Svein Frisvoll

BEYOND THE IDYLL: CONTESTED SPACES OF RURAL TOURISM

The Negotiation, Commodification and Consumption of Conflicting Ruralities

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor

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Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management
Department of Geography

NTNU – Trondheim
Norwegian University of
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Mjølkekvota er selt
odelsguten sagt morna.
Eg bur heller i telt
va det siste han sa.
Her er det berre gamlinga
og trygdebygdeharrya.
Med fue full tå statspeng
det er kje slike guta landet treng.

Med dubbelt fornamn
reiste han frå øvst i lie.
Klar te slå seg fram
i næringslivet.
For eg er neiggu ingen kylling
snart er eg århundrets halling.
Snart har eg min fyrste million.
Den nye Olav Thon.

I monster pick-up truck
traff han storbyen.
Gløymt va spenetråkk
og havregryn.
Eg kjem kje heim på fleire år
no er det pengan som rår.
Det bi kje akkurat ferie
å byggje businessimperie.

So vart han pleieassistent
på Ullevål sjukehus.
Det va kje mange kronu tent
å fylle gamlinga med juice.
Forretningsideen
gjekk i dass som berre feen.

Han høyrde stemma te mor si
- no er det sengetid.
Han høyrde Språkteigen
te han fekk hjartespreng.
Han ville heim te si eigen
uskuldige grend.
Han sakna mamma sitt smil
han sakna varme og kvil.
Han angra at han fór på dør
men no ska alt bi som før.

På troppe stod han far.
På tunet stod ein Rolls.
Silver shadow, blank og klar
kjekk når me spela golf.
Du skjøna at me har selt
halve garden te hyttefelt.
Men du kan sova her i nott
vi driver Øvre-Ål Resort.

Stein Torleif Bjella

Preface

The study presented in this dissertation has been funded by the Norwegian Research Council through Centre for Rural Research's strategic program *Culturally grounded tourism and local food in rural development* (CULTOURFOOD) (2007-2010) (Grant no 179477/I30).

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Trondheim September, 2013

Summary

At the heart of rural tourism's commodification and consumption practices lie certain culturally derived notions of what countryside is and how it can deliver a product that resonates with cultural expectations. However, neither the countryside nor our expectations of it are static. As the population becomes increasingly urbanized and primary industries in many rural areas decline (terminally in some cases) it is likely that both our notions of countryside and the countryside's ability to deliver to past expectations will change. This makes the nexus between the cultural imaginaries and the material realities of countryside a critical area for tourism's commodification and consumption processes – and an understanding of this connection vital. Three sets of research questions particularly important to this issue are addressed in this thesis.

The first set addresses tourists' consumption of 'countryside capital'; investigating what countryside capital tourists consume and what purposes such consumption serves. The second set addresses the authentication of countryside capital in rural tourism's commodification and consumption. Here, I research to what extent nostalgia for an authentic countryside is part of rural tourism's commodification and consumption. The extent to which 'rural gaze' is at work in the 'authentication' is also explored. The last set of research questions deals with contested spaces of rural tourism; investigating whether such spaces are coherent spaces and how they are contested. I also explore the extent to which Keith Halfacree's threefold-architecture of rural space is able to interrogate the social aspects of the contestation of rural spaces. This last set is aimed at researching the part power plays in rural people's social production of contested spaces.

The thesis builds primarily on qualitative data, but quantitative data from a survey of rural tourists is also used. Several contributions to the field of rural studies are made. First of all, an empirical analysis of tourists' consumption of local food is put forth to a field of study short of such studies. Conceptual contributions are also made in the form of two proposed conceptual models. The first is intended as a conceptual roadmap for the analysis of the authentication of ruralness, while the second is an extension of Halfacree's architecture. It is argued that this conceptual 'add-on' provides the Halfacreean approach, with enhanced analytical sensitivity towards social actors and agency.

Key findings include:

→ Experiencing nature and activities in nature is an important factor in the decision to travel to the countryside for three in four tourists consuming the countryside. One in two reports the cultural landscape as important to the travel decision.

→ The opportunity to experience local culture, local life, cultural events and local food is important in the decision of approximately one in four tourists who decide to travel to the countryside.

→ The ruralness of the tourism experience seems to be amplified if the consumed countryside capital passes the 'rural gaze' and thus is perceived to represent the rural.

→ The study suggests that countryside tourists could be classified in terms of how interested they are in the 'rural', how important the ruralness of a given tourism experience is to them, and how profound their 'rural gaze' is.

→ The nostalgia for an 'authentic' countryside is important for some tourists. The study suggests that how central nostalgia is to the tourist's experience, is linked to how central experiencing something rural is to a given consumption's purpose and the degree to which it was planned prior to the trip.

→ 'Rural gaze' is at work in the 'authentication' of the consumed countryside capital's ruralness. Rural tourism consumption plays a key role in transferring a certain 'rural gaze' (that of the rural idyll) to the next generation, as parents deliberately use rural tourism experiences to educate their children in the way of the rural.

→ Tourism spaces that are contested are incoherent spaces, in which several species of rurality battle for hegemony. Different rural species are promoted, contested and resisted actively.

→ Halfacree's architecture is not able to interrogate the promotion, contestation and resistance of different ruralities beyond an overall systemic analytical focus. Put differently, Halfacree's model cannot analytically illuminate the localised social tensions and social struggle of rural change.

→ The study demonstrates the centrality of humans as social actors with agency; the social actor; its agency; and the actors' social entwining in economy, institutions, discourse, social networks and power cannot be analytically neglected if rural changes' *trial by space* is to be understood.

Sammendrag

I kjernen av all bygdeturisme ligger kommodifisering (varegjøring) og konsum som i større eller mindre grad kretser rundt visse kulturelle forestillinger om hva bygd er og hva bygda kan fremvise av reiselivsprodukter og opplevelser. Bygdeopplevelsen holdes med andre ord opp mot en ideell målestokk på hva det vil si å være bygd/rural. Men våre forestillinger om bygda er på ingen måte statiske. Heller ikke våre forventninger til den. Og bygdene i materiell forstand er mangfoldige og i endring. Med en befolkning som i økende grad urbaniseres, og med primærnæringer som i rask takt sysselsetter færre og færre, er det nærliggende å forvente at ikke bare forestillingene om bygda endres, men også bygdenes evne til å leve opp til en kulturell målestokk som springer ut av historiske forestillinger og historisk bruk av bygderommet. Dette gjør koplingene mellom kulturelle forestillinger og materielle realiteter i konstant og mangeartet utvikling til et viktig forskningsfelt om man skal forstå bygdeturismens kommodifisering og kulturelle konsum. Denne avhandlingen bidrar til å øke ruralstudienes forståelse av dette spenningsfeltet gjennom å belyse tre sett av forskningsspørsmål.

Det første settet med problemstillinger fokuserer på forbruket av bygdas kapital (countryside capital). Hva turistene konsumerer og hvilke formål konsumet synes å tjene undersøkes. Det andre settet med problemstillinger setter søkelyset på autentifikasjonen av bygdas kapital som finner sted i bygdeturismens kommodifisering (varegjøring) og forbruk. Her undersøker jeg i hvilken grad nostalgien etter en «autentisk» bygd kan sies å være del av bygdeturismens kommodifisering og forbruk. Det er også undersøkt er i hvilken grad det 'rurale blikket' (rural gaze) virker i autentifikasjonen av det rurale. Den siste gruppen av forskningsspørsmål omhandler bygdeturismens omstridte bygderom. Her undersøker jeg hvorvidt slike rom er enhetlige rom og hvordan de bestrides. Jeg undersøker også hvor godt Keith Halfacrees tredimensjonale bygdemodell evner å undersøke de sosiale aspektene ved omstridte bygderom. Denne siste gruppen av forskningsspørsmål er siktet inn på å undersøke hvilken rolle makt spiller i produksjon av omstridte bygderom.

Avhandlingen bygger primært på kvalitative data, men også kvantitative data fra en survey av bygdeturister benyttes. Den bidrar med en empirisk analyse av turisters konsum av lokalmat til et forskningsfelt hvor empiriske analyser av turisters konsum mangler. To

analysemodeller foreslås: et veikart for å analysere autentifikasjonen av det rurale og en utvidelse av Halfacrees modell. Jeg argumenterer i avhandlingen for at denne utvidelsen gir en Halfacree-tilnærming forbedret analytisk sensitivitet når det gjelder sosiale aktører.

Hovedfunn:

→ Å oppleve natur eller aktiviteter i naturen oppgis som viktig for beslutningen om å reise til bygda for tre av fire turister som konsumerer bygda. En av to peker på kulturlandskapet som viktig for reisebeslutningen. Muligheten til å oppleve lokalt folkeliv, kultur, kulturarrangement og lokal mat er viktige moment i reisebeslutningen for en av fire.

→ Studien tyder på at turister som besøker bygda kan typologiseres etter hvor interessert de er i det rurale, hvor viktig en attraksjons opplevde ruralitet er for dem og hvor inngående og dypt deres *bygdeblikk* er.

→ En opplevelses ruralitet synes å bli forsterket om det som konsumeres består *bygdeblikket*, og gjennom det vurderes å representere noe ruralt.

→ Nostalgien etter en *autentisk* bygd synes viktig for noen turister. Studien tyder på at hvor sentral denne nostalgien er for turistopplevelsen henger sammen med hvor sentralt det å oppleve noe ruralt er for turistene. Videre peker funnene på at denne nostalgien er mest fremtredende i turistkonsumet når hva som skal konsumeres er planlagt forut for reisa.

→ *Bygdeblikket* virker inn på autentifikasjonen av det rurale. Studien antyder at turismekonsumet spiller en nøkkelrolle i å overføre et spesifikt blikk på bygda (den rurale idyllens) til en ny generasjon nordmenn.

→ Turisme-rom er usammenhengende, hvori flere romligheter kjemper om hegemoni gjennom at aktører aktivt promoterer, bestrider og motarbeider slike.

→ Studien demonstrerer at Halfacree sin modell ikke er egnet å analysere denne aktive promoteringen, striden og motarbeidelsen forbi et overordnet systemisk (analyse-) fokus. Halfacree sin modell kan med andre ord ikke analytisk belyse rural endringers lokaliserte sosiale spenninger og sosiale kamp.

→ Studien understreker betydningen av mennesker som sosial aktører med agency i kampen for de ulike romlige hegemoni. Den sosiale aktøren, dens agency, og ikke minst aktørenes sosiale innfletting i økonomi, institusjoner, diskurser, sosiale nettverk og makt kan ikke analytisk forsømmes om rural endrings skal forstås gjennom *trial by space*.

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INTRODUCTION

Background: profound rural changes

Recent Norwegian rural research strongly supports the notion that the countryside is profoundly changing (cf. Almås, 2008a; Haugen and Stræte, 2011). The changes seem polygonal and contradictory. Some rural areas are experiencing growth in their population, while other areas are slowly, but steadily, depopulating. Some are experiencing growth in the fertile age-cohort and the youngest cohorts, while others face the challenges of an ageing and declining population (Brunborg and Tønnessen, 2013).

While rural centres in city regions experience growth, and thereby also the likely revitalisation and establishment of new commercial activities, other areas face depletion of their local communities as services are centralised and social meeting places lost (cf. Johannesen, 7.04.2011; Njarga, 21.08.12). At the same time employment in the primary and secondary sectors has reduced, while employment in the tertiary sector has increased (Farsethås, 2008; Rognstad and Steinset, 2012; Stambøl, 2009). A manifold of developments could also be observed within agriculture; ranging from foreclosure; restructuring from smaller to larger farms; and reorientation; to focusing on other productions (e.g. poultry, pigs, organic farming) and products, such as products with added cultural value (e.g. 'local food') (Almås, 2002, 2008b; Almås et al., 2008; Bye, 2013; White paper no 9 (2011-2012)).

There has also been a change in how, and for what purpose, rural resources are exploited. The outfields, and even the village or countryside itself, are being exploited in a multifaceted manner. The countryside are being used for commercial hunting (cf. Flø, 2008), as resources in the so called 'cultural economy' (cf. Lønning, 2007), as subject to commodification (cf. Fløysand and Jakobsen, 2007), real estate developments (e.g. second homes) (cf. Overvåg, 2009; Rye and Berg, 2011) and nature/landscape protection (cf. Draft resolutions and bills no. 65 (2002-2003); Daugstad, 2008; Daugstad et al., 2006a; Daugstad et al., 2006b; Haukeland et al., 2011; Heiberg, 2006; Heiberg et al., 2005). They are also subject to high impact use; for example from the renewed interest in mining (cf. Ministry of Industry and trade, 2013). These rural transformations are taking place in a Norwegian

society undergoing profound and (at least in modern times) unprecedented changes. They can be summarised by four interlinked developments.

