

CHALLENGES OF EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCES IN THE ARCTIC

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents and discusses findings from extraordinary experiences in the Arctic Svalbard. Although extensive consumer research has focused on the positive, sublime and communal aspects of extraordinary experiences, little emphasis has been placed on the challenging aspects. By focusing on Arctic horse riding, Arctic adventure travel and dog sledding from a practice perspective, this study provides evidence that extraordinary consumption can be marked by challenges due to unrealistic expectations, troubling learning practices and connecting with others, and how one cope with tensions. We discuss how these four main types of challenges mark consumption and as such provide a nuanced interpretation compared to the positive connotations of previous research.

Keywords: consumption challenges, consumption paradoxes, extraordinary experiences, consumption practise, Arctic experiences

INTRODUCTION

When the Norwegian Government opened up for tourism in the beginning of the 1990-ties, the Arctic Svalbard changed from being an isolated place that mainly attracting explorers, hunters, and miners to become a destination for people with dreams of the Arctic wild. The archipelago is covered in permafrost and constitutes the northernmost part of Norway, located east of the northern part of Greenland. According to the Governor of Svalbard (Sysselmannen.no: "Travel statistics 2013"), it was estimated that about 45.000 tourists (conference guests included) visited Svalbard in 2012. Almost all of the tourists join organised trips such as hiking, dog sledding, snowmobiling and boat trips. In recent years, accidents and deaths among tourists in Norway have raised debates about safety and risk management (Eide and Borch, 2014). Also, tourists at Svalbard have been injured or died from glacier calving and polar bear attacks. The Svalbard Environmental Protection Act regulates consumption activities (e.g. dog sledding, boat trips), and tourist experiences are only available through guided groups (Prestvold, Johansen, and Overrein, 2011). Tourists must sign a declaration of conduct provided by tourism businesses in which they agree to act according to guides' instructions and to otherwise adjust to specified rules and regulations. Extraordinary experiences in the Arctic Svalbard are regarded by many as challenging exploration, even during the summer season.

The experiential turn within consumer research has focused on how consumption may "change how consumers think and feel about themselves and the world around them" (Arnould, Price, and Zinkhan, 2002: 423). Within marketing, consumption is now understood as a dynamic process that is co-created by the provider and the consumers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004; Vargo and Lusch, 2004), and evidence has been provided from a variety of contexts such as flea markets (Sherry, 1990), biking (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), brand stores (Kozinets *et al.*, 2002), trade shows and rodeos (Peñaloza, 2001) and Everest expeditions (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Research on extraordinary experiences suggests that the consumer is active with a high degree of involvement, extensive co-production effort, and intensive and magical emotional experience (Arnould and Price, 1993; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh, 1993). The active involvement is assumed to contribute to the elimination of the distance between the consumer and the context and situation, implying an embodied experience, often referred to as immersion (Carù and Cova, 2006; Hansen and Mossberg, 2013) or transcendence (Schouten, McAlexander, and Koenig, 2007). However, as the above

description of Svalbard accidents indicates, travelling there is not necessarily as romantic as contributions on extraordinary experiences suggest. Inspired by a practise perspective (Warde, 2005), it is likely that an extreme context would challenge consumers knowledge and bodily know-how to act during extraordinary activities in Arctic experiencescapes. However, little research has investigated the potential challenges when entering extraordinary consumption contexts (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). A gap in theory seems to exist with regard to understanding the struggles, limitations and tensions that consumers may face when participating in extraordinary experiences.

This paper contributes to filling this gap by exploring consumption practises of Arctic tourism. We ask how consumers face and cope with challenges when joining extraordinary experiences. The main argument is that challenges can be interpreted as tensions that appear when different sociocultural meanings are produced and reproduced within practises, and that paradoxical experiences can both enhance and drain value. Four main challenges and paradoxes of consuming experiences in Svalbard are identified, and we argue that these are related to unrealistic expectations and troubles in connecting with others, learning proper practice, and coping with tensions. We discuss how these results contribute with an alternative reading as compared to the enchanted orientation that dominates consumer research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Extraordinary consumption

Victor Turner's structure vs. anti-structure thesis (Turner, 1969, 1973) has been important for understanding tourism (Uriely, 2005) and consumer experiences (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Within tourism, the essence of this perspective is that the tourist basically is driven by the sacred quest of visiting places, people and cultures. The relationship to the authentic place becomes important for understanding what a tourist experience is, although most tourists will not be able to experience or *see* the authentic because what they get is a more or less staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1999). Nevertheless, the tourist experience would stand out from mundane social life because it is characterised by liminality, *communitas*, and sacredness. Defined as situations and roles outside or between the positions assigned during everyday life (Turner, 1969: 95), liminality challenges everyday structure and enables people to form communities that transcend everyday norms (*communitas*). The metaphor of pilgrimage is therefore used within tourism to signify sacred experiences in contrast to the everyday

mundane (MacCannell, 1999). Therefore, shared goals and transcendence, spontaneous social interaction and liberated experiences are among the characteristics of authentic tourist experiences.

Within consumer research, the Turnerian thesis has inspired a romantic focus when analysing extraordinary experiences (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Extraordinary experiences are believed to offer magic, communion, spiritual enrichment and the sublime (Arnould, Price, and Otnes, 1999; Thompson, 2000). Inspired by psychology (Csíkszentmihályi, 1997; Maslow, 1964; Privette, 1983) and hedonic consumption (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982) Arnould and Price (1993) define the extraordinary as “intense, positive, intrinsically enjoyable experiences” (p. 25). Arnould et al. argue that magical experiences, albeit rare, are possible in extraordinary “magical consumption system” that depends on; the performer (e.g. transcendent ability), transformative rites, and formula (e.g. myths and charismatic stories) (Arnould *et al.*, 1999: 38).

