the following way: '[we] were on a couples weekend in Copenhagen where we stopped by Nyhavn, [where] it is just so *hyggeligt* to sit and enjoy a beer while you look at all the people walking by' (Appendix 1, l. 230-231). Another reviewer describes Nyhavn as *the* place to be if you love to look at people (Appendix 3, l. 466-467).

4.4.3.1 People Watching

'People watching' can be seen as connected to the time spend waiting and daydreaming as a tourist, as Löfgren (2008) writes about in connection with tourism. When being a tourist you spend quite some time characterized by not doing anything specific, for instance when sitting at a café, restaurant or at the quay in Nyhavn (idem, p. 94). This observing, waiting and daydreaming might turn us into amateur sociologists, as Löfgren describes it, when the tourist is constantly judging and observing how the other tourists behave and maybe even fantasizing about the life of the strangers in front of us, and even to some extent imagine how the lives of the others are like and compare it to our own situation (ibid.). This act of waiting, daydreaming and observing can be seen as being a major part of the scenery, which adds to the experience of *hygge* in Nyhavn.

When looking at tourism as a performance, as elaborated in 3.2 The Performative Turn in Tourism, we can look at tourists as stepping onto the stages becoming actors and enacting them corporally (Ek et al. 2008) instead of simply being spectators to the visuals taking place in front of them. Drawing on the terms and ideas from Goffman (1990), we can look at the tourists as getting to play out the role of being a tourist in the so-called front region – or frontstage - when visiting Nyhavn. Here it is possible for them to look at others also performing as tourists or a visitors, which was touched upon above in

the aspect of people watching. The scene of Nyhavn, which the tourist steps onto, is perhaps already known from websites, travel guides or the like and is therefore a specific scene that you as a tourist have specific notions about. Being a passive onlooker or observer of others' performances of being a tourist can help the tourist observing in how 'to be a tourist' him or herself (Edensor 2007). In the act of observing performances of others, you can agree or disagree in the way it is being done and from this take considerations and changes back to your backstage and adjust your own personal performance.

Taking the starting point in the above, we here see how the social construction of *hygge* takes place in Nyhavn. Here *hygge* is embedded in the visual gaze that relates to the visual consumption that exists in – amongst other things – how people observe their fellow human beings. So, *hygge* is partly mediated through the visual and the theatrical element that Nyhavn seems to frame. Regarding the visual gaze, it is not just about the visuals, it is also characterized as being an embodied, multimodal concept that involves various sensescapes (Larsen & Urry 2011). Thus, when looking at the importance of the visual gaze described and found in Nyhavn, it is also essential to have the senses in mind in connection with how they affect the body and the visual gaze. For instance how the smellscape has an impact on how a place is perceived, as explored in 4.4.2.1 Smellscape. Besides from the affect that the smellscape of a place can have, the soundscape also influences the experience, which is partly connected to the sociality aspect of Nyhavn, which we will take a closer look at in the following.

4.4.3.2 The Crowd and the Buzz

In the data collection there were two opinions concerning the crowds in Nyhavn – one that cherishes the crowds and one that finds them irritating. When looking at which positive aspects there are among the reviewers concerning the crowds, one reviewer writes: 'Unfortunately we came on a rather windy and rainy day, so there was not the hyggelige myriad as we so often have experienced' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 37-38). Another describes the atmosphere this way: 'There are now many tourists, but that is what keeps the wheels running. And it only adds to the vibrancy' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 322-323). When it comes to the negative statements concerning the crowds, one reviewer notes: 'There are extremely many people at Nyhavn during summer, which makes it a little less *hyggeligt* in my opinion' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 483-484). Hence, the crowds can have a disrupting effect on the creation and establishment of *hygge*. Another reviewer describes it this way:

> Sure the colourful houses on the waterfront are pretty, but not when you
> have to share it with hundreds of people. It's so crowded with people that
> you can't really appreciate the scenery or take a photo without anyone
> blocking the view (Appendix 2, l. 273-275).