The first, *changing demographics*, refers to the already mentioned rapid and profound centralisation of services and population patterns, but also to high immigration to Norway and ageing populations in non-urban areas (especially in the periphery), and lower educational levels in rural areas (Baldersheim and Fimreite, 2007).

The second development is *cultural and societal changes*, which are distinguished by a weakening of egalitarianism, re-composition of social classes, and changing values. Also important are the weakening of organised mass movements and pressure groups, strengthening of individualism and individual rights and multiculturalism (mostly in major urban centres) (Eriksen and Sajjad, 2011; Tranvik and Selle, 2007). These constitute shifts in which the urban, educated elite are in power to change the traditional rural resource use and rural lifestyles (cf. Krange and Skogen, 2011) and emerging dynamics within the countryside (cf. Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2008; Daugstad et al., 2006a; Farstad, 2011; Puijk et al., 1994; Rye, 2011).

The third is *changes in public management,* which refers to the eroding of democratic institutions and the influence, following implementation, of New Public Management, new regionalism ideals and the increasing implantation of EU-regulation into Norway's legislation (Frisvoll and Rye, 2009; Østerud, 2007b; Østerud and Selle, 2006).

The fourth development is *changes in economy and state,* where increasing oil revenues, the impact of an oil-dominated economy on other rural industries, the growing influence of neoliberalism and the extent to which Norway's sovereign ability to create regional and rural policies is affected by international organisations and treaties (WTO, ECC/EU) as well as political ideology are primary concerns (Østerud, 2007a).

Norway, and its rural situations share many characteristics with rural situations elsewhere in the Western world. However, some important and unique peculiarities exist when compared to the British contexts (Østerud, 2007b) in which rural geography's conceptual toolkit is forged. Yet, Norwegian rural studies and rural geography largely employ conceptualisations which have emerged, or been devised from British situations (indeed, English even) (Berg and Lysgård, 2004; Haugen and Lysgård, 2006). Norwegian Geography's dependency of foreign conceptual contributions, something which does not

seem to be unique to Norewegian Geography (cf. Simonsen, 1999, 2004), has also been criticised elsewhere (cf. Norwegian Research Council, 2011).

Nevertheless, I too have employed conceptualisations conceived to understand other context than the Norwegian countryside. There are several reasons for this. Obviously, one reason is that these are the conceptualisations available in the tool kit. UK rural geography is considered to have been the influential scene of the conceptualisation of rural (cf. Woods, 2009: p. 850). Secondly, as will be accounted for in detail later on (see *Theoretical perspectives*), recent conceptual developments in UK rural geography, i.e. Halfacree's threefold architecture to rural space (cf. Halfacree, 2006, 2007), promise intriguing analytical capabilities to interrogate the changing rural pluralities along three joint dimensions: the rural as materiality, the rural as representations and the rural as practices. The third reason, is that although Halfacree's architecture is internationally praised as a conceptualisation that silences many of the conceptual issues in rural geography (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009; Woods, 2011b)(see *Theoretical perspectives*), and is often used in both Norwegian rural geography (e.g. Antonsen, 2011; Bye, 2010; Fosso, 2007; Rye and Berg, 2011) and international rural research (e.g. Galani-Moutafi, 2013; Heley and Jones, 2012; Woods, 2011b; Yarwood and Charlton, 2009), it is rarely employed, it seems, as an actual analytical tool to deconstruct to any extent rural change, its drivers and outcomes. Moreover, when it is employed, I would argue, it is often done without any critical stance towards its actual ability to deliver the analytical capabilities promised. A goal with this PhD, has thus been to deploy Halfacree's threefold architecture of rural space to actually analyse rural change, while employing a critical approach and paying attention to the abilities and in-abilities of the foreign conceptualisations to understand Norwegian rural situations, as recommended by Berg (2007), Berg & Lysgård (2004), Berg & Forsberg (2003) and Haugen & Lysgård (2006).

At the beginning of this thesis I outlined a picture of multifaceted Norwegian rural changes embodying contradictions and linkages to developments and influences across various spaces and levels. International conceptual developments within rural geography, foremost Keith Halfacree's (2006, 2007) architecture for interrogating rural space and the hegemony of species of ruralities, but also John Murdoch's (2000, 2003, 2006) networked countryside, point precisely to rurality and rural space as multifaceted; something running in different directions and complexly linked. An important realisation arising from these

conceptual developments is that the same physical territory represents a multitude of desires, materialities, lifestyles (real and imagined), cultural images, policies, industries and resource uses (Cloke, 2006), and

> Part of the task for rural studies, then, is to identify key practices with which to express both internal and external **connections between the material and imaginative worlds of the rural** (Cloke, 2006: 24 [my emphasis])

The Norwegian countryside and its national context are experiencing profound and multifarious transformations. Thus, understanding the connections between the material and the imaginative worlds of the rural, I would argue, is paramount. Important questions appear: to what extent do the material and imaginative worlds of the rural change at the same pace? Are the changes to the material and the imaginative worlds of the rural equally profound and synchronic with each other? And are the changes to the material and the imaginative worlds occurring in the same direction? Is there the potential for an ever increasing mismatch between the material reality of a given territory and the images, desires, representations, symbols, meanings, anticipations and identities associated with such spaces? What kind of friction (socially, culturally and economically) would such incoherencies represent? And how are the people living and making their living in the countryside affected? And what about the people that use the countryside as a site for play and recreation, how are they affected?

A central tenet of my research design is that rural tourism, with its consumption and commodification of the countryside, provides a well-suited window through which to study this dynamic field between emerging ruralities and the hegemonic ruralities. The basic premise for this tenet is that rural tourism commodifies and consumes rurality and rural spaces (Hall et al., 2003; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). This involves, to some degree at least, deliberate and conscious design or staging (Chhabra et al., 2003; Daugstad and Kirchengast, 2013). There is a demand for certain rural experiences, expressions and vistas; one that tourism entrepreneurs seek to meet:

> Representations of rurality, through tourism, residential and investment promotion may actively structure rural spaces. The demand for pretty villages or the construction and commodification of cultural associations act to shape the appearance of rural settlements in order to satisfy the needs of visitors. (Hall et al., 2003: 13)

Such processes implicate a multitude of interests and stakeholders (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2008; Bousset et al., 2007; Cawley and Gillmor, 2008; Daugstad, 2008). Furthermore, rural tourism's commodification and consumption takes place within rural localities that are home to other interests and activities, and thereby also other needs than those of rural tourism. (e.g. Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2008; Farstad, 2011; Hall et al., 2003; Haukeland et al., 2011; Kaltenborn and Williams, 2002; Sharpley, 2003; Solana-Solana, 2010), laying the foundations for contestation and rural conflicts:

> The modern countryside has become an arena in which a multitude of tensions and competing demands are played out, frequently reflecting wider social and economic differences and conflicts. (Sharpley, 2003: 42)

The onset: four observations

The Norwegian countryside faces, as mentioned, a multitude of developments. With a basis in these multiplex developments and the need to understand the interactions of their ruralities, four particular observations regarding rural tourism are formulated as a baseline for this thesis:

Observation 1: Rural developments are incoherent

The first observation is of different rural developments' seeming incompatibility within the same territory. As outlined above, rural development in Norway comprises multifarious developments. On one side, we may observe the emergence of productivistic utilisation of its resources and surface area (i.e. large scale dairy cooperatives, poultry productions and swine productions, factory trawlers and aqua culture). On the other side, a more cultural-consumption based development may be seen in the countryside (e.g. rural tourism and nature experiences, lifestyle migration, second homes, etc.). Other important development traits are that an increasing number of the rural population find employment outside the primary industries (Almås, 2002; Almås et al., 2008; Fløysand and Jakobsen, 2007; Frisvoll, 2003; Haugen and Stræte, 2011; Hidle et al., 2006; Johnsen, 2003; Stræte and Almås, 2007).

Norway's rural policies prescribe incentives stimulating all these developments and at the same time trying to spur rural resilience (cf. White paper no. 21 (2005-2006)). However, there is no single strand of rural policy. Different discourses and desires for the countryside are observed (Cruickshank et al., 2009; Cruickshank, 2009; Hidle et al., 2006). The concrete

developments in the Norwegian countryside are in other words many-sided. However, if we look at advertising, traveller's guides and magazine articles dealing with life in the countryside, or at tourists' motivation for visiting the countryside, a picture emerges of the rural tourism industry selling the nostalgia of the rural idyll and its small scale primary industries (Baylina and Berg, 2010; Mehmetoglu, 2007; Midtgard, 2003; Skavhaug and Brandth, 2012).Two examples of incoherent rural developments relevant in this context are 'neo-productivism', and its space of industry-scale primary production; and the cultural consumption driven economy and its rural space capitalising a rural idyll.

Where there are incoherent developments, clashing interests and desires, there are also conflicts and contestations. Rural geography's understanding of the social issues of a changing countryside is, as will be argued for later on, poor. This makes this first observation an important one. As long as regional policy upholds rural tourism as a saviour for the Norwegian countryside in a time of rural restructuring (Ministry of Agriculture and food, 2005, 2007; Ministry of Industry and trade, 2007; NOU1990:14; Innovation Norway, 2006), the need exists to understand the interaction of these different developments' distinct ruralities.

Observation 2: Rural policies point to rural tourism as a rural saviour

Public authorities, national policies, and agencies facilitating the implementation of rural policies are important to rural tourism in Norway. The aforementioned changes place the current policies (here: rural and industrial) under strain (Cruickshank et al., 2009; Forbord et al., 2012b; Østerud, 2007a). Norwegian rural policy points to rural tourism as one rural saviour in areas facing the negative consequences of rural change (cf.White paper no 19 (2004-2005)), and have done so for some time (cf. NOU 1990:19; White paper no 19 (1999-2000)). Today, tourism is integrated into a spectrum of Norwegian policies: *agricultural policy* (cf. White paper no 9 (2011-2012)); *regional policy* (cf. White paper no 25 (2004-2005); White paper no 21 (2005-2006)), *coastal and marine policy* (cf. Ministry of Fisheries and Coastal Affairs, 2008; White paper no 19 (2004-2005)) and *policy for industry and trade* (cf. Ministry of Industry and trade, 2012). Obviously, tourism is also integrated into the tool kits of the agencies responsible for facilitating the implementation of these policies (cf. Innovation Norway, 2006, 2013). Rural tourism is pointed to as a route to rural development internationally too (cf. Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Clark and Chabrel, 2007; Hall et al., 2003; Kneafsey, 2000; Saxena et al., 2007; Saxena and Ilbery, 2008; Telfer,

2002). However, there are also voices of caution towards rural tourism's ability to generate growth and development in lagging regions (e.g. Hjalager, 1996; Sharpley, 2003; Telfer, 2002).

Internationally, tourism has grown significantly in scope, economic meaning and diversification over the past 60 years (Butler, 1998; Sharpley, 2002b). International tourism is one of globalisation's most important expressions and contributors; it is regarded as one of the phenomena most widely favoured by the broad societal, economic, social, cultural and technological processes and consequences associated with globalisation (Hall and Williams, 2002; Urry, 2000).

Norway too, has a growing tourism industry. In the period 2001-2006 there was an annual growth of 6 per cent in international tourists arriving in Norway by plane or boat. Domestic tourism showed annual growth of 5.5 per cent (2002-2006). The total value of the tourist consumption in Norway has been estimated to be 89,5 billion NOK (2005), of which 50 per cent was domestic tourist consumption, and 30 per cent was international tourist consumption. The remaining 20 per cent was accounted for by Norwegian business travellers. The estimated total value of the tourist consumption in 2008 was 108 billion NOK (4,4 per cent of GNP). The total value of the rural tourism consumption in Norway (2005) has been estimated to 33 – 50 billion NOK (Auno and Sørensen, 2009; Forbord, 2012).

Observation 3: Rural tourism's resource base of rurality could be diminishing

The third observation is of a potential depletion of the very kind of rurality that rural tourism capitalises on, as exhaustion is arguably one consequence of rural change. Two particular arguments underline this: Norwegian rural tourism is growing, becoming more complex and more important (cf. Forbord et al., 2012a), and mirroring international trends (Butler, 1998; Long and Lane, 2000; Walmsley, 2003). This increasing importance of rural tourism takes place, as previously outlined, at a time of great change for the countryside (also mirroring international developments (see Butler, 1998; Hall et al., 2003; Woods, 2005)). Consequently, the very countryside where commodification, activities and consumption are taking place in rural tourism, is rapidly changing. Changing with it is the rural fabric constituting rural tourism's basis of existence: the cultural notions of a certain kind of countryside and the material countryside's ability to confirm such notions; as

previously mentioned, Norwegian research has pointed to a 'rural idyll', authenticity, rural cultural heritage and the aesthetic beauty of the cultural and natural landscapes, as what rural tourism trades (cf. Mehmetoglu, 2007; Midtgard, 2003; Skavhaug and Brandth, 2012). This too seems to mirror what is traded and sought internationally (cf. Hall et al., 2003; Hjalager and Richards, 2002; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). Understanding the processes and potential outcomes of rural change for tourism is thus important, as rural tourism commercialises a countryside that is moving away from the sort of things its tourists seem to recognise as a desirable rural to consume.