Studying river rafting, Arnould and Price report “communion with nature, *communitas* or connecting with others [...] and renewal of self” as essential to extraordinary experiences (Arnould and Price, 1993: 31). Turning to anthropology, they demonstrate how extraordinary experiences can provide absorption and integration and how romantic cultural scripts contribute to the transformation of consumers so that they may return to an everyday world as renewed individuals. In their research on adventure contexts, such as skydiving in particular as well as climbing and BASE jumping, Celsi et al. (1993) report *communitas* that “transcends ordinary camaraderie” to be important motivations. Bonding between skydivers outside ordinary norms are reported to be important, and the activities are of sacred character. The authors propose a holistic “extended dramatic model” that combines “macroenvironmental influences”, “inter- and intrapersonal motives” and a “dramatic world view” for understanding high-risk experiences (p. 3). Kozinets’ (2002) ethnography of the anti-market event “Burning Man” reveals how a temporary hypercommunity (i.e., the festival) constructs emancipator practises that diverge from the ideology of everyday consumption. By focusing on the shared experiences and the communal aspects of consumption, Kozinets argues that a culturally based extraordinary experience can take the form of inversion rituals “against the orderly, planned, pre-programmed, boring, and imitative aspects” of everyday marketplace existence (Kozinets, 2002: 36).

Consumption practises within experiencescapes

Renewed interest has surfaced for theories of practise within the social sciences (Reckwitz, 2002), although no unified version exists. As an ontological feature, the practice theories' basic insight is that both social order and individuality result from practises (Schatzki, 1996). Most theorists conceive practises as arrays of human activity, often embodied nexuses, but they disagree on the type of elements that mediate activity (Schatzki, 2001). Whereas consumption potentially occurs as a practice or for the sake of upcoming practises (Warde, 2005), extraordinary experiences within adventure tourism occur as types of practises where consumers are expected to be active and highly involved during consumption (see Arnould and Price, 1993). Extraordinary consumption practises could thus be understood as patterns of meaning and activity of involving actions, interactions and relations with objects and other humans within experiencescapes. Experiencescapes can be defined as actions that occur between the consumers, personnel/guides, other consumers, the environment and objects (e.g., souvenirs), which are framed by images of romanticised themes/stories (see Arnould, Price, and Tierney, 1998; Bitner, 1992; Mossberg, 2007, 2008). Hence, the cultural framing is to be found in both the communicative staging (Arnould *et al.*, 1998) and the practices of, and in, experiencescapes (Valtonen, Markuksela, and Moisander, 2010). Adventure research demonstrates that wilderness experiences occur as dynamic and multi-phasic experiences (McIntyre and Roggenbuck, 1998). Borrie and Roggenbuck (2001) argue that experiences are dynamically distinguished by focus on self, others, task or the environment during various phases of experiences. One can argue that since consumers face an extreme context of the Arctic, understanding how they cope with organised practises within experiencescapes is an important focus for the empirical investigation of challenges.

Practises can be understood “as a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings” (Schatzki, 1996: 89). Consumption is performed through relationships but formed and sustained by co-ordinated elements that are important for understanding practises (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). Based on Schatzki (1996: 89) and Warde (2005: 134), and related to the Arctic context, one can assume that co-ordinating elements would involve; (a) bodily understanding, or know-how to relate to objects, people and animals, and of what to do and say during activities, (b) procedures that are made explicit in the forms of rules, principles, and instructions, and (c) engagements of “teleoaffective” structures embracing ends, projects, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods that tend to mark practices.

Performance practise refers to how the bodily understandings, procedures and engagements are carried out and coped with in experiencescapes.

Both co-ordination and performance were at stake when Holt (1995) studied baseball spectators in Chicago. He revealed how actions are directed towards objects, how consumers use objects to interact with other consumers, and how institutional structures determine consumption. Findings indicate how co-ordination of saying and doing, or the lack thereof, can be crucial for understanding performances. In contrast, Holt and Thompson's (2004) study of "man-of-action heroes" reveals how the same masculine socio-cultural frame of reference may promote quite different performance practises. Their research demonstrates the importance of including a wider socio-cultural understanding in practise research. In addition to romantic images of attractions and destinations, consumers' cultural background may also influence practices at destinations that attract international tourists.

In order to facilitate learning for coping and understanding, activities within experiencescapes tend to be made explicit and thematised. Relevant to extraordinary experiences, practice theory can help us understand how different consumption practices and learning are critical when the context and practices are unfamiliar to the consumers.

Challenging consumption practises

In contrast to experiential settings that are well known and often involve a routine activity (e.g., baseball or a festival), extraordinary consumption practises would often involve people without the proper understanding and know-how to act during experiences. Often the place, such as the Arctic Svalbard, is unfamiliar as well. There is a need to mediate consumers' interpretations of procedures (e.g., dog sledding) and perhaps also engagements (e.g., meanings) so that consumers may become competent performers. Conversely, certain aspects of experiencescapes are most likely known and routine practises, such as when familiar activities are accomplished in unfamiliar contexts (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Thus, the dialectic of both persistence and change will mark practises (Warde, 2005). Personnel and other consumers are regarded as important because they can compensate for the lack of understanding of what to do or say (Arnould and Price, 1993; Mossberg, Hanefors, and Hansen, 2014) when facing the Arctic.

Engagement in practises might be challenging because the beliefs, emotions and moods of actors may represent tension towards the physical environment, other consumers and personnel. A re-inquiry of Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) ethnography of Harley-Davidson bikers claims that the rider community is more complex than previous research indicated (2006). The authors discovered ideological conflicts and problems of hegemonic masculinity when applying feminist theory. Tumbat & Belk (2011), studying climbing Everest, observed many experiential tensions. They argue that consumers may join various relationships out of necessity, rather than to transcend everyday structural norms (into *communitas*), and that participants can be "more interested in touting their individual accomplishments" (Tumbat and Belk, 2011: 57). Their key findings are that consumers may face tension within uncertain and insecure contexts and that consumers must be expected to negotiate various dualities of the everyday mundane and the extraordinary enchanting.

Neumann (1993) reports tension between spontaneity and organisational control of bus tour consumers, which refers to the potential challenges of provider/personnel and consumers of experiencescapes. Whereas the consumers longed for travel outside the mass tourist routes, they instead experienced "planned spontaneity" where trip leaders made the decisions where and when the group should travel. This resulted in an "ironic and incongruous shape" to the *communitas* (p. 217). In terms of practise theory, one could argue that performance practise was questioned by the consumers due to a mismatch between the understandings, procedures and engagements of the actors involved in the practise. Holyfield and Fine (1997) (rope courses) and Sharpe (2005) (wilderness experiences) describe similar discoveries, the latter reporting how trip leaders questioned the real and genuine characteristic of *communitas* they co-created. Lindberg and Østergaard (2015) report that consumers may face challenges because they fail to enter the necessary cultural role during extraordinary canoeing experiences. Thus, extraordinary practices can be too different from the ordinary and create challenges like conflicts, tensions and negative emotions and hence making consumers unable or unwilling to interact in active ways.