Here the reviewer notes how it becomes hard to appreciate the scenery Nyhavn offers due to all the people, who are ruining her experience. This is also something that is touched upon by another reviewer, who describes how it is hard to experience 'the soul of Nyhavn' exactly due to the many people and that it would be a beautiful area if the crowds were not there (Appendix 2, l. 532-533). Besides from disrupting the scenery and view of Nyhavn, the crowds also have another negative side effect: a 'terrible hustle and bustle' (Appendix 2, l. 150), people who are 'pushing and shoving' (Appendix 2, l. 81) and having troubles walking 'down one side of the harbour' (Appendix 2, l. 519-520). Thus, the crowds can have a disturbing affect on the scenery as well as the accessibility. Or, on

the other hand, a positive element in bringing a specific vibrancy to the setting of Nyhavn that is characterized by *hygge*.

Minding the crowds or not, the myriad of people brings with it an <u>ambient buzzing sound</u>♫ that functions as a background noise that fills out the majority of the space in Nyhavn. This characteristic buzzing of sociality appears as an important aspect of the soundscape that is found in Nyhavn. Sometimes an extra loud laugh, <u>machinery noise</u>♫, traffic or something else interrupt the buzzing. Perhaps it would be better to say that it adds to the soundscape instead of interrupting the buzzing, since the buzzing is constantly there to a certain extent. However, some people find the soundscape of Nyhavn to be too problematic and creating an environment not suited for everybody. One notes how the sound level in Nyhavn is way too loud due to the many drunken people and it is therefore not suited for families during weekend nights (Appendix 1, l. 353-354). Another one writes: 'If you like to sit with thousands of people close together and enjoy an increased noise level, it is quite well cared for here ...' (Appendix 2, l. 628-629). Besides from the crowds jotting in to the soundscape of Nyhavn with its ambient buzz, there are also elements of the <u>maritime culture</u>♫ at the place and the <u>traffic</u>▶ surrounding the streets of Nyhavn. All together, these sounds of sociality in different forms add up to the soundscape as a whole that have an effect on the creation of *hygge*.

4.4.3.3 Social negotiation

The sociality can be seen as the glue that connects all of the other elements mentioned in the creation of *hygge*. And as mentioned in 3.4 Embracing the Intangible, the intangible experiences – in this case the atmosphere of *hygge* – appear as bridges between the individuality and communicability and they can be seen as the moments when something happens which glues us together (Dewsbury 2010). This feeling and understanding of an overarching social essence is mentioned by a reviewer: 'This place is especially good when the sun is shining and it is summer. Then you HAVE to experience the happy and extraordinary hyggelige ambience that Nyhavn entails. A wonderful sense of community where everybody is welcome' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 487-489). Here the reviewer brings up the idea of a specific overarching atmosphere and feeling that she believes exist in Nyhavn. However, atmospheres are something that is felt from the inside, wherefore it is felt differently by everyone (Pink et al. 2014).

However, the reviewer might still have a point, since a person is not *in* an atmosphere, but *part* of it as elaborated in 3.3.3 Is it *hyggeligt* for everyone? Meaning that the people within the space connect through this partaking, who otherwise might not seem connected (Bille 2013). In other words, the people in the space of Nyhavn are in combination creating the atmospheres, and thereby a link is created between those involved and people who probably would not be connected otherwise, become connected within the creation of the atmospheres. Hereby, they are all creators of the atmospheres through the sociality and their existence in the space, which affects everybody involved and thus it has the possibility of giving the individual a feeling of being part of a common, overarching feeling of *hygge*. Despite this, it is important to note how it is still possible that there exist radically different perceptions among people in the same space (Bille 2015). Thus, *hygge* appears as an interactive social negotiation between the people involved as elaborated in 3.3.1 Characteristics of *Hygge*. This social negotiation is something that influences the creation or disruption of *hygge* and how *hygge* is being perceived. Just as the social negotiation has an influence on *hygge*, it also has an impact on the way we experience the places we travel as elaborated in 3.2 The Performative Turn in Tourism.