Observation 4: Weaknesses in rural geography's and tourism research's knowledge on rural tourism

Halfacree's three-fold architecture (2006, 2007) approaches rural space and rural change as a dynamic field of emerging and clashing ruralities, which are striving for hegemony. This dynamic field of emerging and clashing ruralities and their battle over hegemony is, I would argue, inadequately conceptualised in terms of understanding what social dynamics, and what kind of social processes, are involved (this is further addressed in *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons* and Paper #3). Consequently, such issues are scantily researched and inadequately understood in terms of rural change and rural tourism. At the same time as rural is commodified and consumed within rural tourism, rural tourism is also both an outcome and a driver of rural changes. This triple embeddedness of rural tourism and the rural is why the fourth observation is particularly important.

The fourth observation is also addressing certain weaknesses within the body of tourism literature; weaknesses which in terms of understanding rural tourism in a rapidly and profoundly changing countryside are worrying for two reasons: Firstly, as addressed by the third observation, the consumption of the countryside seems to centre on the concept of 'authenticity'; a repeating argument in the literature on rural tourism is that as the modern (i.e. the urban) world gets ever swifter, more stressful and less 'authentic', the symbolic significance of the countryside increases. The rural becomes fused with a set of utopian representations: as more natural, filled with more meaning and purpose, less stressful and quieter than the city (Butler, 1998; Hall et al., 2003; Telfer, 2002).

Hall et al. (2003) point to these utopian representations and argue that it is precisely the symbolic meaning of authenticity that is the countryside's greatest asset in the tourism economy: it can satisfy a growing demand from urban peoples' needs for personal contacts and 'authentic' cultures. However, as pointed out by Hall et al., here lies the potential for conflict, as the people living in the countryside that is being commodified and consumed do not necessarily share the rural desires commodified, marketed, sold and consumed.

I will argue that there is a need for knowledge on how such notions of authenticity emerge, correspond and are affected by other species of rurality. Conversely, a conceptual challenge presents itself: tourism research's unresolved authenticity-problem, which leaves tourism research short of an analytical approach from which to launch an investigation into these matters (addressed in *Authenticity* & paper #2). Secondly, as discussed in the second observation, rural policy and research alike are devising rural tourism to counter the negative effects of rural change in lagging regions. One of the strategies advocated is to facilitate the consumption of the rural in rural tourism through 'local food' (cf. State secretary Ministry of Agriculture and Food, 16.06.2010). However, if one takes a look at the research on tourism and food consumption, little is in fact, known. Most of the work seems to be either conceptual (e.g. Hjalager and Richards, 2002; Mak et al., 2012; Richards, 2002) or focusing on the producers (e.g. Kvam and Magnus, 2012; Stræte, 2004, 2008; Vik and Idsø, 2013). There are some studies investigating consumers of local food in Norway, but these do not restrict their investigation to tourist consumption (e.g. Vittersø, 2012) (this is further addressed in Paper #1). A fair question to pose then is what knowledge are such strategies based on? Without an understanding of the tourists' willingness to consume local food, and what their motivations are for doing so, we could easily advise rural entrepreneurs into economic ruin.

Research Questions

From these observations three sets of research questions are devised, guiding the thesis' purpose and contributions. These are addressed in *Conclusion*, where some implications of the study are also drawn.

Set 1: Tourists' consumption of 'countryside capital'

- **Research question 1-A:** What 'countryside capital' is consumed by tourists?

- **Research question 1-B:** What purpose(s) does tourists' consumption of 'countryside capital' appear to serve?

'Countryside capital' (Garrod et al., 2006) is operationalised as the resources commodified/consumed within rural tourism. The research questions above are addressed by paper #1 and paper #2, and is mainly motivated by, and thereby also addresses, the issues outlined in observations three and two; i.e. a lack in knowledge on what and why tourist consume in the countryside and the responsibilities placed upon such consumption in rural policy. However, this set of research questions is also of relevance to the first and fourth observations.

Set 2: Authenticating countryside capital in rural tourism's commodification and consumption

- **Research question 2-A:** To what extent is nostalgia for an authentic countryside part of rural tourism's commodification and consumption?
- **Research question 2-B:** To what extent is 'rural gaze' at work in the 'authentication' of the 'countryside capital' commodified and consumed within rural tourism?

'Rural gaze' (Abram, 2003), is a concept referring to the moral organisation within consumption of the rural (see *Consuming the* rural). This set of research questions is addressed by paper #2. These research questions address the issues outlined in observations one, three and four: the lack of analytically-based knowledge on the roles that notions of authenticity play in rural tourism's commodification and consumption. Such knowledge, I would argue, is particularly important when what is commodified and consumed by rural tourism is changing, and is changed by, rural tourism.

Set 3: Contested spaces of rural tourism

- **Research question 3-A**: To what extent are contested spaces of rural tourism coherent spaces?
- **Research question 3-B:** How are rural spaces contested?

- **Research question 3-C:** To what extent is Halfacree's architecture able to 'interrogate' the social aspects of the contestation of rural spaces?
- **Research question 3-D:** What part does power play in rural people's social production of contested spaces?

This set of research questions is addressed by paper #3. These research questions address, the issues outlined in observations one and four: the potential for conflict and contestation that follows in the wake of rural tourism schemes, and the lack of conceptual sensitivity and analytically based knowledge of the social aspects of localised processes of rural change. Such conceptual sensitivity, and the analytical understanding it may foster, is to my judgement crucial for rural geography to remain a relevant discipline in face of the rapid, profound and multifarious changes occurring in the Norwegian countryside within a deeply transforming national context.

Layout of the thesis

Before addressing the research questions, the study's theoretical framework is outlined and discussed in *Theoretical Perspectives*. As the thesis' purpose is partly conceptually moored, the conceptual issues are addressed at some length, before the study's *Methodology* is accounted for, and discussed. As a key goal of the study has been to make conceptual contributions, a substantial part of *Methodology* is devoted to discussing the study's ontological perspective and epistemological position. It should be noted that most of the details regarding the study's methods are accounted for by the various papers. Consequently, in Methodology I only discuss those aspects that have particular relevance for the study's generalisability. Finally, in *Conclusion*, the thesis' three papers are summarised before addressing the research questions and the study's implications.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The thesis is supported by three conceptual pillars: one main perspective spans across all the thesis' research questions, while the other two provide additional conceptual supporting, focusing the thesis' analytical scope. The key perspective is Halfacree's conceptualisation of rural space as a threefold emergence (2004, 2006, 2007), in which representations of rurality/the rural, rural locales and rural practices (lives of the rural) reciprocally constitute each other. Halfacree's conceptual model is conceived as a roadmap of sorts for the deconstruction of rural space, with particular conceptual sensitivity towards the fact that there are several ruralities that fight to dominate rural space. The two supporting concepts are actualised by having 'rural tourism' as a research theme: commodification/consumption and tourism research's 'authenticity'.

The former becomes relevant as consumption is integral to tourism; rural tourism is largely about the consumption of the countryside (Woods, 2011b). This brings with it recognition of the rural as commodities; aspects that are commodified. Consequently, the thesis' theoretical framework is supported by conceptual contributions addressing the commodification of the countryside and cultural notions, meanings and symbols regarding the rural as commodities.

The latter is actualised by research on rural tourism which seems to put 'authenticity' at the heart of rural tourism; some of this research is highlighting 'authenticity' as the countryside's greatest asset in the tourism economy/in tourism (e.g. Hall et al., 2003; Midtgard, 2003), while other research highlights rural tourism as a provider of authentic experiences (e.g. Blekesaune et al., 2012) compared to *old tourism's* offering of standardised and thereby 'inauthentic' experiences (cf. Poon, 1993; Wollan, 1999). Agriculture's cultural landscape role in communicating authenticity, and thereby the farmer as a custodian of rural authenticity is also highlighted (Daugstad, 2008). Research on rural tourism has also pointed to tourism providers' own perception of a demand for authenticity, focusing among other things on authenticity in their advertising (Daugstad, 2008; Skavhaug and Brandth, 2012; Nilsson, 2002) as well as their strategies to communicate authenticity (Daugstad and Kirchengast, 2013).

With such a conceptual approach, rurality and rural spaces are considered in this thesis as socially produced, not in a vacuum in which materiality, the social and culture are isolated from one another, but in an environment where material rurality is heavily influenced by the countryside's existing repertoire of cultural meanings and vice versa. Rurality is thus conceptualised as something that may be groomed and approached as a commodity, something that can be commercialised and consumed, and something to which certain anticipations are attached. A feature with this thesis' conceptual framework is that it also recognises that the grooming, commercialisation and consumption of rurality is guided by templates, and moreover, may be controversial and opposed.

Approaches to rural: from essentialism to hybrid tactics of co-constituting natures

Rural studies' have always, it seems, been on the defensive in terms of their study object, that of the rural. For what is rural? Does it exist outside of our textbooks, research proposals and journal articles? And what is the nature of rural's eventual empirical existence? Does it exist in its own right, or is it merely something residual; leftovers not fitting within 'urban'? Is rural foremost something economic, something social or something cultural? Or is rural merely an analytical consequence of rural researchers' deployment of their conceived rural? The definition of rural proves to be something of a predicament:

> While cities are usually understood in their own terms, and certainly without any detectable nervousness about defining or justifying that understanding, rural areas represent more of a site of conceptual struggle, where the other-than-urban meets the multifarious conditions of vastly differing scales and styles of living. (Cloke, 2006: 18)

While most people would be able to find common ground on what constitute urban spaces, finding common ground in terms of rural seems utopian:

> Quite simply, neither at the official nor at the cultural or popular level is there consensus on the delineation of the 'non-urban' spaces that the term 'rural' seeks to encapsulate (Halfacree, 2006: 45)

No wonder then, that rural geography over the years has employed a wide range of ideas and approaches in its research endeavours. The field's interchangeable approaches

have not been that of a linear narrative where a range of dominant theories have replaced each other in an orderly fashion. Rather, a series of different conceptual fascinations have riddled rural geography, often emerging due to hybridization between different strains of thought (Woods, 2005). One of the hybridizations assessed to be a prosperous way forward for rural research is Halfacree's (2006, 2007) conceptualisation of rural space (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009).

However, in order to appreciate the novelty of Halfacree's conceptualisation, we need to dwell for a moment on the problems the field of rural studies has had with defining the study field's core concept: that of the rural. Before I turn to Halfacree's threefold conceptualisation, I will outline the key features in the field's conceptual approaches to 'rural', and then specify the Halfacreean approach's conceptual pedigree and how it is placed in contemporary rural studies' understanding of rural. Finally, a sympathetic critique is outlined, discussing the pros and cons with the approach.

What is 'rural', if anything? A rural geography fighting off existential crises

A central task within rural studies seems to be that of defining the field's core concept, producing a conceptual richness in rural geography. The field's journals and books are filled to the brim with contributions conducting or debating conceptual works defining 'rural' (cf. Bell, 2007; Cloke, 1997; Cloke and Goodwin, 1992; Cloke et al., 2006; Cloke, 1985; Friedland, 1982, 2002; Halfacree, 1993; Hoggart, 1990; Murdoch and Pratt, 1993; Pratt, 1996; Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929; Woods, 2009; Woods, 2010, 2011b; Woods, 2012a, b), leading US rural sociology's grand old man, William H. Friedland to sigh

> Rural sociology is what rural sociologists do, even though *rural* has become a conceptual atavism in most advanced societies. This is the working definition of most sociologists, rural or otherwise. However intellectually unsatisfying, the definitional problem has become almost unbearable. (Friedland, 2002: 351)

To my understanding, part of the challenge is that, as is the case for many of geography's key concepts (e.g. place, scale and region), 'rural' has an everyday use; a lay-man's use, as well as being deployed as a scientific concept within academic discourse. Researchers employing the concept in their scholarly endeavour, thus embark on somewhat of a brinkmanship as

> 'Rural' is one of those curious words which everyone thinks they know what it means, but which is actually very difficult to define precisely (Woods, 2005: 15)

Rural researchers must remain mindful that their concept has an everyday meaning, as well as a wide variety of academic meanings. These everyday and academic meanings may not necessarily correspond. Furthermore, there is a need for keeping an attitude of awareness towards a word which appears in texts as a 'civilian' noun/adjective as well as an analytical concept. Moreover, rural researchers need to be aware of the risk that their research (unjustly/unwittingly) dresses up lay-term meaning in a frock of objectivity (cf. Halfacree, 1993).