METHOD AND DATA

This study focuses on interpretation of three consumption cases within a sociocultural framework of the extraordinary Arctic. By attaining to an interpretive focus onto communicative staging, practices and stories, we tried to overcome the weakness of

subjective or idiosyncratic approaches to extraordinary experiences. We endeavoured to move the level of analysis to the practices within experiencescapes; i.e. across consumers, personnel/guides, other consumers, animals, the environment, objects and the framing of cultural images and themes/stories (Eide and Mossberg, 2013). To contextualise the practices, we attained an analytic scrutiny through a spiral interplay between the various empirical texts, the cultural meaning of tourism and the place, and the social practise of the groups, i.e. as a spiral case where one can ‘zoom in and out’ (Gherardi, 2006; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Furthermore, we aimed to study processes, such as how newcomers learn and cope (Wenger, 1998). It was important to follow the emergence and development of individuals and the group’s practices, and identify challenges in the process.

Our study is a multi-case study (Flyvbjerg, 2001) and the three cases take place in Svalbard during the summer/autumn season. They are all guided tours. The season was chosen because it is less extreme than the winter, and hence involves more varied types of tourist. Arctic horse riding and dog sledding (day trips) were chosen because the tourists and provider were expected to be highly active in relation to animals. The three-day Arctic adventure trip was chosen due to its duration and mix of activities in an even more ‘wild’ nature far outside the village of Longyearbyen. The tourists joined the activities; Arctic hiking, glacier trip and whale watching in addition to boat trips. All trips started in the village and were promoted as “easy” and accessible to most tourists.

Inspired by an ethnographic approach towards the marketplace (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994) and wilderness (Rantala, 2011), data collection scrutiny was on what people did in addition to what they said. The researchers stayed for one week in August 2011. Multi-method fieldwork was accomplished at the various adventure sites through participant observations; informal conversations with tourists, guides and hosts; field notes; and secondary information about activities, firms and contexts. The interview data were generated through group discussions with tourists immediately after the three trips and in-depth interviews were conducted with two of the guides, a host, and with a manager.

Participants

The informants were asked in interviews and group reflections to account for what they had gone through during the various experiences. The recorded field notes and interview data were transcribed.

** Insert table 1 here

A total of 19 participants were involved; 12 tourists, four guides, two hosts (at the guesthouse, adventure trip) and one manager from a tour operator. Three of the tourists were fellow researchers experiencing the Arctic Svalbard. All tourists had little experiences of the Arctic Svalbard and the activities they attended. The guides had education or training related to Arctic tourism.

Research phases, engagement and descriptions

An overview of the data phases during the empirical work is shown in the table below.

** Insert table 2 here

The data has been analyzed by moving back and forth between the data sources, data types and analytical levels, searching for challenging practices, developing categories and meaning condensations (Gherardi, 2006; Kvale, 1996).

Communicative staging

On official web sites (svalbard.net and visitnorway.com), summer/autumn Svalbard is promoted through images of wild nature and animals and slogans such as a touch of wilderness and Arctic spirit. Experiential products, such as adventure trips, boat trips, kayaking, hiking, dog sledding, and glacier trips, are contextualized as close to the North Pole together with polar bears, Alaskan Huskies, and midnight sun. Various themes and stories are emphasized by destination marketing organisations and tourist businesses; e.g. “trapper station”, and experience products are named “magic of the arctic” and “taste of the arctic”. Tourists in our study stayed at the “Trapper’s hotel” for approximately one week and joined several activities during their stay. The guide met groups of tourists at the reception and had a brief orientation. The security issue was emphasized.

Trip descriptions

The dog sledding adventure was a day trip, where the tourists were riding a wagon on wheels pulled by 6 Alaskan Huskies. The tourists were taught the basics of handling the dogs, harness the dogs onto the wagons and the principles of dog sledding. No previous experience was required. The guide explained the main activities and stages of the tour, and she emphasized the dog's friendly personality. All participants had to sign a compliance form where they agreed to follow the guide's instructions at all times during the activity. Next, the group was transported in a mini-bus a few kilometres to the dog yard which was situated within a staged traditional trapper station. The guide gave the group some information about the dogs and their life, and went on to demonstrate how to harness the dogs. The guide paired the participants and gave them instructions on which dog to get and which harness to apply. There was a lot of tension among the tourists during this phase. On each team, one participant was standing at the back and was driving the wagon, while the other was sitting inside the wagon. The track was a gravel road leading to a closed-off mine, which also marked the return point. The teams were asked to change positions (driver and passenger) and return to the dog yard where they de-harnessed the dogs and put them back in their respective dog houses. Important experiencescapes were the dog yard, the staged trapper station and the route that the group was following.

The Arctic horse riding adventure was a day trip, and the tourists knew each other's and travelled together. The theme was a short horse-back riding session in Arctic nature with Icelandic horses. According to the online promotion of the trip, the route and speed would be determined by the experience level of the group. The guide picked-up tourists at the hotel and transported them in a mini-bus a few kilometres to the stable. Participants were provided helmets, and the guide assigned them horses which they started to brush. The guide saddled all the horses himself and brought them outside. When all participants had entered their horse, the group proceeded out of the gate and started riding in a line along the track. The guide took the lead, while some tourists felt uncomfortable. The track was situated in a relatively flat Arctic landscape, and the trip included 3-4 stops to wait for tourists that fell behind. The tourists up front saw reindeers and birds, while the others seemed to struggle with riding techniques. The trip ended with the guide driving the group back to the hotel. The guide was not very talkative. Important experiencescapes were the transportation, stable, the track and the surrounding landscape.