4.4.4 The Power of Trash

As demonstrated in the above, there are many aspects and elements that play a part in constituting *hygge*. Just as there are many elements that are able to increase and create the atmosphere of *hygge*, there are also elements that can disrupt or intervene in the specific atmosphere as shown. As Bille (2015) describes it, *hygge* is unfolded through a material infrastructure (p. 263), which among other things consists of food, beverages and sweets, which are all materialities consumed in the space of Nyhavn. These materialities most often lead to another materiality – trash. When looking at the area of Nyhavn, there is a high degree of consumption connected to the area; such as sitting at the restaurants, ordering ice-creams, taking a tourist boat on the canals or sitting at the quay with food or beverages brought from home or from a nearby kiosk. This high degree of consumption is one of the factors that has an influence on the atmospheres and the conception of the area. Quite a few reviewers comment for instance on Nyhavn being a dirty place with a lot of trash (Appendix 1, l. 206-208, l. 404-405; Appendix 2, l. 87-91, l. 105-107, l. 167-168, l. 406-409, l. 449, l. 454-455, l. 584, l. 593-596), and while doing fieldwork, trash was also spotted [floating in the water](#)▶.

Trash in general is being identified as an element that has the power to shape the atmospheres in Nyhavn. One of the reviewers points out how especially the canals were full of trash when the visit took place:

> Nyhavn is a pretty place to look at from afar, but the reality is, that it is a dirty little tourist trap. The waterways were filled with garbage, bottles, cans and plastic bags. We turned around and went back to town to eat as the trash and strip bars simply put us off our lunch (Appendix 2, l. 406-409).

In this case the trash resulted in the tourists not wanting to have lunch in Nyhavn since it ruined their appetite. Hence the trash had the final say as regards the overall impression the tourists got of Nyhavn, regardless of the vast amount of restaurants to choose from in the area. The tourists might have read about Nyhavn beforehand and gotten an impression of the area that was demolished when actually being there. This due to the trash and the fact that to them it was no more than a 'dirty little tourist trap', which disappointed them. Trash having the final say in the tourists' decision whether to eat or not in Nyhavn points at how the materialities do have an important significance for how people perceive and understand a place.

The trash is not just experienced as a problem in the canals, but also on land. As one reviewer writes:

> We were so disappointed when visiting the beautiful little port of Nyhavn. Denmark is known as generally a clean country (which it is) except that Copenhagen's pedestrian streets and especially Nyhavn are dirty. The absence of street cleaners at the end of the day, cigarette butts everywhere and the piles of plastic bags piled up only metres from Nyhavn diners is unsanitary. Please employ more cleaners as we love the Danes and we love Copenhagen (Appendix 2, l. 87-91).

Just as the former quotation touches upon, this example also mentions how the presence of trash affects the dining experience illustrated by the reviewer's description of the surroundings as being unsanitary. Thus, the trash leads to the thought that the restaurants might also be unsanitary, which can make people deselect the restaurant(s), since they are then associated with the possibility of not being a pleasant eating experience, and an over-all experience with the trash in sight does not contain a pleasant or *hyggelig* atmosphere.

Picture 11 Bin in Nyhavn.

As the abovementioned quotations refer to, hiring more cleaners in Nyhavn to clean up after the festivities during the day could solve the trash problem. In fact a lot has already been done a lot in terms of waste management in Nyhavn, where an underground vacuum waste system has been installed dating back to 1996. In 2009 new ones were installed, where also the visitors could throw their trash and today there is a total of 16 bins, one half is ordinary bins for the daily waste of the visitors, and the other half is for larger amounts of waste from the businesses and residents (Envac n.d.). This system was installed in order to eliminate the trash as much as possible, since it is known fact that the area is extremely busy and normal bins simply do not do the job, since such a high amount of trash is produced. During the summer period there is generated 60 tons of garbage is generated per week from 120 restaurants, the Royal Play House (*Skuespilhuset*), businesses, residents from 150 flats and visitors (ibid.). Nevertheless, there is still trash both in the water and on the ground, since there will always be people who have difficulties 'hitting the bin'. This refers back to Nyhavn being a highly commercialised space, wherein a lot of different consumers are using the space, including people getting drunk at the restaurants, bars or at the quay leaving behind a lot of trash.