Adding to the confusion, is the potential for asynchronicities following in the wake of rural change between, on one side, the concept's 'earthly' meanings and these meanings' current material reference point, and their original material reference (the stereotype's cast if one will) on the other. Underscoring this potential Babelic confusion, is contrasting meanings between scholarly conceptual innovations, and between these and layman-understandings. What is apparent, according to commentators, is that the result of all this conceptual work has not led to a clear cut definition of what is meant by 'rural', or what 'rural' implies:

> It is almost as if the strength of the idea of rurality is in its overarching ability to engage very different situations under a single conceptual banner. Yet as soon as attempts are made to deconstruct the rural metanarrative, much of that conceptual strength dissipates into the nooks and crevices of particular locations, economic processes and social identities (Cloke, 2006: 18)

The conceptual approaches to rural, reflecting wider changes within geography and the social sciences (Woods, 2011b), have seen rural as a societal quality, as something functionally following certain factors, as something political-economic or as social representation (Woods, 2005). Approaches differ fundamentally in their object of study and understanding of 'rural'. More significantly, they differ in what rural is regarded to be, and where what makes something rural resides (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 1993; Woods, 2009). A common method is to classify the approaches between *descriptive definitions*, *sociocultural definitions*, *the rural as locality* and *the rural as social representations* (Halfacree, 1993; Woods, 2005), plus a more recent fifth typology *hybrid approaches* (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009). The first two are also termed *functional concepts* in the field's works, as what is regarded as rural in the descriptive and sociocultural definitions follows functionally from certain aspects (e.g. a territory's role in industry (primary industry) or dispersed population

patterns). The third approach is also referred to as *political-economic concepts*, while the *rural as social representations* approach is also referred to as *social constructive approaches* (Cloke, 2006).

The core assumption shared by *descriptive definitions* is the presence of a clear geographical distinction in terms of socio-spatial characteristics between rural areas and urban areas that can be measured through various statistical indicators (e.g. population density and share of workforce employed in different industrial sectors (primary, secondary, tertiary, public and private)) (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2005). This type of rural is often used as a geographical category, demarking for instance areas to which special policy measures need to be directed (e.g. rural policy). Different countries have different definitions, and different thresholds, for when an area is regarded to be rural (Halfacree et al., 2002; Woods, 2005)

An underlying assumption in the descriptive definitions is that whether an area is rural or not, is a function of some characteristics, such as population density or an industrial sector (Cloke, 2006). These approaches' epistemological stand is that of the 'first rural' (i.e. the material moment of the rural) (Bell, 2007). The strength of such approaches, besides sharing much with a layman's approach to urban/rural-differences and thus appearing logical and to demonstrate common-sense, is their feasibility as tools to aid policy and administration. I would argue that this is also the most severe weaknesses with the descriptive approaches as it leaves its understanding of 'rural' without conceptual content. The effect of which is that its assumptions, on which rest the decisions of which areas are classified as rural or urban, appear logical/sound. This masks the uncertainties in fact constituted by the absolute thresholds that are drawn: for at what threshold on a measured variable does an area become urban or rural?

Woods (2005) addresses similar issues when summarising the critique facing descriptive approaches. A basic, but nevertheless severe critique as it aims for the core of the approach, is questioning at what level of a measured population characteristic a rural area becomes urban. Another stern critique would be to point out that the population record is dependent on administratively drawn borders that do not reflect the statistical purpose of classifying areas as urban or rural. This underscores that such distinctions based solely on population are arbitrary. Yet another critique addresses the naïve assumption that a simple population figure is able to reveal much about the function of a settlement, or settlements, in relation to its surroundings. The descriptive approach is, put differently,

facing critique for its inability to recognise in-betweens with its dichotomous understanding of rural contra urban areas, for employing a narrow set of indicators unable to reveal much about the social and economic processes that shape urban and rural localities, and for its tendency to treat rural without any acknowledgment of diversity among rural areas. From the perspective of US rural sociology Bell (2007) raises similar concerns.

In order to tackle such critique, especially the weaknesses derived from defining rural areas by employing just one or two indicators, and dichotomous approach's inability to recognise differences between different degrees of rurality, attempts have been made to develop indices of rurality based on multivariate analyses (Woods, 2005). Almås & Elden (1997) is a Norwegian example of such indices. Although rural indices are regarded to be an improvement compared to simple dichotomous definitions of the rural, they are not regarded as problem free. Among the premier concerns raised by critics are why particular indicators were chosen and how the weighting between them was determined. In essence indices of rurality share the same methodological flaws as all of their fellow descriptive approaches; their descriptions are simply reflections of preconceptions of what rural areas should be like, offering little explanation as to why they are as they are (Halfacree, 1993; Woods, 2005). As pointed out by Halfacree (1993): 'Descriptive methods only describe the rural, they do not define it themselves (p.24).

Socio-cultural definitions have been used in attempts to identify rural societies. In this sense they have something in common with the descriptive approach which was used to try to identify rural territories. Another shared feature is that the approach builds from a dichotomous understanding of the rural and the urban. The assumption underpinning socio-cultural definitions is the belief that there are fundamental differences between rural and urban societies in terms of residents' values, behaviours and culture. One well known proclaimed distinction is between rural societies' Gemeinschaft and urban societies' Gessellschaft. The former refers to a community characterised by stability, integration and stratification; a society in which one interacts with the same people in different contexts. The latter refers to societies characterised by the dynamic, unstable and impersonal; implying compartmentalisation of the individual's social interaction (i.e. a person is meeting different people in different spheres of everyday life (e.g. work, home and leisure)) (Woods, 2005). However, as previously discussed, such dichotomies become intolerable.

In Norwegian rural studies, functional approaches have been particularly important, dominating policy related research (Haugen and Lysgård, 2006). From a UK context Cloke (2006) notes that

> Despite strong warnings to the contrary (…), these loose concepts continue to underpin aspects of rural studies which see rural areas functionally different to their urban counterparts. (p. 20)

Woods (2010) foresees, and cautions against, a renaissance of the functional approach, made possible by new technical advances (e.g. GIS). New analytical techniques do not necessarily change the underlying challenges, as

> empirical work conducted on this basis is often flawed because of arbitrary spatial boundaries of available data, or because of the arbitrary nature of supposed indicators of rurality (…). (Cloke, 2006: 20)

The third approach, *rural as locality*, was heavily influenced by debates within geography in the late 1980s, in which the extent to which local structures could shape the outcomes of social and economic processes was explored. Rural as locality turned the searchlight on identifying processes that could be suspected to create distinctive rural localities. Rural scholars employing this approach were looking to pinpoint the very effect responsible for developing distinct urban and rural localities (Woods, 2005). What became evident through these studies was that rural areas were subject to factors operating outside the supposed boundaries of these areas (Cloke, 2006).

The idea was that if the locality effects postulated by geography's locality debate could be identified, it would also be possible to distinguish between urban and rural localities (Woods, 2005). In order to do so, localities needed to be 'carefully defined according to that which makes them *rural*.' (Halfacree, 1993: 28 [original emphasis]). Three chief routes were tried: (1) looking at whether the economy was dominated by primary industries or not, or by the extrusion of raw-materials (mining, forestry, etc.), (2) postulating that low population densities created a connection between rural and collective consumption, and finally (3) proposing that rural localities had a particular role in consumption (Halfacree, 1993; Woods, 2005). This strategy of looking for the very thing that makes something rural, suggests that the locality-approach shares at least one fundamental feature with the preceding approaches: that of seeing rural as a quality following functionally/causally certain variables.

As with the other approaches that build their definitions of the rural from a functional understanding, the locality-approach also ran into problems. In terms of their first route to identify a rural locality factor (industry), critiques pointed out that many urban localities could be defined in a similar manner. In terms of the second route (low population density), critiques pointed to distance's diminishing friction. Even in terms of consumption, critiques pointed out that the rural's supposedly special role in consumption was hard to distinguish from the gentrification of urban sites (Halfacree, 1993; Woods, 2005), leading critiques to conclude that the locality approach was flawed

> because none of the structural features claimed to be rural could be proven to be uniquely or intrinsically rural. Instead, they simply highlighted the way in which the same social and economic processes appeared to be at work in both so-called urban and rural areas (Woods, 2005: 10)

For a scientific field, the inability to define and empirically find its core concept is an obvious problem; for what is the purpose of a research discipline unable to empirically find the area of study it was founded to study? This realisation lead to two essentially distinct recommendations: Hoggart's (1990) call to 'do away with rural' and Halfacree's (1993) and others (e.g. Mormont, 1990; Murdoch and Pratt, 1993, 1994) much cited calls for a constructivist approach to rural. At the basis of Hoggart's argument was the recognition that decades of considerable research had left 'rural' as a confusing and chaotic concept short of explanatory power:

> The broad category 'rural' is obfuscatory, whether the aim is description or theoretical evolution, since intra-rural differences can be enormous and rural-urban similarities can be sharp (Hoggart, 1990: 245)

In terms of statistical indications or structural mechanisms, Hoggart pointed to the lack of evidence justifying an approach to the rural as a uniform analytical category. Hence rural was not a concept suitable for the advancement of social theory (p. 245):

> To me, if we cannot agree what 'rural' is, this does not give us *carte blanche* to rely on 'convenient' definitions of it. Rather, it behoves us to abandon the category 'rural' as an analytical construct. (Hoggart, 1990: 246 [original emphasis])

While Hoggart's call may be seen to constitute the end of functional definitions of the rural in rural geography, the calls for a constructivist approach launched the fourth approach to understanding 'rural', *rural as social representations* (Woods, 2005) . This

represented in many ways a turn to culture (Cloke, 2006). With the 'cultural turn' questions of representation, meaning, identity, resistance and difference came to the foreground in social science (Cloke, 2006; Simonsen, 1999). This promoted new understandings of culture, in which culture was seen as the product of contested and negotiated discourses; signifying people's identity and experiences (Woods, 2005). With the cultural turn rural studies saw resurgence (Cloke, 1997) and an abundance of original research and conceptual work. With these approaches the attention is shifted from the statistical features of rural areas to the people who live there or visit it, to the role of their ideas, attitudes and behaviour (Woods, 2005). The constructivist approach constitutes thus a shift in where 'rural' was seen to reside, as

> an area does not become 'rural' because of its economy or population density or other structural characteristics – but because the people who live there or use it think of it as being 'rural'. (p. 11)

A key feature with these constructivist approaches is to my understanding their turn to linguistics; recognising a connectedness between word and world. Halfacree (1993: 29) distinguishes between academic and lay discourses, stressing that lay discourses underpin academic discourses. He criticised rural researchers for being oblivious to the fact that their own lay understanding of rural were dressed in academic robes and passed off as objective and reassured definitions of rurality. To Halfacree these rural lay discourses detail a rural that exists outside the scholarly field of rural research. As long as people use the word 'rural' and symbols, attributes and meanings are related to it, there is a rural for rural studies to study. To do away with rural would be ill-advised, as rural representations shape actions and space:

> Whilst our social representations of 'the rural' may be fetishized and misplaced, distorted idealized and generalized they nevertheless produce very 'real' effects. Social representations provide resources for both discursive and non-discursive actions. The rural representation – a 'symbolic shorthand' – both guides and constrains action. It must be seen as causative, 'channelling' causation, although not causal (Halfacree, 1993: 32).

Lay discourses on rural were indeed addressed in subsequent research (e.g. Cloke et al., 1997; Jones, 1995; Munkejord, 2006; Van Dam et al., 2002).

With the constructivist approach, rural research becomes the study of how people construct themselves as being rural; understanding rural as a state of mind, as socially constructed (Woods, 2005). Rural is recognised as 'a world of social, moral and cultural values in which rural dwellers participate' (Cloke and Milbourne, 1992: 360), making rural 'a concept which must be dealt with because people believe it is "real"' (Friedland, 2002: 352). Another consequence is the recognition that ideas on rurality are influenced by something/someone (Woods, 2005).

A particular concern from the outset of the social representational approach was that the social representations and interpretive repertoires of the rural were becoming increasingly diverse. A consequence of this diversification was the understanding that the sign (rurality) and the signification (meanings of rurality) were becoming separated. Likewise, they were seen as divorcing from their referent (the rural locality)(Cloke, 2006) (Halfacree, 1993). This separation was seen as leading not only 'to crosscutting discourse about rurality' (Halfacree, 1993: 33), but also to make rural space 'a site of social struggle within discourse, as promoters of competing representations' strive for hegemony' (p. 33). Such observations spurred calls for a rural geography devoted to the exploration of how different ruralities emerge, are institutionalised and are sensitive of power (Murdoch and Pratt, 1993, 1994; Philo, 1992, 1993).