The adventure trip was a 3 day tour, and the theme was to experience the arctic nature, wildlife and to stay at a former telecommunication station. The station had been redecorated by designers and was promoted as a luxurious wilderness hotel with a calm atmosphere. There were no telephone or internet connections and no roads in this area, which added to the feeling of being away from civilization. The trip started with a briefing at the hotel in Longyearbyen, and the guide explained the main events planned for the 3 days excursion by using a map to show the group which areas they would be visiting. All participants also had to sign a security form acknowledging that they would accept the guide's instructions while on the trip. The group moved on to a storehouse where they were provided survival suits, goggles, hats and gloves. A mini-bus was used to transport the group down to the marina where they entered into rib-boats. It was rainy weather and quite chilly, and the boat trip lasted three hours with low visibility. Lunch was served upon arrival and the group was given a guided tour of the station and its surroundings. The group, except for two of the tourists who withdraw to their rooms, joined a hike to experience arctic flora and fauna, and stories of trapper traditions. The second day, the weather got a little better, and the tourists joined a boat trip to visit a glacier and to do whale watching. However, some of the tourists did not join this trip, and stayed at the radio station. A colony of over 100 white whales was observed during the trip. The third day, the group had lunch at the station before returning with the rib-boat to the Longyearbyen village. Important experiences were; the hotel lobby, storehouse, boat trips, the environments (fjords, mountains, and glaciers), and the former radio station with its buildings and surrounding area.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Below we elaborate further on the findings according to the phases outlined in Table 2.

The romantic images

A romantic cultural overtone stages Svalbard through images of wild nature and animals and with slogans such as a touch of wilderness and Arctic spirit. Consumers' understanding is permeated by the mystic and almost mythical wilderness where one could expect to see polar bears, polar foxes and polar grouse. The stories of the lives of trappers and Arctic explorers frame the themes of hotels, tour operators, and stories told by some of the guides and others at the destination. The romantic images of the Arctic Svalbard influence the tourists' expectations.

The British participant stated that it is all about the excitement, the excitement of experiencing something new, and he was very into culture, exploring cultures. He stated that the Arctic Svalbard appeals to him because he is fascinated of how the trappers and explorers lived. The Australian thought the Polar bear was cute, sweet, white, innocent (Field notes, August, 2011)

“The mystics related to the polar bear are important for people coming to Svalbard.” (Guide, male, interview).

“People are attracted by the idea that it is the closest you get to the Arctic pole, and that the Polar Bear is both cute and dangerous.” (Guide, female, interview).

“They want to see it. The perception of the animal changes when you come here. Here, the bear come and go, and the tourists feel the excitement although they don’t see it. They sit in the window ledge gazing out for the bear.” (Host Isfjord Radio, female, interview).

**Insert figure 1 here

Figure 1: Story of trapper life at dog yard/trapper station.

The tourists account for reading about Svalbard and the trips in magazines, on Internet, and talking to friends and family that have told stories about the north. Some informants account for this visit as a once in a lifetime experience to the “northern most part of the world” (e.g., American, male, dog sledding). The challenge is, however, that a romantic blur seems to cover expectations, and many consumers seems not prepared for the upcoming contexts and activities. Hence, the communicative staging does not explicate much about how one is supposed to act as a guest at Svalbard or what competence that is required. The tourists long for Arctic wilderness and cultural traditions but know little about how to cope during activities in such milieu. This combination of communicative staging and lack of pre-requisites (earlier experiences, knowhow, fitness, etc.) can create a mismatch between the customers and the experience product, and perhaps also with the destination, which seems to be one of the main sources to the challenges that consumers face.

Dog sledding: Becoming able and willing to cope with ‘wild’ dogs

Transforming into the desired adventure role requires that consumers simultaneously leave a role behind and accept adjusting to novel practises. Whereas (tacit) bodily performances are routinised during everyday life, the extraordinary contexts in the Arctic and the activities with the dogs require new bodily performances. Because most of the tourists were unskilled, adjusting to the novel order of procedures and understandings of consumption practises was a challenge. The following tourist points at such a challenge describing the start of the dog-sledding trip:

“So I didn’t have any expectations when we drove out there, and I felt good and everything. I remember I was thinking; this is going to be interesting and everything. But when we got to the dog yard, and saw and heard all the dogs that barked, and all of a sudden I realised that we were supposed to fetch the dogs ourselves and organise them into dog teams. You know, six dogs, and when I was put into group with the Englishman, who was just as inexperienced and impractical as I was, then I felt somewhat anxious [...] He [the Englishman] was just standing there. Did not cooperate” (Norwegian, male, group discussions, p. 3)

** Insert figure 2 here

Figure 2: Coping with the dogs

The tourists realise that the (routinised) practises they know would be insufficient for succeeding in dog sledding. The challenge is then related to *how* they can attain a practise that would work within this context. During preparations, some of the tourists feared the “wild” dogs that they expected the provider would handle. However, after a short briefing about dogs, the Arctic and sledding, they were expected to take care of the preparations in teams of two. A rather quick adjustment was necessary, even for those that were used to dogs at home and those that were used to rough nature.

“How was I supposed to approach the harnessing of the dogs? I couldn’t cope. Didn’t understand anything about this” (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 3-4).

“How was I supposed to fetch my dogs when the other 80 ‘wanted’ to kill them? The guide was telling me that I had to shove them away, but...” (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 4).

“I felt pity for the dogs. Thought they were thinking; ‘are you taking me out to kill me?’”
(Norwegian, male, group discussions, p. 5).

A social practise is the product of training the body in a certain way (Reckwitz, 2002). The development of skills and know-how necessary for preparing for the sled trip was a challenge for the tourists. They needed to cope with their fears and lack of understanding by quickly adjusting to the dog-handling practise. However, not all of them were able or willing to adjust.

The American and the Englishman did not take part in preparing the dog sledge before the trip. When the American drove off the road during the trip he did not help to get his own sledge on the road. One of the Norwegians was clearly annoyed and helped the guide. However, at the end of the day he seemed more comfortable with the dogs and returned some of them to the doghouse. (Field note, August, 2011).

Several of the tourists reported paradoxical experiences after the trip. While their actions were a strenuous struggle in the dog yard, the tone changed during the group discussions. Surprisingly, what had happened there was regarded important for the experience they had later on, or even the “most valuable event” to some (Scandinavians). These tourists emphasised a close connection to the dogs during the dog sledding due to the active preparation phase in the dog yard. This case illustrates tension between consumers and animals, and between consumers, and how tension may result in passivity or become valuable resource for later phases of an experience.