4.4.4.1 Bottle Collectors

One specific problem in relation to the trash in Nyhavn, which is found in the collected data, is the bottle collectors. Here some of the reviewers mention how they are bothered by them. One describes the situation in the following way: 'Beautiful buildings but the place is not *hyggeligt* for sitting and enjoying the weather. [There are] many people on the street collecting bottles showing no regard and pushing people' (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 206-208). Another describes a situation with bottle collectors in the following way:

> Fine place, but try by all means not to enjoy a can or a bottle of beer on your
> way. Before it is empty bottle collectors from half of Eastern Europe and

Africa have tried to grab your bottle. Really exhausting (own translation, Appendix 1, l. 240-242).

From these examples emerges the issue of the bottle collectors as a potential destroyer of the atmospheres and *hygge* at Nyhavn. As the latter quotation points out, the otherwise nice and *hyggelige* experience of sitting at the quay drinking a bottle of beer is ruined by the bottle collectors interrupting the *hygge* by trying to take the bottle in order to get the deposit paid for the bottle. Here two different perceptions of how to experience Nyhavn are clashing – one, when you are there for the purpose of having a good time, the other for the purpose of trying to make a living. In relation to this clashing, it seems relevant to draw in the work of Gyimóthy and Jensen (2014), who look at how the rhetorical vision - the Orange feeling - at the Roskilde Festival portrays a 'symbolic reality that 'glues' the community together' (p. 214). Here they look at which rhetorical tools are used in portraying what the Orange feeling should or should not be and who should be in- or excluded within the understanding of the rhetorical vision (Gyimóthy & Jensen 2014).

Parallels from the study about the Orange Feeling at Roskilde Festival can be drawn to the clashing between the guests and the bottle collectors in Nyhavn. From the perspective of the reviewers, *hygge* is being used as a rhetorical tool in order to underline their moral conviction by accusing the bottle collectors of disrupting or even destroying the reviewers understanding of *hygge*. Hereby a play of power is played out regarding who has the right to be in the space of Nyhavn through what is characterized as being *hyggeligt* and what is not. In other words, the reviewers have a definition of what *hygge* is, and the bottle collectors do not fit into this definition, which turns *hygge* into a way of defining who has the right to be in Nyhavn and who has not. For the two reviewers the bottle collectors had a decisive influence on their experience of *hygge*, which they felt was disrupted.

The bottle collectors are being used symbolically as 'strangers', who are attacking an essential understanding of what *hygge* should be. In this instance *hygge* is being used to defend a specific political position regarding how Nyhavn should be. Thus we can point out which inclusion/exclusion mechanism (Gyimóthy & Jensen 2014) comes into play regarding the bottle collectors, who act as 'the other' who is not a part of the reviewers' idea of *hygge*. This point relates to what has been described in 3.3.2 The Downside of *Hygge*, where it is noted how *hygge* exemplifies a conservative ideology and how it actually is a rather political concept (Bennike 2016) and how it is very excluding in its design and definition (Dencik 2006). The bottle collectors are here being excluded from the conception of *hygge* and instead they are described as 'the other', who does not fit into this definition and is an element that just disrupts and destroys the *hygge*.

Furthermore, these two perceptions of how to use and be in the space of Nyhavn can be described as being two different moods that interfere with and co-shape the atmospheres. As presented in the theory section (Bille 2015), an atmosphere is affected and shaped through the intersection between the ecstatic matter and expectations, social practices, people's state of mind and communication. One of the focus points when looking at atmospheres is therefore to look at the causal powers that are influencing the atmospheres. These elements are evident in the situation of the bottle collectors, where the atmospheres are being negotiated between the two different social practices of the involved parties and communication – or rather, the lack of communication – which results in the reviewers having a negative experience, where the bottle collectors are presented as being rude and ruining the *hygge*. Thereby, a transformation of the atmospheres is occurring as one of the four issues concerning investigating atmospheres presented by Anderson and Ash (2014). In this case, the transformation happens due to another atmosphere overriding the atmosphere of *hygge*. Here the bottle collectors fail

in producing new relations with the people sitting and enjoying themselves and instead it results in the atmosphere of *hygge* being destroyed by their way of acting and the lack of communication between the two parties.