The postmodern and post-structural approaches devoted to deconstruction, identity, representations and meanings associated with the 'cultural turn' (Barnett, 1998) dominated not only European rural studies over the last decades (Bell, 2007; Woods, 2012b), but also much of human geography with all its other sub-disciplines (Barnett, 1998; Valentine, 2001). Neither was Norwegian rural geography unmarked by the cultural turn (Haugen and Lysgård, 2006; Norwegian Research Council, 2011). Eventually, the optimism about the research potential of the cultural turn approach faded, and the first decade of the twenty-first century has been a time for re-evaluation. 'Cultural turn-rural' was criticised from within rural studies and cultural/human geography (Carolan, 2008; Cloke, 2006; Philo, 2000; Woods, 2009). In particular the social-constructivist approach has been criticised for a deterritorialised understanding of rural, one in which rural conditions' material and social dimensions have been neglected (Carolan, 2008; Cloke, 2006; Philo, 2000; Woods, 2009).

In his discussion of rural studies' conceptualisations of rurality, Cloke (2006), although admitting that much of rural studies has carried on untouched by the cultural turn

(p. 23), points to four criticisms of the cultural turn with particular relevance for rural studies: With the turn to culture rural geography has become *desocialised*, *dematerialised* and *depoliticised* as its execution has been *too deconstructionistic*; neglecting alternative approaches that might enlighten its research topics. There has

> been an undue conservatism in the cultural foci adopted by social science, which remains dominated by constructionist themes and approaches (Cloke, 2006: 23).

Other commentators have raised similar critiques (see Gregson, 1993; Harvey, 2000; Philo, 2000; Smith, 2000).

Cloke's first criticism addresses a withdrawal from studying the processes which are the 'stuff of everyday social practices, relations and struggles' (Cloke, 2006: 22). Rural geographers are reprimanded for evacuating the social, and 'turning away from research into the structures and spatialities and inequality' (Cloke, 2006: 22).

The second criticism refers to the cultural turn approach's preoccupation with immaterial processes, intersubjective meanings and identity politics through emotions, symbols, signs, and texts. There is, Philo (2000) argues, a preoccupation with the immaterial that has pushed the social and the material into geographers' blind spot, making geographical studies

> less attentive to the more 'thingy', bump-into-able, stubbornly there-in-the-world kinds of 'matter (the material) with which earlier geographers tended to be more familiar. (p. 33)

The key concern of the critiques is to advocate a geography that re-engages with social beings, social actions and the material world (Gregson, 1993; Philo, 2000; Smith, 2000). Without a return to the social and the material, geography is engaged in an 'in-house dialogue' (cf. Gregson, 1993):

> I am getting at, perhaps a 'romance of the real', a wish to access some kind of 'gritty' real social world from which many academics end up feeling wholly alienated. (…) I cannot help feeling that somehow the cultural turn in human geography *has* risked emptying out much of this stuff from our lenses, from both the approaches that we adopt and the subject matters that we tackle. (Philo, 2000: 37)

However, other commentators (cf. Valentine, 2001; Young, 1998) do not agree with claims of a field of research drained of its interest into the social by the cultural turn.

Valentine (2001) argues that the critiques overlook the shifting nature of the very concept 'social':

> A closer focus on the range of work within the fields of social and cultural geography suggests that perhaps the demise of social geography has been overstated. It is not that the social has been evacuated, but rather that understandings of the social has shifted (p. 169)

Nevertheless, identity, or identity politics, is the pillar from which social issues are researched after the cultural turn as the cultural turn has reshaped social approaches from

> explaining these patterns [of social exclusion] in terms of structural inequalities and the wide-scale distribution of resources, towards thinking in terms of explanations framed in terms of lifestyle, consumption, meaning, identity and cultural representation. (Valentine, 2001: 170)

The third criticism addressed by Cloke (i.e. cultural turn's depoliticising of the social sciences) could be seen to follow from such an evacuation of the social; emptied of social interest there is no need to for an interest in politics. Cloke sees an academic field involved in intellectual games rather than engaging with the political forces that shape the world, reprimanding rural researchers for their political quiescence in a time of profound crises.

But also the cultural turn's dominance itself is addressed by the critiques. This domination is perceived to have narrowed the field's methodological vantage to qualitative approaches (Woods, 2012). Some critiques goes as far as accusing geographers of exchanging fieldwork with the pursuit of written representations of their field of study:

> To put it bluntly, cultural geography, perhaps human geography in general, has downgraded the importance of fieldwork and has too often come to think of empirical research as a question of perusing texts – magazines, adverts, movies, landscapes – for representations of this or that. Most of this presumption comes on borrowed authority from some parts of the humanities, especially literary criticism, where most facets of reality are treatable as texts, discourses or narratives, and where the deconstruction of texts and representations, conversely, can come to carry universal authority for explanations of the real. (Smith, 2000: 27)

The observation of a cultural turn dominated rural geography may be accurate from a British point of view, although Cloke (2006) claims that much of rural studies never took part in the turn, and those that took part never embraced it wholeheartedly. US rural

studies, as pointed out by Bell (2007), could by no means be said to be dominated by cultural turn approaches. In terms of Norwegian rural geography, a mixed picture, perhaps more similar to Cloke's description, emerges. As pointed out by Haugen and Lysgård (2006) the cultural turn came late to Norwegian rural studies and was not wholeheartedly absorbed. There is a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches in Norwegian rural studies, but the social constructivist approach is rapidly growing (Berg & Lysgård, 2004; Haugen and Lysgård, 2006). A recent evaluation of Norwegian geography departments makes a similar observation. Norwegian geography was found to have been influenced by the cultural turn, but never adopted the extreme postmodern or post-structural linguistic exercises. Thus it represents a middle-of-the-road approach. Nevertheless, Norwegian rural geography is found to be dominated by qualitative methodologies (Norwegian Research Council, 2011).

In the aftermath of these criticisms, attempts to traverse the gorge between rural as either a 'material reality' (also referred to as 'first rural') or a 'cultural phenomenon' (also referred to as 'second rural') could be observed in rural geography's conceptual efforts (Bell, 2007; Woods, 2009; Woods, 2010; Woods, 2012a, b). Put differently, one consequence of the criticism of the cultural turn has been various attempts to re-materialise the rural (Woods, 2009), reflecting wider developments in geography (cf. Jackson, 2000; Philo, 2000; Smith, 2000). Indeed, one trajectory observed (and certainly feared by some commentators, see Woods (2009)) has even been a return to a functional perspective on rural. A second suggestion, according to Woods (2009) has been to approach the material and discursive conditions associated with geographical context of rural localities simultaneously, but avoiding seeing these as following causally (e.g. Conradson and Pawson, 2009; Liepins, 2000a, b; Paulgaard, 2008). A third approach to re-materialisation involves hybrid- and networked approaches to rural. It is these approaches that are thought by commentators to possess the greatest promise, as they are regarded to be conceptualisations motivated by an interest in broadening the horizons of rural geography; conceptualising the rural as a hybrid of networked space (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009; Woods, 2011b).

Within the hybrid- and networked approaches, two conceptual paths stand out (Cloke, 2006): *ideas of rural as a multifaceted and co-constituted space defined by networks* and *Halfacree's* (2004, 2006, 2007) *threefold conceptual architecture of rural space.* The first approach

builds on Murdoch's (2003, 2006) work on the co-constitution of human and non-human actants (Woods, 2009). In Murdoch's writings on networks, the co-constituting nature of natural and social entities is stressed, advocating that the countryside needs to be treated as a hybrid space, 'one that mixes up social and natural entities in creative combinations' (Murdoch, 2003: 264). Moreover, Murdoch sees a need to 'somehow align the *social constructionist* perspective with the new concern for hybrid relationships' (Murdoch, 2003: 265) as human action takes place within a network of complex social and material relations (Cloke and Jones, 2001; Murdoch, 2003):

> By bringing the heterogeneous networks of ANT [Actor-network-theory] to bear upon social categories, it should be possible to show how *social* relations in the countryside are constructed out of more elements than those usually considered within purely *social* perspectives. Likewise, by giving the analysis of actor networks a social inclination, it should be possible to illustrate how *social processes* invariably act to order arrangements of *heterogeneous materials* (Murdoch, 2003: 265)

The latter approach is informed by Lefebvrian-ideas on space (cf. Lefebvre, 1991) and is a conceptualisation of rural space as a socially produced emergence that is not only integral to social practice, but also simultaneously constitutes social practice and is constituted by social practice (Halfacree, 2006).

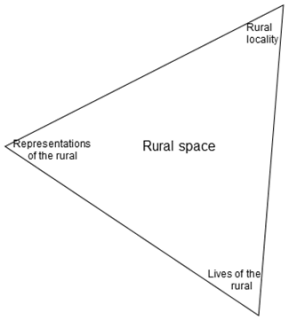
These approaches have been applauded for their blurring of the urban-rural divide and for their prospect 'of recovering the materiality and the social dimensions of rurality' (Woods, 2009: 852). Particularly, the Halfacreean approach to rural space has been applauded for outmanoeuvring the polarity between locality-based and social representation-based approaches (one example of this embrace is for instance the Journal of Rural Studies' current editor-in-chief, Michael Woods' (2011b) application of Halfacree's model to form a 'useful reference point for introducing the ways' in which Woods latest book *Rural* 'proposes to engage with the idea of the rural' (p. 12)).

A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence

The novelty with Halfacree's conceptualisation of rural space (2004, 2006, 2007) is its recognition of the complex and embedded interaction of *ideas* (i.e. representations, notions of rurality), *locality* (i.e. the countryside as emerged via human endeavour/practice and nature) and *human practice* (i.e. lived life, traditions, social action and interaction). Halfacree's

(2006, 2007) conceptualisation thus focuses analytical attention towards three co-constituting dimensions: *representations of the rural*, *rural localities*, and *lives of the rural* (see figure 1). Together, these elements constitute and reciprocally influence each other, thus, conceptually speaking, creating rural space and associated notions of rurality/ruralness. It is important to note that Halfacree's conceptualisation is not a road map for how rural space is produced. It is intended as an analytical tool, a 'heuristic device – a "map" – with which to interrogate rural space' (Halfacree, 2006: 44).

Figure 1. Halfacree's threefold architecture of rural space



The first dimension, representations of the rural, refers to how the rural is portrayed in formal contexts, such as for instance authorities' policies, planning documents, industrial interests and cultural arbiters (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). The second dimension; rural localities and their characteristics such as natural landscape, cultural landscape, aesthetics, etc. refers to localities as 'inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices, linked to production and/or consumption activities' (Halfacree, 2007: 127). Here analytical attention is turned to the spatial practices exuding from a society's distinct space with its material expression – elements associated with what is perceived as 'real' space (Elden, 2004; Halfacree, 2006, 2007). This conceptual corner refers to the material dimension of rural space. The third dimension, lives of the rural, refers to people's reproduction of rural practices in everyday life, i.e. space as lived (Elden, 2004; Halfacree, 2007). The lives of the rural are inevitably subjective and diverse, reflecting varying levels of coherence and in-coherence (Halfacree, 2006, 2007).

The foundation of Halfacree's approach is space as a socially produced set of manifolds, not a container of action. Furthermore, space is something that is created by

social actors, created on a whole series of scales and in a whole series of forms (Halfacree, 2006). In this sense a Halfacreean approach to rural space is a Lefebvrian approach; Halfacree draws extensively on the French neo-Marxist theorist, Henri Lefebvre's ideas on space, which have been praised for its outstanding contributions to social geography (Simonsen, 1996: 503). The translation of Lefebvre's *The production of Space* into English in 1991, 17 years after the original French publication, added momentum to the absorption of Lefebvre's ideas on space into Anglophone geography (Hubbard et al., 2004; Shields, 2004), inspiring diverse strands of geographical thought (Shields, 2004). Merrifield (2000:170) regards the translation as '*the* event within critical human geography over the 1990s'" (original emphasis).

The production of Space is a syncretism of spatial thoughts in which Lefebvre criticises and rejects four paradigms on space: *mentalism* (i.e. space as merely a philosophical concept), *textualism* (i.e. that space can be assimilated to signification or meaning), *containerism* (i.e. that space is a passive an inert holder for social relations, built environment cultural meanings and political confronation) and *activism* (i.e. space as a presence, an instrumental reason) (Dimendberg, 1998). In his approach Lefebvre wanted to overcome what he saw to be the failings of the traditional epistemological approaches, the *illusion of transparency* and the *realistic illusion*. The first occurs when space is seen solely as a mental space, where one can only perceive representations and design; reality is reduced to mere cognition. The latter occurs when space is defined with naturalistic, mechanic materiality or empiricism; reality is reduced to material/natural objects, whose relations can be directly observed (Lefebvre, 1991; Lysgård, 2001). Applying Lefebvre's terminology to rural geography's changing conceptual approaches to rural, the social constructivist approach easily falls victim to the *illusion of transparency*, while the functional approach is stuck in the *realistic illusion*.