Arctic horse riding: Failing to enjoy the nature and activity

The group of tourists were quite eager to view the Arctic nature from an Icelandic horse. Although two of the tourists had little previous riding experiences and expressed being anxious as newcomers, they assured themselves that the guide would help them overcome the emotional tension they felt. However;

“When the guide came to the hotel reception and only three of us [tourists] were there, he turned grumpy at once. I told him that the last person is coming soon, but he was not glad that he was late. I perceived him as arrogant and not very service minded [...] How will

this turn out? What about security? He didn't provide me with any safety. He will only think I am very troublesome.” (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 1).

The newcomers needed to discuss their feelings with the guide. However, they perceived the guide as “not interested in talking”.

“It was a quite demanding experience we were heading for, and if we were not able to achieve a good atmosphere, then we are in trouble [...] I was working hard to achieve a cheerful tone, but didn't succeed.” (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 2-3)

The atmosphere in the mini bus was not very good. Two of the tourists were nervous for the upcoming activity. When we reached the stables the guide still did not talk much, and he clearly assumed that everybody knew what to do. Nevertheless, everybody waited for instructions that never came. Then, the tourists started to help each other discussing how to cope with the brushing ritual.

“His attitude changed when we got out there [stables]—into his world in a way, and he gave us a broom and a brush but didn't say anything, but I didn't know [how to cope].” (Swedish, female, group discussions, p. 5)

“The horses were kind of old. While I was brushing the horse I was thinking: ‘What is this—an arrogant guide and half dead horses!’ But then I thought: ‘This horse will not be able to run fast—and that is good’” (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 6)

Through preparation procedures, the tourists' emotional tension was reduced. By helping each other they developed a shared atmosphere related to the process of brushing, discussing rules of conduct, and how to cope with the upcoming practice of riding into the Arctic landscape. Little information was provided about the upcoming trip, neither about the riding activity nor the nature. When one of the tourists got up on the horse and lost control and screamed, the guide gave one of the few instructions: “You shouldn't scream because it scares the horses!”. After a short while some of the tourists fell behind and had limited opportunity to communicate with the rest of the group.

“All I had to concentrate on was actually the horse riding. I got far behind the others and felt like an outsider (Norwegian, female, group discussions, p. 45)

“This horse riding was a trial and error trip” (Swedish, female, group discussions, p. 44)

The two newcomers were unable to focus on the Arctic wilderness and wildlife that the rest of the group experienced. All their attention was on coping with the horse riding, even though being in an ‘easy’ flat terrain. This illustrates how these tourists failed to evolve the horse riding into a bodily activity, or a from-to attention (Polanyi, 1966/1983), and they were consequently not able to enjoy the riding nor the nature where it took place. Their experiences are example of mismatch between consumer and product, especially between the consumers and the tour guide.

Adventure trip: When nature bites back

It was apparent that several of the tourists were disappointed with the weather. It was rainy and windy, and we could expect waves on the upcoming boat trip (open boat). The French tourists arrived at the main land in their private aircraft, but were annoyed because they were refused landing permit at the Svalbard airport. The atmosphere at the information meeting was rather oppressive, and some tourists were surprised when they realized they had to wear extensive clothing (e.g. survival suits) for the upcoming boat trip. One of the tourists even questioned if this outfit was really necessary on a trip like this. They expected to join a large boat on this trip.

When we got to the outpost of Isfjord Radio, we were wet underneath the survival suit. We had to dry our clothes, and then we went out for a four-hour walking trip in the Arctic mountain landscape. Two of the French tourists were not up to it. We could not move outside the buildings due to the risk of bumping into a polar bear. There had been a polar bear visiting the day before we arrived, and the guide told us the story of a 17-year old British student who had been killed by a bear last week. We needed the guide with a rifle just to stand in the doorway (Field notes, August 2011).

**Insert figure 3 here

Figure 3: The tourists preparing for the boat trip

This trip was more exhausting than some of the tourists were expecting. They faced activities they perceived as challenging and dangerous. They expected a much more comfortable trip where they could view the Arctic wilderness and animals from a distance.

“I think the boat trip was too rough. I sat in the front of the boat, and the waves made the boat trip really bumpy [...] The two stops at the Russian mining settlements were not very exciting. It was nice to finally arrive at the radio station.” (Norwegian, male, group discussion)

A guided hiking trip was organised, but two of the French tourists refused to join because they were wet and cold, and felt uncomfortable in the new environment. The guide argued that it was not so bad, but that did not help. Both withdrew to their rooms at the guesthouse.

The French woman asked the guide if there was any toilet she could use during the Arctic hike. The guide told her she could just pee behind a stone. The tourist seemed almost shocked and told him that she could not do it, and that she was exhausted (Field notes, August, 2011).

This French tourists stayed at the guest house the second day too. It was rainy and foggy, but little wind. As the weather changed to the better, the touring group visited a glacier, gazed at animals (seal, birds) and a large herd of white whales.

“To be part of the Arctic nature - it was the magical moments of the trip. To actually walk on the majestic glacier that is so enormous. Some perhaps 50 meter high, and people stop talking. Even the French! I was surprised that [the guide] took us to the glacier. He was so conservative and security oriented. I felt like walking on the edge somehow – of the world. Like what you watch on TV. And we had lunch beside the glacier!” (Norwegian, male, group discussion)

This trip lasted for three days and went deeper into the wilderness than the other cases. The distance between ordinary life and the participation in the Arctic context and activities became extensive. For some it was too uncomfortable, and the results were passivity instead of activity. One can argue that this case shows a mismatch between consumers and product, especially challenges in wild nature and to some extent with the tour guide.

DISCUSSION

Extraordinary experiences are believed to offer magic, communion, spiritual enrichment and the sublime (Thompson, 2000). However, our results demonstrate that nature may offer hostility just as it offers communion and the sublime, and that indifference and even alienation may mark interactions just as they are marked by *communitas*. Not all consumers are able to cope with tensions so that one may experience spiritual enrichment and the sublime.