4.5 Analysis Conclusion

Throughout the three main sections in the above analysis - *hygge* as a historical perspective, *hygge* as infrastructure and *hygge* as socio-materially constructed – the experience in Nyhavn has been deconstructed through *hygge*, and it has been described how *hygge* is constituted and experienced in Nyhavn. Although the analysis has been divided into parts, it is important to once again note how *hygge* should not be understood as consisting of or being created by just one of the elements mentioned in the analysis. Instead it should be seen as entailing a mixture of all of the above and something that is socially constructed, wherefore it is not something that you can expect to be in a specific place. Also, *hygge* can be experienced amongst some and perhaps not amongst others even though they are within the same space. It is dependent on the person, their actions, their mood, the weather, the people and the materialities surrounding them. Since *hygge* is such a multifaceted phenomenon and the tourism experience can be characterized as being multimodal, there was a need for a multimodal analysis. Here different forms of data and different forms of working with the data in order to present the multiplicity through the analysis via pictures, impressionist tales, video and sound clips in order to use different forms of expression.

5 Conclusion

Throughout the analysis the controversial elements that exist in connection with *hygge* have been discussed looking at the historical perspective, the infrastructure and how *hygge* is constituted socio-materially. It has been shown how the many different rationalities in Nyhavn build the frames within which *hygge* may unfold. The first part of the analysis – '*Hygge* from a historical perspective' – showed how the nostalgia and the imagined space had an impact on how *hygge* was experienced, created and carried out in Nyhavn. Via complex relations to the past the experience of *hygge* in Nyhavn was defined how the influence from the past and the nostalgia in some cases could disrupt the *hygge*. In relation to nostalgia, the notion of authenticity arose as one way of defining what is *hygge* and what is not in Nyhavn. Looking at the development of Nyhavn through the years it is today a very commercialized space, which also appeared from the data as something that influenced the experience of *hygge*. Here it was established how *hygge* cannot just be seen as a romantic phenomenon as many might think, but that the commercialism underlining the *hygge* in Nyhavn is sometimes experienced as interrupting or even destroying the *hygge*.

In the section on '*Hygge* as infrastructure', it was established how there was created a consistent narrative of the harbour and the area in Nyhavn from the regulations made by both the Nyhavn Association and the Copenhagen Municipality, which politically create frames within which *hygge* can be created or disrupted. Moreover, different initiatives have been taken politically in order to make beneficial circumstances for *hygge* to arise. This applies for instance to dividing the promenade in Nyhavn into sections in order to avoid conflicts between the many rationalities that are to be found. In addition the focus on how to create the frames for enlarging the attractive conditions for *hygge* to arise in extending the now very concentrated ambient area in Nyhavn. Furthermore, the specific lightscape in Nyhavn has been established politically to be characterized by *hygge*, since it states how the electrical lights should be dimmed, which underpins the experience of *hygge*. Cars, delivery trucks, bicycles and the like were considered as part of the infrastructure that was able to disrupt the feeling of *hygge*. The same is the case with the newly installed concrete blocks. The concrete blocks drag the awareness into Nyhavn being a possible place for a terror attack, therefore the presence of the concrete blocks appears as a potential destroyer of *hygge.*