Lefebvre's desire was for a middle ground, a *unitary theory*, in order to avoid the shortcomings and blind spots he saw resulting from epistemological extremisms of either/or *idealism* (i.e. rationalism) and *materialism* (i.e. empiricism)(Lefebvre, 1991); he therefore sets out to

> 'discover or construct a theoretical unity between 'fields' which are apprehended separately, just as molecular, electromagnetic and gravitational forces are in physics. The fields we are concerned with are, first, the *physical* – nature, the

> Cosmos; secondly, the *mental*, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly, the *social*. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias. (Lefebvre, 1991: 11-12 [original emphasis])

Lefebvre's contributions on space, I would argue, reflect in this sense an ontological/epistemological hybrid; the world (for Lefebvre: space) consists of matter *and* ideas *and* social beings; be it architects, capitalists or ordinary folks, that act, not only on the basis of matter and ideas, but also in relation to the social actions of their fellow social beings and their interaction with society and its vast array of constituents (regulations and economy, to mention two). In this sense I would argue Lefebvre's conceptualisation recognises the duplicity of human beings in the social production of space: on one side as acting subjects and, on the other, as part of the contextual character of social practices (cf. Simonsen, 1991). Consequently, Lefebvre's ideas on space has the potential to free rural studies from the critique raised towards the all too often immaterial and postmodern rural geography of the cultural turn (cf. Kipfer et al., 2008; Kipfer et al., 2013). Furthermore, Lefebvre's ideas may avoid the issues raised towards the hard-core materiality of the (all too often naïve) empiricists' deployment of functional rural definitions.

A vital contribution of Lefebvre's was to approach space as a trialectic emergence, I would argue, as it moves geography away from merely analysing things in space, and sees space as 'made up' through a three-way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space (Hubbard et al., 2004). One key implication of this to a Halfacreean approach is thus that the ontological condition that rural space does not simply

> 'just exist', waiting passively to be discovered and mapped, but is something created in a whole series of forms and at a whole series of scales by social individuals. We thus have a great diversity of 'species of space' implicated in every aspect of life. (Halfacree, 2006: 44)

Rural places, then, emerge as particular forms of space through the act of naming, through the imaginings associated with particular social spaces, and through distinct activities (Halfacree, 2006; Hubbard et al., 2004).

Moreover, in order to analyse social spatiality in all its shapes, Lefebvre (1991) introduces a seminal spatial triad (Halfacree, 2006; Lysgård, 2001), constituted by *representations of space* (roughly corresponding to Halfacree's 'formal representations of the

rural'), *representational spaces* (roughly corresponding to Halfacree's 'everyday lives of the rural'), and *spatial practice* (roughly corresponding to Halfacree's 'rural localities').

Representations of space are the formal conceptions of space. It is space as conceived, a constructed space; a space developed and designed by different professions (e.g. architects, planners, researchers) (Halfacree, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991; Lysgård, 2001). This spatial aspect is subject to discourses on the production of calculated space; space designed with a purpose intended (Pløger, 1997). It is a construct of ideas and representations of humans' spatiality in mental and cognitive shape that dominates other kinds of spaces, as it in itself represents an epistemological power-base on how society at any given time is to be understood, expressed and shaped. It is an aspect of space where verbal expressions are designed and visual expressions are important sources of information on power's and ideological hegemony's representations of space (Halfacree, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991; Lysgård, 2001).

Representational spaces are lived spaces produced through everyday life's concrete practises, and are closely bound to the social sphere's grassroots and subcultures, creating their meaning through social relations in a system of cultural, social and economic inequalities. It is the space which is instantly lived by the use of more or less non-verbal symbols and images that contribute to the shaping of social practises, and it describes the space we experience and produce at all times (Lysgård, 2001) (Lefebvre, 1991):

> This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. (Lefebvre, 1991: 39)

In this sense, lived space is elusive, and this experiential space is constantly in danger of being appropriated and dominated by thought and conception (Merrifield, 2000)

> Lived space is the experiential realm that conceived and ordered space will try to intervene in, rationalize, and ultimately usurp. On the whole, architects, planners, developers and others [rural geographers included for sure], are willy-nilly, active in this very pursuit. (p. 174)

As this space for Lefebvre 'overlays physical space', it must not be seen as a pure symbolic space isolated from the physical and mental. Instead this spatial aspect at the same time consists of both the real (objective) and representations (subjective) of social practices. Lived space is thus about how people, through everyday social practices, use spatial notions

and experiences to shape their activity; how they adapt to and are influenced by the dominant understandings of society's spatiality. This is why this is the dominated space. However, this is also the space for opposition and counter-cultures. It is the spatial aspect where power-relations become most apparent (Lysgård, 2001).

Spatial practices is space as it is experienced through actions, and it structures everyday life through people's perceptions of social interaction. This spatiality is produced in a dialectical relationship between institutional systems and everyday experience and practices, and is the actions that 'secrete' a particular society's space. It has close affinities with perceived space, to the perceptions people have of the world, of their world, and to their everyday world and its space. Spatial practices are mainly orientated towards concrete, materialised and institutionalised spatial shapes (i.e. phenomena/objects that can be mapped empirically) and concern among other things ordinary and general (i.e. experienced) understandings of how society is spatially organised (in networks, routes, regions and places etc.). Spatial practices are in other words above all an expression of society's functional structure and spatial organisation; the very things that secure continuity and consistency in society's social structures. Spatial practices structure everyday reality, and more broadly, social and urban reality. The spatial practices also include routes, networks and patterns of interaction linking places of work, play and leisure. They are however constantly changing in a historical process through social practices and interaction (Halfacree, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991; Lysgård, 2001; Merrifield, 2000).

Lefebvre's *The production of space* is unquestionably confusing, as is his spatial triad, leading Merrifield (2000) to state

> he [Lefebvre] calls it a 'spatial triad,' and it forms the central epistemological pillar of POS [*Production of Space*]. Unfortunately – or fortunately – he sketches this out only in preliminary fashion; he leaves us to add our own flesh and to re-write it as part of our own chapter or research agenda (p. 173)

For a critique of Lefebvre's that is not so sympathetically attuned to his conceiving as Merrifield, Lefebvre's loose style poses more of a problem

> Lefebvre's arguments are constructed in such a way that they are not readily summarized; his project is designed to elicit debate and engagement, and the metaphors and illustrations he uses are not reducible to a simple set of parameters. For his advocates this is indeed one of his strengths; for his critics, it remains problematic. (Unwin, 2000: 13)

as

> Reading *The production of space* can be compared to walking across quicksand, or trying to find the end of a rainbow. No sooner does one think that one has understood what he is trying to say, than he shifts his position, so that what was once thought to be acceptable is now shown to be problematic. At the heart of Lefebvre's project there is thus an intention to make complex the taken-for-granted, and to force the reader to question her or his own understandings of space. As well as being elusive, though, there is a tension within Lefebvre's work, because this very character of being contradictory, and lacking certainty, to some extent runs counter to his own certainty that space is actually produced. (Unwin, 2000: 14)

Due to this obscurity in Lefebvre's book on the production of space, Unwin is suspicious of the followers of Lefebvre (see Unwin, 2000:19). Halfacree shelves Unwin's critique as detraction (Halfacree, 2006: 49) and embarks on the task of tuning Lefebvre to the research agenda of rural geography. To my reading, it is particular two important contributions Lefebvre makes within Halfacree's conceptualisations; contributions I would argue comprise potential conceptual fixes to the issues voiced by the critiques of the cultural turn (cf. Cloke, 2006) discussed in the previous section.

The first contribution is the trialectic dialogue between the conceived-perceived-lived (in spatial terms; between spatial practice - representations of space - representational spaces). It is foremost the trialectic union of the symbolic, the material and the social implied that constitute the first fix, as it provides a conceptual route for grounding the social representations of rurality with a material and social 'reality' of sorts. For Lefebvre space and the social are inseparable as the conceived, the perceived and lived space of social beings all interact and constitute each other. Without such a unitary perspective, our understanding of space would be one fetishizing space:

> instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it – relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production, so echoing the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces – we fall into the trap of treating space as space 'in itself', as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so to fetishize space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap

> lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'things' in isolation, as 'things in themselves'. (Lefebvre, 1991:90)

The second key Lefebvreian contribution to Halfacree's conceptualisation, as I see it, is the notion of space as having a history of change, and as something consequential that 'exists' in many versions/realities/species, something struggled over, involving power and a striving for spatial hegemony (Halfacree, 2006, 2007; Lefebvre, 1991; Shields, 2004). For Lefebvre, hegemony seems to be an important prerequisite to his conceiving of space (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991: 10-11). The implication of this is, to my understanding, a conceptual approach to space and spatiality that recognises a dynamic nature, as different species of space conflict and strive to dominate each other for hegemony. In these struggles there are conflicting interests over what/how space is to be endowed:

> So space – urban space, social space, physical space, experiential space – isn't just the staging of reproductive requirements, but part of the cast, and a vital, productive member of the cast at that. Space (…) is an 'active moment' in expansion and reproduction of capitalism. It is a phenomenon which is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated on and fought over. It all comes together in space (…). (Merrifield, 2000: 173)

An important facilitator of such a dynamic understanding of space is the move away from a Kantian absolute space, in which time and space is held separate, to an ontology where space is a process and in process; treating space and time as inseparable, (Crang and Thrift, 2000; Halfacree, 2006; Simonsen, 2005) as 'no social process exists without geographical extent and historical duration' (Crang and Thrift, 2000: 3). Lefebvre introduces the notion of 'trial by space' as a conceptual metaphor, a metaphor Halfacree adopts (cf. Halfacree, 2007), referring to the struggle or potential destabilisation constituted by the dynamism of changes gathering momentum (e.g. rural change):

> Everything that derives from history and from historical times must undergo a test. (…) Points and systems of reference inherited from the past are in dissolution. Values, whether or not they have been organized into more or less coherent 'systems', crumble and clash. (…) Why? Because nothing and no one can avoid *trial by space* (…).(Lefebvre, 1991: 416)

Also, in his elaborations on *trial by space* Lefebvre is rather imprecise. What is clear is that the processes intended to be captured by the metaphor are underlying, or

constitutive/fundamental even to the social production of space; every idea or value that is to make its mark on society has to endure trial by space, and through that either wither into abstract symbols, become mere fantasies; or acquire space. Without an appropriated space, ideas, representations, values etc. are stranded (Lefebvre, 1991):

> Ideas, representations or values, which do not succeed in making their mark on space, and thus generating (or producing) an appropriate morphology, will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions or mutate into fantasies. (…) whatever is not invested in an appropriated space is stranded, and all that remain are useless signs and significations (Lefebvre, 1991: 416-417)

Halfacree turns to Cloke & Goodwin's (1992) idea of *structural coherence* in order to flesh out Lefebvre's notions of hegemony, production of space's dynamism, conflicting spatialities and trial by space. In Halfacree the application of 'structural coherence' is designed to indicate to what extent 'harmony' is present within rural localities. Or, in his own prose: the extent

> 'to which rural residents, policy makers, business interests, pressure groups, etc. "are singing from the same hymn sheet"' (Halfacree, 2007: 128)

Three kinds of spatial coherence are distinguished between: (1) *congruent and united*, (2) *contradictory and disjointed*, and (3) *chaotic and incoherent*. In the first category, the elements of rural space come together in a relatively smooth, consistent manner, yielding harmony. The lived, the conceived, and the perceived internalise each other. In the other two categories, the spatial character is open for debate. In the second, there is contradiction within and between elements of rural space. Although there is tension, an overall coherence holds. In the third and last category, there are fundamental contradictions within and/or between elements of rural space. Fundamental conflicting ruralities co-exist and the elements of rural space fail to internalise each other (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). With a Halfacreean approach, different rural discourses and their rurality/rural space, and their clashes in an ever going trial by space, could potentially be analysed.

A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons

Halfacree's threefold architecture of rural space constitutes an approach to rural with conceptual sensitivity towards the embeddedness of the trialectic *representations-material-practice* and spatial plurality, as stressed by Massey (2005), Murdoch (2000, 2003, 2006), Philo (2000) and Cloke (2006). The strength with Halfacree's conceptualisation of rural space is foremost his integration of ideas, rural locality and the lives of the rural; seeing rural as a hybrid of mind, matter and the social. As something more than just social representations, more than just the material character/economic functions of the countryside's territory or cultural stereotypes regarding country-living. This, in combination with the conceptualisation's recognition of multiple discourses of rurality, constitutes perhaps the key reasons as to why it has been regarded as one of two promising ways forward for rural geography's conceptual approach to rural (cf. Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009; Woods, 2011b; Woods, 2012b). A Halfacreean approach to rural meets the

> obvious requirement (…) to take full cognisance of the many different rurals, the many different layers of space and the many different reasons why it is appropriate to consider different versions of the post-rural (…). Rather than understanding material, imaginative and practiced ruralities as somehow separate, it is possible – indeed seemingly strongly advisable – to see them as intrinsically and dynamically intertwined and embodied with 'flesh and blood' culture and with real life relationships. (Cloke, 2006: 24)

The key analytical advantage of a Halfacreean approach I would argue is its multi-dimensional approach to understanding rural change's spatial aspects, approaching it from three interlocked perspectives (i.e. representations, locality and the lives of the rural).