The findings show that several consumers had romanticised images of the Arctic that largely were not met when they stayed at Svalbard. A main reason is that Svalbard is not 'cute', and that it can be ruff and too extreme for ordinary (unskilled) tourists. Consequently, different challenges and mismatches are experienced during the various consumption activities. From a practise perspective (Schatzki, 1996; Warde, 2005) many challenges were related to mismatch between understandings, procedures and engagements (e.g., goals, moods) among the actors involved in the practices. The challenges thus involved both communicative as well as substantive issues (Arnould, 2007). Unlike prior research that focused on skilled consumers (Martin *et al.*, 2006; Tumbat and Belk, 2011), our results demonstrate that inexperienced consumers may face challenges during early phases of extraordinary experiencescapes when they must develop novel understandings and know-how to cope in extreme contexts. Below we suggest and discuss four main challenges (including paradoxes, conflicts, tensions) that add to the existing body of knowledge on extraordinary experiences. Table 3 provides an overview.

** Insert table 3 here

Challenges due to unrealistic expectations of nature and/or activities

Prior research show that consumers in wilderness have concrete and realistic expectations with respect to natural environment and activities (Sharpe, 2005). Our results show a distinction between consumers with realistic and those with unrealistic expectations about the place, activities and the roles of self and others. Most of the Scandinavians had more realistic expectations than the non-Scandinavians. The Scandinavians tended to be more willing to engage actively into the roles of adventurous explorers. In extraordinary experiences, risk,

drama and tension are important ingredients leading to experiential peaks and satisfaction (Celsi *et al.*, 1993; Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Thus, consumers' active involvement and development of competence performance is pervasive in such contexts (Tumbat and Belk, 2013). Although most of the Scandinavians faced emotional tension while adjusting to the Arctic nature elements, e.g. on the Adventure trip, their realistic expectations and prior experiences of "wild" nature in Norway and Sweden made them overcome the tensions. In line with previous research (e.g., Wicklund and Gollwitzer, 1982), we find that insecure consumers, e.g. when facing the "wild" dogs, tend to adjust to stereotypical role competency to achieve adequate performance. Although the Scandinavians account for strenuous practices, we do not interpret the adjustments as troubling, for these consumers want to develop competence and know-how for adjusting to an Arctic mind set and role. Such adjustments can be necessary for positive and enjoyable experiences (see Arnould and Price, 1993)

Some of the non-Scandinavian consumers seem caught in paradoxical situations because they are not able to experience the genuine Arctic according to their (unrealistic) fantasies of observing the (cute) polar bear, the midnight sun, and the mythical explorer and trapper traditions. The French consumers (adventure trip) end in a paradoxical situation because they face an experience where they are expected to *act* as adventurous explorers, but that is not what they want. Consequently, some of them even refuse to engage in the experiences, while others reluctantly join the Arctic hiking trip. On the dog sledding trip, the American and the English consumers refuse to engage in handling the ("wild") Alaskan huskies, and instead let the guide handle the dogs. Their inactive practice during the initial phase of the trip indicated instead that they expected to step right into a readymade sled and observe the Arctic wilderness.

It is not our intent to construct stereotypes between Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians, because it is not so simple. Scandinavians have also different skills, fitness and background, just as the non-Scandinavians have. Still we see a pattern that makes it more likely that non-Scandinavians experience greater challenges because the Arctic Svalbard is even more different from their everyday life than for many Scandinavians that seem more used to outdoor life across different seasons. In this situation, uniform communications can create unrealistic expectations because it is so different from what the consumers know. Our results show that the communicative staging and cultural meanings of tourism can result in a

mismatch between the consumer and the product, including the place/destination. Getting tour guides that are not able to understand and reduce the gaps between expectations/goals and practices makes it worse.

Unlike the river rafters (Arnould and Price, 1993) and the sky divers (Celsi *et al.*, 1993), where the goal was the fun activity, these non-Scandinavian consumers can, to some extent, also be compared to the climbers of Tumbat and Belk (2011) whose goal was to reach the “top of the world”. Although the experience is quite different, many have a goal of reaching the “northern most part of the world”. Instead of actively engaging as co-performers the consumers come with a strong expectation of experiencing the natural wonders of the place. Thus, their criteria for successful performance diverge from the providers because some consumers already have reached their goal by simply reaching the Arctic (e.g., the French on adventure trip).

Challenges with learning practice

The results reveal guides that do not primarily focus on aspects that have been highlighted as important related to consumption of experiences; such as dramaturgy, magic, enchantment, fun and community bonding (e.g. Arnould *et al.*, 1999; Celsi *et al.*, 1993; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Kozinets *et al.*, 2004; Sharpe, 2005). Instead, focus is on learning proper practise; e.g. how to approach the Alaskan huskies, what to do when facing a polar bear, the use of survival suits, boat security, and so on. The guides did not focus on consumers’ expectations, feelings, aptitude, or meaning creation. Instead of the camaraderie that Arnould and Price (1993) report, the interactional tone between the guides and the consumers was primarily rough, tough and obedient, which is not uncommon in such milieu (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). We have seen how the consumers struggle to learn proper procedures and understanding so that they would be able to actualise explorations. However, learning proper practice can be difficult when tension towards nature and animals become too extensive.

Tumbat and Belk (2011; 2013) argue that the role of guides in extreme contexts is different than in more controlled and playful contexts such as sports events and even river rafting. They found that the behaviour and interaction between provider and consumers are focused on the reality of the tasks before them, and “not on the co-constructions of meaningful experiences” (Tumbat and Belk, 2013: 57). Our results demonstrate that focus on tasks and proper practise not only prepares for Arctic performances, but paradoxically may also result

in challenges of meaning. Several of the participants accounted for challenging emotions when facing “killer dogs”, horses and demanding Arctic wilderness. However, the guides did not pay much attention to such consumer tensions. The roughness of the interaction even made several of the consumers more tense (i.e., Arctic horse riding, adventure trip).

The experiences of the Arctic Svalbard are somewhat different than extreme mountaineering. In mountaineering, the climbers are skilled, whereas the Arctic tourists are unskilled. The bodily know-how of the climbers is extensive, whereas most Arctic tourists lack bodily understanding of the activity before them. Thus, the role of the Arctic guides involves training consumers with a variety of expectations, goals, demographic and lifestyle characteristics. This is demanding for the guides because the consumers need attention to both proper practice and meaning. The outcome of the training would perhaps not be challenging if the consumers had been a homogenous group of skilled Arctic explorers.