Through the data and the analysis it became clear how *hygge* is not only purely cognitive, but it is also affected by socio-material elements, which were discussed in the final section of the analysis; '*Hygge* as socio-materially constructed'. Various aspects and elements that had to do with the creation of *hygge* within both the social and material aspect that exists in Nyhavn, such as the weather, food and beverages, the overarching social essence and trash were pointed out. First, it was established how the weather played a big role in the scenery and the conception of *hygge*, whether it was a sunny or a cloudy day, where the majority expressed how the optimum experience in Nyhavn was obtained on a warm and sunny day. However, you cannot count on the weather to be sunny in Denmark, why the precautions the restaurants had made with heating lamps, blankets and petroleum lamps set up frames for *hygge* to be created on a cloudy day as well. Hereby, smaller spaces within the bigger physical space of Nyhavn were created and all together the restaurants were staging a specific space that is characterized by secureness. In close connection to the weather, the importance of the thermalscape of Nyhavn was mentioned. It showed how the weather had a great influence on people's behaviour, movement and actions. Moreover, the thermalscape has an effect on people's mood as well as the atmospheres of a place.

Second, the importance of food and beverages were investigated to find out how it adds to and promote *hygge*, but also how the low quality and high price could be a destroyer of *hygge*. Along with food and beverages, the issue of smellscape arose. It was discovered how the smellscape played out differently depending on aspects such as the weather, the crowds and the person in question. Some experienced it positively, others negatively, but no matter which one was enhanced, the smellscape had an affect on the creation of *hygge* and the overall experience.

Third, the overarching social essence that was described in the data collection was investigated. Here 'people watching' was seen as being a big part of being a tourist in Nyhavn, which added to the creating of the atmosphere. It was found how *hygge* is mediated through the visual and the theatrical element that Nyhavn seems to be framing, where the buzzing of sociality works as a background for the stage of Nyhavn. The crowds and the buzzing both appear both as a cherished and an irritating element, where the crowds can create or disrupt the *hygge*. The soundscape is characterized by the buzzing that is to be found in the majority of the space of Nyhavn. All these elements play together in creating atmospheres in Nyhavn, where people are co-creators, which makes it possible to give a feeling of being a part of an overarching feeling of *hygge*. This partaking in the overarching atmosphere of *hygge* is an evidence of social negotiation where the intangible experience can glue people together.

Fourth, trash popped up as having an influence in connection with *hygge* in Nyhavn. It was brought up as a side effect to the high consumption that takes place. The trash was actually able to have the final say in the decision-making with regard to having lunch in Nyhavn or not. This is an example of the importance of materialities in the creation of *hygge.* In relation to the trash, bottle collectors appeared as disrupters or even destroyers of *hygge*. Furthermore, in relation to the bottle collectors, *hygge* was found as being a rhetorical tool, which resulted in a play of power between the reviewers and the bottle collectors determining who had the right to be in the space of Nyhavn for it to be *hyggeligt*. Within this context it became evident that *hygge* also has an element of being an excluding power and how it in its design also can also be conceived as being rather conservative.

Thus, *hygge* is built of and constituted by a wide range of elements and aspects. It is constituted through multiple elements, including the audience, actors and their actions, the weather, the sociality, the materiality and the political landscape. The concept of *hygge* has been unravelled by looking at the phenomenon from various angles and drawing in different ways of investigating the phenomenon. The analysis needed to be multimodal in order to cover the multimodal phenomenon *hygge* in connection with the tourism experience, which in itself is perceived as being multimodal. This applies especially when looking at it from a non-representational point of view as has been aimed for within this thesis, where alternative methods for investigating the experience in Nyhavn have been used in order to challenge the usual way of carrying out tourism research. The purpose is to give a different reading and understanding of the researched topic, where the intangible and ephemeral have been the focus when deconstructing the Nyhavn experience through *hygge*.

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7 Appendices

Note to the appendices

All the he videos and audio clips can be found at YouTube and SoundCloud respectively, where there has been created an account for all of the video- and sound files – both the ones incorporated in the thesis and the ones, that were recorded in the field, but did not get referred to throughout the thesis. The pictures can be found via the link to Dropbox.

Video: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCgnGV6ZgMHc6R_VSu9igcVQ

Sound files: https://soundcloud.com/thenyhavnexperience

Pictures: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/ufcorkufkz87yei/AABNzUJPQwbRMAQ9wJJRRNSva?dl=0

Appendix 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are attached via Digital Exam.