Nevertheless, I argue that Halfacree's architecture fails at analytically addressing social actors, their interactions, their struggles and the workings of power. Although he conceptually recognises social actors and social space, they are but invisible in his analytical deployment of the architecture used to analyse different competing ruralities on a systemic scale in Britain (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). When applied to understanding concrete and localised processes of rural change this failure to recognise social actors analytically becomes even more acute, constituting what I assess to be a liability for the model's analytical abilities altogether. The reason for this liability is that the application of the architecture, rather than opening the social aspects of rural space's social emergence, masks

these. The consequence of this masking is that analyses employing the architecture underplay the social consequences of rural change, instead of aiding in understanding actors' actions, agency, interactions and struggles within rural change's trial by space.

I would argue that this failure stems from inherent challenges in Halfacree's architecture due to its Lefebvrian pedigree. Conceptually the architecture recognises the social dimension of space, and the ontology from which Halfacree builds his conceptualisation seems to equal space, time and action (cf. Halfacree's (2006: 48) citation of Crang & Thrift (2000) and e.g. Halfacree's own (2006: 49-50) remarks of space as relative performances). Yet, the architecture suffers, to my understanding, from an analytical blind spot towards social actors' performances, struggles and interactions within rural change's multitude of processes, conditions and consequences. If used to investigate specific empirical locations the analysis leaves people – the social actors embodying space, the very actors translating or activating representations of rurality (and other social representations) into lived space and rural lives – analytically out of reach. Consequently, the approach loses sight of people's social inter-actions and agency.

Accusing a Lefebvrian approach of neglecting the social is a grave accusation. It is precisely (also) keeping ones attention on the social aspects of space and spatiality that is the key to avoiding reducing one's analysis to mere spatial fetishism as

> social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act. (…) social space works (along with its concept) as a tool for the analysis of society. (Lefebvre, 1991: 33-34)

To neglect or downplay this social aspect of space is, for Lefebvre, a mistake:

> The error – or illusion – generated here consist in the fact that, when social space is placed beyond our range of vision in this way, its practical character vanishes and it is transformed in philosophical fashion into a kind of absolute. In face of this fetishized abstraction, 'users' spontaneously turn themselves, their presence, their 'lived experience' and their bodies into abstractions: 'users' who cannot recognize themselves within it, and a thought which cannot conceive of adopting a critical stance towards it. (Lefebvre, 1991: 93)

as

> Space is social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure (Lefebvre, 1991: 94)

Somewhat ironically, and perhaps surprisingly, Lefebvre himself is criticised of lapsing into spatial fetishism, as critiques point out that his own conceiving of social space is desolated of humans:

> He [Lefebvre] goes on to assert 'that every state is born of violence, and that state power endures only by virtue of violence directed towards a space' (280). One of the remarkable things about his whole discussion of these fundamental geopolitical issues is that people never get a mention. It is not women, men and children to whom violence is meted out, it is not the voices of humans being slaughtered that cry out, it is not the pleading of a parent whose child is being violated that we hear, it is not the stench of mass graves being opened up that we smell, it is not the sound of exploding warheads that reaches our ears - it is 'space' against which violence is directed. (Unwin, 2000: 23)

Although these criticisms are rejected (also by Halfacree, 2006: 51), it is perhaps this desolation of humans that is the inherent weakness in the pedigree of Halfacree's architecture leading to the analytical blind spot towards the social actor, his/her actions and agency. Although the trial by space explored by Halfacree's adoption of Lefebvre (cf. Halfacree, 2007) is of a less dramatic nature than the quote's geopolitical narrative, it is just as empty of people facing the consequences of a spatiality undergoing its trial by space.

Above I showed that Lefebvre expresses a great affinity between space and the social, that he saw social space as incorporating social actions. Nevertheless, Lefebvre is criticised as he is accused of, in practice, subsuming these very people; the social actors, within a dehumanised concept of space and nature (Smith, 1998; Unwin, 2000), losing sight of the roles human agency plays:

> Lefebvre dehumanizes space; indeed, despite his aspiration to bring back the body into his understandings of space, he fails to take seriously the role that human agency has in shaping its own future. (Unwin, 2000: 24)

The spatial fetishism that follows from such dehumanisation is further amplified, according to critics, by the manner in which Lefebvre centres space in his theorisation, everything else is second; even the *production* of space is second. It is not so much the processes involved in

the social production of space Lefebvre lingers on, as the end product of these processes – space itself:

> in referring to the production of space, Lefebvre objectifies space; he gives it meaning, character and significance. Moreover, in this very process, he relegates all else to a secondary position. There is, for example, a categorical difference between 'the production of space' and 'the production of human misery'. Lefebvre chooses to address the former, mainly on the grounds that by so doing he can illuminate the latter. But in this very process, he draws our attention away from the misery, from the lived experience of humanity, and towards an intellectual and arid conceptualization of an idea, of space. (Unwin, 2000: 22)

Although Halfacree goes to great lengths to distance his architecture from the spatial fetishism of forgone approaches, his architecture's failure to recognise social actors analytically, makes Unwin's criticism also relevant for Halfacree's conceptualisation, I would argue. The blind spot towards the social in a Halfacreean approach leaves the localised fault lines of rurality analytically in the dark. Instead the analytical focus is on different species of rurality's clash in a trial by space, as if it is space itself that is process, judge and outcome. To my reading, Halfacree's notion of the social is conceptual; an abstracted condition within his conceiving. In his analysis of the clash between different ruralities in the British countryside social actors are nearly invisible (cf. 2006, 2007). This is a severe critique as it is not social structures that act and produce social effects and outcomes, but rather social actors; individuals or groups, that do so through their actions, inactions and interactions in a countryside that is formed by a complex dynamic tangle of social relations, representations, networks, material features, values, regulation, humans, actions and agency (Engelstad, 2009; Ingold, 2011; Murdoch, 2003, 2006; Simonsen, 2013). Consequently, the Halfacreean approach's ability to increase our understanding of the processes in which, in the words of Murdoch and Pratt (1993: 411), 'actors impose "their" rurality on others' is impeded. This means that a Halfacreean approach, although conceptually recognising social aspects and dynamics of power, analytically veils social struggle and social actions. The consequences of this are that the localised dynamics of power in rural change's *trial by space* remain obscure (Frisvoll, 2012 (paper #3)) and the analysis remains oblivious to new spatialities' asynchronous diffusion across social strata (cf. Frisvoll and Rye, 2009). In this sense, the critique of a desocialised analysis of the rural is to my mind still a relevant critique.

Consuming the rural

The traditional understandings of rurality were centred around countryside's role in production. However, this idea has always had a mirror – rural as a place for consumption. Such ideas have usually focused on the countryside as a location for leisure and recreation (Woods, 2011b), although more recent contributions have also investigated pop-culture's consumption and representation of the countryside (popular media, television, movies etc.)(cf. Baylina and Berg, 2010; Eriksson, 2010; Horton, 2008a, 2008b; Mordue, 1999; Phillips et al., 2001). In the context of this thesis, it is the consumption within leisure and recreation, more specifically rural tourism, which is in focus. Rural tourism might be defined as

> tourism activities that are focused on consumption of rural landscapes, artefacts, cultures and experiences, involving differing degrees of engagement and performances (Woods, 2011b: 94)

I would argue that rural tourism's consumption is a particularly important area of study as it has been widely promoted as a strategy to cope with declining primacy of primary industries (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008; Daugstad, 2008; Hall et al., 2003; Hjalager, 1996; Sharpley, 2002a; Wilson et al., 2001; Woods, 2011b), although there are contributions suggesting that the potential to create rural development is exaggerated (cf. Paniagua, 2002; Sharpley, 2003, 2007; Unwin, 1996). Nevertheless, the processes and consequences implied by rural tourism are not considered to leave the countryside, nor country life or culture, nor rural space untouched in their wake (Frisvoll, 2012 (paper #3); Hall et al., 2003; Paniagua, 2002; Sharpley, 2003; Woods, 1998, 2011b).

The consumption of rurality within rural tourism can take many forms: walkers' consumption of tranquillity, nature and 'fresh air' is one; bird watchers' consumption of wildlife; yet another is hunters' consumption of wildlife; as is mountain bikers' consumption of the terrain against which their endurance and skills are tested, shoppers buying rural craft and diners consuming 'local food'. At the centre of this consumption are attributes associated with, or regarded to be rurality; attributes able to be translated into commodities that can be bought and sold (Woods, 2011b). Commodification is integral to the re-resourcing of rural areas (Perkins, 2006), and what is consumed is rural signifiers (Urry, 2002; Woods, 2011b). Garrod et al. (2006) terms this countryside capital. Countryside capital like any other form of capital is either gained or lost:

> like any other form of capital, is [countryside capital] simultaneously both a stock and a flow concept. The fabric of the countryside represents the capital stock. By careful management of flows to and from this stock, society can ensure that sufficient countryside assets remain available to rural businesses, such as those involved in assembling and selling rural tourism products. (p. 119)

A wide range of rural objects and experiences are enrolled and repackaged in the commodification of the countryside (Crouch, 2006; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). The selection of objects and experiences to enrol and repackage is regarded to be guided by culturally grounded anticipations, and social representations on rurality (Halfacree, 1993; Sharpley and Roberts, 2004). In some cases, objects that already exist as commodities (for example food) are ascribed with new meanings, and new values, as rural signifiers. These may be transformed into, for instance, 'local food'; a transformation that provides enhanced value as the food is re-represented as regional speciality; whilst in other cases, agrarian artefacts are repacked as symbols of heritage (e.g. vintage tractors as a cherished icon of agrarian heritage) (Crouch, 2006; Flø, 2013; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). More controversially is the commodification of the rural experience's abstract components, such as fresh air, tranquillity and scenic views. Perhaps particularly important in a Norwegian context is the right to roam ('allemannsretten') and the commodification and consumption of the outdoors, the outfields marked by complex usages and user interests/rights (Daugstad et al., 2006a; Puijk et al., 1994; Strand et al., 2013; Woods, 2011b). An important point is that the creation of meaning through commodification is not something tourism providers do in solitude. It is a collaborative process, involving the consumer as much as the producer (Bell, 2006; Crouch, 2006; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b).

Rural tourism's commodification and consumption of the rural juggles a complex set of constituents: social interactions and encounters (e.g. host/tourist, tourist/rurals and tourist/tourist); representations; cultural symbols and their meanings; materiality; elements localised in the locality consumed and elements localised elsewhere (e.g. marketing, but also policy documents and regulations):

> To be attractive, the commodified rural must correspond with the expectations of the rural carried by consumers, which are shaped by various cultural influences. (…) yet, popular perceptions of the countryside are also informed by the representations employed to promote rural places as tourist destinations, which selectively emphasize particular signifiers of rurality. (Woods, 2011b: 97)

Rural tourism (and other forms of consumption of the countryside) re-resource the countryside and certain species of rural space (Perkins, 2006) transforming rural places into 'theatres of consumption' (Woods, 2011b). Such transformation, the influx of people its consumption implies, and its potentially (creative) destructive nature (cf. Mitchell, 1998), is indeed controversial, although its potential for conflict is occasionally proven to be exaggerated. The conflict occurs sometimes not so much between residents and newcomers as between newcomers and others wanting their share of the rural idyll, or between those guarding their 'idyllic' backyard and those promoting rural development in the same backyard (Farstad and Rye, 2013; Kaltenborn et al., 2008; Overvåg and Berg, 2011; Smith and Krannich, 2000). Nevertheless, conflicts do follow in the wake of the rural commodification (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2008; Britton, 1991; Cloke et al., 1998; Lowenthal, 2007; Perkins, 2006; Solana-Solana, 2010; Woods, 2003, 2011a) (see paper #3).

In the previous section, a Halfacreean approach to rural space was outlined as an overarching theoretical framework. Within such a framework commodification and its inherent consumption are attached to Halfacree's notions of different species of rurality, in which the same rural assets/countryside capital (i.e. what is commodified and consumed) may have different symbolic meanings. Furthermore, commodification and consumption become hooked onto what Halfacree understands to be dynamic relationships within a trial by space. Translated to rural tourism's consumption this refers to the conceptual recognition of the dynamics between and within rural tourism's basic assets (i.e. what is commodified and consumed), rural tourism's outcomes (socially, economically, culturally, materially and representational) and rural tourism's prerequisites (cultural anticipations of what to expect from a rural experience).