Challenging communities and connecting with others

In most consumer research, as reviewed, the idea of *communitas*, or connecting with others during extraordinary experiences, are pervasive (e.g. Arnould and Price, 1993; Kozinets, 2002). In contrast, our findings show that different goals may exist, and that sociocultural differences and boundaries were not attenuated. Tensions appear between guides and consumers, and among the consumers. The sharing of meaningful experiences and interpersonal ties mostly appeared in subgroups or when the consumers needed to overcome joint challenges of learning practices or coping with tough guides. Some Scandinavians on the dog sledding trip, and to some extent on the adventure trip, were openly annoyed about non-Scandinavian behaviour, while consumers on the horse riding and the adventure trip were openly annoyed about the guides' lack of focus onto meaning creation. Although the guides are regarded important for co-creating community and *communitas* experiences (Sharpe, 2005), often by helping the consumers interpret the foreign environment (Rantala, 2010), our results show that tensions between guides and consumers may take the form of passive performance and inadequate attention in extreme contexts.

Tumbat and Belk (2011) argue that mistaken identification and false recognition can be found in subcultures of consumption. When the Arctic Svalbard was opened up as a marketplace in the 1990ties, it can be argued that a process of commodification has taken place that has turned an extreme place into an extraordinary performance stage (see Firat and Dholakia,

1998). We think such transition can help explaining why the understanding and perspectives of the place and consumption practices are different between guides, Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians. While the guides must focus on security and develop consumers' know-how in an extreme and dangerous context, the consumers, and especially the non-Scandinavians, misapprehend what it means to experience the Arctic Svalbard. The annoyance about the gazing attitude of the French, British and American consumers illustrates how the other consumers distance themselves from an ordinary touristic (gazing) attitude and behaviour. Consequently, many consumers refuse or cannot enter the tourist role as they are supposed to, and instead of developing shared understanding and *communitas* in line with the Turnerian thesis (Celsi *et al.*, 1993), boundaries between subgroups are developed due to different understandings, goals and engagements.

Challenges of coping with tension

In consumer coping, uncertainty and paradoxes are viewed as negative characteristics that are threatening consumer well-being and that will result in various coping strategies to avoid negative emotions (Mick and Fournier, 1998). However, a postmodern consumption landscape presents vast amount of cultural contradictions and paradoxes that offer no simple coping strategies (James, Handelman, and Taylor, 2011). The analyses show that there are distinctions between how the consumers cope with tensions despite that they are inexperienced with the destination and with activities attended. Similar to findings from other adventurous contexts (Arnould and Price, 1993; Gyimóthy and Mykletun, 2004; Varley, 2011), the main goal of the consumers is experiencing the alien, marginal, and liminoid world of the extraordinary Arctic, presented by the culturally communicated images and myths of the wild nature and heroic stories of explorers and trappers. In order to be able to enjoy the “northern most part the world”, the consumers must be able to cope with the tensions they are facing. We have seen how the Arctic consumers face challenges in becoming competent performers, and that both persistence and change mark consumption practices (Warde, 2005). In line with reviewed literature, most of them cope with the emotional tensions and bodily sensations when facing “dangerous” animals (e.g., dogs) and “wild” Arctic climate (e.g., adventure trip), and become actively involved in intense practices that enhance sublime experiences during later phases of the consumption. Some consumers account for the paradoxical experience of valuing such challenging processes the most, e.g. that the “me and my dog” communion was more important than connecting with others or feeling communion with nature.

Although consumption experiences can be understood as a blur of fantasy and reality (Belk and Costa, 1998; Kozinets, 2002; Peñaloza, 2001), our results show how consumption may fail because consumers are not up to the challenge that is necessary for “living” the fantasy. The transformation into the role, such as “adventurers”, “dog sledding trappers”, or “horse riding explorers”, may become too alien when consumers face practices that they cannot handle. Instead of becoming active, intense and involved experiencers (Thompson, 2000), the non-coping outcome is instead passivity, alienation and distancing from the consumption practice. Instead of becoming immersed into communion practices within wild nature in *communitas* (Arnould and Price, 1993), the consumer may instead resume to an ideology of touristic gazing practice, distinguished by the more passive “seeing” (Urry, 1990). Some consumers try harder than others to transform into the experience role (e.g., horse riding) but do not succeed and end up immersed into the act of riding, which they basically could have attended anywhere. Yet others altogether refuse to engage (e.g., adventure trip). Inspired by Walle (1997), one may wonder if the goals of several of the non-Scandinavians were more inspired by the epistemic value (i.e., insight, learning) in a more passive and “been there, done that” fashion rather than actively “living” the adventurous myths of the Arctic Svalbard.

CONCLUSIONS

Investigating consumer challenges in extraordinary consumption has not been in focus of much consumer research (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Instead, a central tenet seems to be that the anti-structure framing of experiencescapes offer magic, communion, spiritual enrichment, and temporary authentic aura (Arnould and Price, 1993; Arnould *et al.*, 1999; Celsi *et al.*, 1993; Thompson, 2000). Our research contributes with a nuanced picture compared to these positive connotations. Although many consumers experience the authentic aura of the Arctic Svalbard, we think that our interpretations of inter-connected practices (Warde, 2005), framed by a culturalist approach (Valtonen *et al.*, 2010), also reveal consumers who struggle during their efforts to experience the (romantic) Arctic. The findings show that consumers may feel disunion with nature, lack connection with others (i.e., guides and other consumers), and struggle to transform into a touristic role. Thus, our research support the argument of Tumbat and Belk (2011; 2013) that previous studies on extraordinary experiences may have provided a laudatory reading. However, we interpret the Arctic challenges different from the tensions in the midst of the individualist ideology of Tumbat and Belk’s climbers.

While communicative staging relies for its effectiveness on a mutuality of cultural meaning (Arnould, 2007), our findings show that several consumers also face the experiencescapes with different cultural meanings, expectations and consumption goals. We think that many challenges have its origin in such differences. The romantic staging of the Arctic Svalbard, e.g. through images of wilderness and the Arctic spirit, seems confusing to several consumers. Some perform gazing practices, which is linked to the ideology of mass tourism (Dann, 1996), while others aspire to adventurous practices, which we interpret alongside the ideology of outdoor practices in nature, often present in Scandinavian contexts (Lindberg, 2009). Thus, challenges can be interpreted as tensions that appear when different sociocultural meanings are produced and reproduced within practises. In order to grasp consumption challenges it seems pervasive to pay attention to the “context of the context” (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011: 381), or in our case, to the varying ideologies, communicative staging and pre-reflexivity that encapsulate experiencescape practices.

Lindberg & Østergaard (2015) argue that consumers in extraordinary experiences may end up in a paradoxical “double bind” situation because they cannot get into, or out of, the cultural role that they are suppose to perform. Although we do not find the “double bind” situation in the Arctic data, it seems that some of the non-Scandinavians do not accept the cultural role that they have paid for. One reason is that one lacks proper skills to engage in the practice, but another reason is that one’s self-image does not fit into that role (Goffman, 1972). It is a challenge for all shareholders if consumers deny the adventurous role of extraordinary experiences, and instead withdraw to more distanced (gazing) practices, as the British and American tourists did on the dog sledding trip, or withdraw altogether, as some of the French tourists did on the adventure trip. Thus, an additional interpretive element in our data is the cultural background of the tourists. We suggest that further research investigate further into the culturally significant moments of extraordinary practices, and especially how “clash of cultures” may cause tension and challenges.

The commodification of places may normalise them and make them available to ordinary people (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). Since the Arctic Svalbard was opened up to tourists during the 1990tis, the place has become “normalised” and within reach of people with a variety of goals and backgrounds. Thus, one may argue that the commercial experiencescape is converted into a performance “power struggle” between various cultural meaning regimes;

i.e. between the active adventurous practice and the passive gazing regimes, and the tough “proper practice” which is performed by the guides. Manifestations of power struggle in our findings are found during training procedures, when the Arctic nature turns “too” wild, and during various interactions. Hence, understanding how sociocultural meanings are produced and reproduced in a multi-faceted and dynamic manner seem pervasive for empirical explorations of the complexity of extraordinary experiences. It is our hope that more researchers can dive into the challenging aspects of such consumption practices.

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Role	Activity	Age	Sex	Nationality
Tourist	Adventure	Late 50s	Male	France
Tourist	Adventure	Late 50s	Female	France
Tourist	Adventure	Late 50s	Male	France
Tourist	Adventure	Early 60s	Male	France
Tourist	Adventure	Late 30s	Male	Australia
Tourist	Adventure	Early 40s	Male	UK
Tourist	Adventure/Horse/Dog	Late 50s	Male	Norway
Guide	Adventure	Mid 30s	Male	Norway
Guide	Adventure	Late 20s	Male	Norway
Host	Adventure/guesthouse	Late 20s	Female	Norway
Host	Adventure/guesthouse	Early 30s	Female	Norway
Tourist	Dog/Horse	Late 30s	Female	Norway
Tourist	Dog/Horse	Early 50s	Female	Sweden
Tourist	Dog	Late 40s	Female	Norway
Tourist	Dog	Early 60s	Male	USA
Tourist	Dog	Early 40s	Male	UK
Guide	Dog	Mid 30s	Female	Norway
Manager	Tour operator	Early 40s	Male	Norway
Guide	Horse	Early 50s	Male	Norway


Table 1: Participants

Research phase	Research engagement and timeline 2011
Pre-consumption	Studying communication; web, e-mails, magazines, May-June. Naturalistic observation; hotel, the destination, August 7-8. In-depth interview with hotel manager, August 9.
Dog Sledding	Participant observation, August 9. Conversations with tourists and guide, August 9. Group discussion; four participants, August 9. In-depth interview with the guide, August 10.
Arctic horse riding	Participant observation, August 11. Conversations with tourists and guide, August 11. Group discussion; three participants, August 11.
Adventure trip	Participant observation, August 12-14. Conversations with tourists, guides, hosts, August 12-14. Group discussion; two participants, August 13-14. In-depth interview with the guide, August 8. In-depth interview with one host, August 14.

Table 2: Research phases, research engagement and timeline

Challenges	Case: Dog sledding	Case: Horse riding	Case: Adventure trip
Challenges due to unrealistic expectations about place (nature) and/or activities.	Consumers expected more service (harnessing dogs) and being less active and involved, more pleasant and gazing practice. Differences between Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians.	Unrealistic to enjoy Arctic nature from the horse back for two of the consumers. Communication not in line with product.	The French were not prepared for the trip. Unrealistic expectation about nature and activity.
Challenges with learning practices .	Tension facing the trapper station and the dog yard. Fear of dogs. Struggle when harnessing dogs and learning dog sledding. Guide focus on proper practice and some focus on storytelling. Non-Scandinavians less able or willing to actively engage, learn and interact.	Some rules and principles are outlined. Insufficient learning and know-how to ride in the Arctic. Passive guide. The consumers help each other. The entire experience is about learning the practice for two consumers. No focus on storytelling, dramaturgy and the magic for these.	Guide focus on proper practice, i.e. security and Arctic life, but two consumers unable or unwilling to adjust and learn. Some focus on storytelling, but it enhances the danger of the place and practices.
Challenges with communities and connecting with others.	Tension between consumers when non-Scandinavians refused to actively participate both during preparations and the trip. Guide not active in bonding consumers.	Tension between consumers and guide. Consumers were connected before arriving. Guide connected somewhat with experienced riders, but the inexperienced are distanced and felt excluded.	Tension between guide and the French group. Little connection between sub-groups. The guide expected all to act as a group, but did little to bond the group. Rather his rough storytelling and guiding contributed to consumer withdrawal from the group.
Challenges of coping with tension.	Scandinavians: coping with tension resulted in active and strong connection with dogs, renewal, and communion with nature. Non-Scandinavians: non-coping resulted in passivity and distancing.	Experienced: successful coping resulted in communion with horse and nature. Inexperienced: non-coping resulted in unsuccessful immersion into the act of riding. No communion with nature.	Five consumers were able to cope with rough nature and security issues, and experienced sublime moments as “adventurers”. Two were not able to cope, which ended in passivity, alienation and distancing.

Table 3: Four main challenges across the three cases



TRAPPING HUTS
THE TRAPPERS
ORGANIZED THEMSELVES
IN BASE STATIONS WHERE
THEY WINTERED FOR
ONE OR SEVERAL YEARS
HILMAR NØIS SPENT 38
YEARS OF HIS LIFE IN
SUCH A CABIN.





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