Rural tourism is both the result of rural change (or rural restructuring as it is also called) and a contributor to (potentially profound) rural change (cf. Cloke and Goodwin, 1992; Førde, 2010; Hall et al., 2003). Perkins (2006) links these changes to capitalism itself. Tourism's search for new commodities has meant that the meaning of some rural spaces has been re-made. Indeed, in the most extreme cases re-made to the extent that completely new ways of thinking about and managing them are established, taking the form of rural place myths (Cloke and Perkins, 1998, 2002; Perkins, 2006: 253).

A common approach to interpret the countryside commodification is to employ the three analytical foci of Best's (1989) critique of Baudrillard, deploying them as evolutionary

stages of commodification (cf. Flø, 2013; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b): *society of the commodity*, which is transformed into *society of spectacle*, before finally reaching the Baudrillardian *society of simulacrum*. In the first stage commodification represents an inversion of exchange value over use value. Here objects (e.g. goat's milk) become commodities when they take on an exchange value (i.e. hard currency/money) that is greater than its use value (i.e. nourishment for the farmer and her family) and thus become tradable in a market. In the second stage, *society of the spectacle*, images have taken precedence over material objects and living itself has become a product that is consumed. Here other people's way of life (e.g. goat farming) is commodified and consumed as a spectacle (e.g. rural tourism). In the final stage, the *society of simulacrum*, objects have become fully absorbed into the image; it is an object's symbolic signs or cultural meaning that is exchanged (Best, 1989; Perkins, 2006). Here the focus of

> producers and consumers is the conspicuous nature of social meaning, and the commodity will often involve abstract signifiers that can be unrelated to the reality of the commodified place, practice or object. (Perkins, 2006: 246)

The commodity (e.g. goat farming and goat farmer) is eclipsed by the sign (e.g. the cultural meaning attached/seen represented by goat farming and being a goat farmer) and through that, according to Perkins (2006) implodes into its imagery (e.g. the staging of goat farming practice so to fit the cultural stereotypes for the purpose of tourism consumption) and thus becomes characterised by simulacrum in which

> previous distinctions between illusion and reality, signifier and signified, subject and object, collapse, and there is no longer any social or real world of which to speak (Best, 1989: 24)

The first stage of consumption is the familiar understanding of rural commodity production, in which new food and fibre products constantly replace unprofitable products. The second stage is widely accepted as a facet of production and consumption processes revolving around countryside leisure and tourism. According to Perkins (2006) rural tourism consumption within the *society of the spectacle* involves the visual consumption of signs or spectacles that are produced as sites, signs, and sites transformed into aestheticised rural spaces of entertainment and pleasure. The last stage implies a leap into 'hyperreality' (cf. Baudrillard, 1983), in which representative commodities short of any basis in reality are consumed. In the empirical world, however, these stages do not so much

relieve each other in an orderly fashion, as co-exist. This is particularly seen within the context of rural tourism and recreation's commodification of rural space (Perkins, 2006).

Rural tourism's commodification/consumption revolves around a set of cultural notions widely referred to as *rural idyll* (Bell, 2006; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). This rural idyll is shaped in part by how rural is culturally represented by art and media. A lot of research and attention has been devoted to 'rural idyll' in the rural studies (e.g. Blekesaune et al., 2010b; Little and Austin, 1996; Mordue, 1999; Munkejord, 2006; Rye, 2006; Valentine, 1997). Here I will limit the focus to what is relevant for the task at hand: rural idyll and rural tourism.

Rural tourism presents the consumer with the opportunity to submerge him or herself, via consumption, into the *rural idyll*:

> The consumer buys (into) the countryside through the link made with products, whether they be cars, duvets, beer, kitchen interiors or other 'heritage' products. And the consumer has been culturally attuned from childhood to make the link between the rural and the 'good', so the market is primed. The market, too, is seemingly only too ready for a profusion of countryside magazines and an on-going production of film, radio and television productions extolling the country life – relocating houses, vets, rural vicars (comedic or otherwise), soap operas and series such as Heartbeat or All Creatures Great and Small. And Country Living's retro-ruralism is clearly highly in demand – with anodyne images of cottage interiors and generalized rusticity. (…). Clearly, the rural idyll remains seriously commercial at the start of the twenty-first century (…). (Short, 2006: 143)

A wide range of businesses and spheres of society employ the notion of *rural idyll*. One is tourism; the business of providing holidays in the countryside, which demands the kind of idylls that are culturally legible and producible for tourist consumption. The tourism idyll thus revolves around facilitating a repertoire of tourism practices and performances, such as 'idyll on a plate', in which food products are linked to place, people and production techniques to assert quality and authenticity (Bell, 2006; Woods, 2011b).

Nostalgia it seems, is an important feature of *rural idyll* (Bell, 2006; Markwick, 2001; Mordue, 1999). The nostalgia for a rural life simpler than one's own everyday life is recognised to be a key part of the commodification and consumption of the countryside (Mitchell, 1998; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2011b). It is this nostalgia, the public's perceived

longing for a particular vision of the rural – one of the rural idyll – that rural tourism is homing:

> Recognizing the potential for profit, in recent times entrepreneurs in conjunction with local governments have attempted to satisfy consumers' desires for this imagined countryside. Their investments have re-created pre-industrial village landscapes and reproduced pre-industrial commodities. The first of these contributes to visual representation of the ideal, the latter gives its material form. Both depend on and, reinforce, a strong sense of nostalgia among consumers. (Perkins, 2006: 253)

Three ideal-types of rural idyll are distinguished between: the *pastoral idyll* of the farmscape, reflecting an agricultural landscape of artisan agriculture; the *natural idyll* of wildscapes with its emphasis on the pre-culture and pre-human, on wilderness' pure, untamed nature; and the *sporting idyll* of the adventurescapes in which the countryside is employed as a playground for physical adventures (Bell, 2006). These three forms comprise what Bell (ibid.) calls a mobile combination of nature (natural wonders, closeness to nature etc.), romantics, authenticity and nostalgia (for simpler ways of life), 'all stamped onto the land and its inhabitants.' (p. 150).

A consequence of the rural idyll stressed in the rural geography literature is its 'othering'; its inherent tendency to create *rural abjects* (people and things dispelled from the idyll, rendered 'other'), as the rural idyll is an exclusive and exclusionary place. This is an effect of the rural idyll's nurturing of a rural monoculture centred around cultural binaries, in which some belong to the countryside, while others are ostracised (Bell, 2006).

I would argue that binaries are a paramount feature of rural idyll, as it is in need of opposites, in order to distinguish itself from the anti-idyll. If there is a rural idyll, there needs to be a 'dark rural' (Bell, 2006; Berg and Lysgård, 2004). Moreover, there is, as Bell (2006) addresses a close kinship between 'rural idyll' and the urban:

> Certainly the genealogy of the rural idyll shows it to be an urban construction; the country cannot exist without the city to be its 'not-a'. So the place to find the rural idyll is in the city, since that is where it is made. Idealization, is a symptom of urbanization, then. More precisely (…) the idyll (and its attendant otherings) is a product of the bourgeois imaginary that emerged with modern urban-industrial culture, and which sought to produce an ordered social spatialization of margin and centre. Here, the rural was (and still is) at once an

> object of desire (because it is not-modern in a good way) and of dread (because it is not-modern in a bad way.) (p. 150)

These idyllic/anti-idyllic notions stand opposite in the rural discourse. Moreover, they are 'translated' into rural practices, rural regulations and rural localities (Short, 2006: 144). In the Norwegian context Cruickshank et al. (2009) has found similar positions within rural policy, and Berg & Lysgård (2004) identified rural/urban binaries as falling into a rural idyll/urban anti-idyll and rural anti-idyll/urban idyll pattern.

Although the consumption of the countryside is a multi-sensory experience, the visual dimension is regarded to be paramount (Woods, 2011b). But the act of viewing the countryside is neither simple nor neutral (Abram, 2003; Woods, 2011b). Abram (2003) introduces *rural gaze* in order to conceptualise the elements of collective social norms that guide the active organization of what is seen and not. Abram's rural gaze is Foucauldian in the sense that her 'rural gaze', as with Foucault's notion of 'gaze', is an act of power in which collective social norms define not only how we interpret the things that we see, but also what we actually see and do not see (Abram, 2003; Woods, 2011b). Rural gaze also builds from John Urry's (2002) notion of *tourist gaze*. Abram distinguishes rural gaze as a particular form of tourism gaze; a particular gaze which happens to coincide with the public's normative visual organisation, and thereby anticipation of what to expect to see and encounter in the countryside. Again, it is underlined that these expectations are a longing for rural nostalgia, an imagined rural past:

> Sightseers may be thought to be searching for some kind of authenticity of the exotic, even though this authentic may be a signifier which has no concrete signified. That is, there is nostalgia for an imagined past which often bears only the sketchiest relationship to real circumstances. We might argue, therefore, that the tourist gaze upon the rural landscape is one and the same as the rural gaze which aestheticises land use in a nostalgic way in an attempt to distance it from contemporary capital and globalising processes. (Abram, 2003: 35)

As previously pointed out, rural idyll is a cultural ideal of rural monoculturalism, where, according to Bell (2006) the purity is always threatened. 'Rural idyll' thus also incorporates pruning, grooming, and weeding guided by moral imperatives to keep the rural pure (Bell, 2006: 150). As such *rural gaze* acts as guide or organiser in rural idyll's purgatory of the countryside. The notion of *rural idyll* does not exist in a vacuum, nor is it sustained by mere cultural force/embedding alone. It is part of the wider discourse on rural, and it seeps into

policy and rural development (Abram, 2003; Cruickshank et al., 2009; Cruickshank, 2009; Flø, 2013). As addressed by Abram (2003) *rural gaze* add to an understanding about what 'the "rural" is, has been, and should be.' (p. 47). Rural gaze then, with its nostalgic longing - for a more authentic countryside, encapsulates the anticipations of a rural idyll of yesteryear's countryside, as well as the moral imperative to keep, groom and nurture the countryside after such rural ideals.

Authenticity

As outlined in the above sections there are plural notions of 'rural'; all with their own distinct practices and materialities. In terms of rural tourism, the commodification and consumption of a particular set of species of rurality, that of the rural idyll, is paramount. The grooming, purging, nurturing and staging of the rural idyll is guided by a moral organiser of our view, the rural gaze. A key element in the rural gaze is the nostalgic longing for a more authentic countryside. The countryside's ability to provide authenticity in an inauthentic modern and urban era is thus one of the central constituents in the rural idyll.

However, authenticity has been a controversial route for research into tourism phenomena since it was introduced to tourism research five decades ago (Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Reisinger and Steiner, 2006; Taylor, 2001). The sheer array of debates and arguments launched in terms of authenticity has lead commentators to claim that there are 'as many definitions of authenticity as there are those who write about it' (Taylor, 2001: 8). A multitude of conclusions are drawn by commentators from the plurality and non-hegemonic status of authenticity-approaches. One response is to reject the concept altogether as a frame for scientific endeavour (cf. Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). Other responses include performing conceptual innovations in order to salvage it as a research concept, such as introducing the philosophical notion of existential authenticity into tourism research (cf. Steiner and Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999) or to create new concepts altogether (e.g. Belhassen et al.'s (2008) 'theoplacity'); or shifting the attention from something's status regarding its authenticity to the very processes through which such notions emerge and are confirmed (e.g. Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Xie, 2010a).

Tourism studies, an inter-disciplinary field of research, is today dominated by two distinct camps: the science camp, with its ontology of realism and empiricist epistemology;

and the humanities, with its predominately constructivist and interpretative approaches (Ballantyne et al., 2009; Bruner, 2010). There are also intermediate positions, advocating a critical realism (cf. Platenkamp and Botterill, 2013). It should thus come as no surprise that there are many axes of disagreements in the fields' approaches to authenticity. One source of disagreement is whether authenticity refers to the consumed tourism product (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Cohen, 1988; Lau, 2010; MacCannel, 1973) or to the tourists and their experiences (e.g. Olsen, 2002; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). Another disagreement exists, as to whether the concept's inherent eurocentrisim is a problem or not. This is regarded by some as a problem as (some see) the use of authenticity to imply a programmatic view of locals as disempowered by tourism (e.g. Cole, 2007). Other areas of disagreement are fuelled by social science's changing epistemological fashions from positivism (e.g. Lau, 2010), and social constructionism (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Cohen, 1988; Salamone, 1997) to more hybrid approaches that attempt to bridge the gap between ideas and materiality (e.g. Belhassen et al., 2008; Hughes, 1995; Rickly-Boyd, 2012).

One particular divergence within these areas of disagreement is whether authenticity is something fixed, merely awaiting an expert's documentation of the artefact's objective originality (e.g. Lau, 2010; Mkono, 2012; Mkono, 2013), or something emergent and negotiated in complex interactive processes (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Salamone, 1997). A related issue is controversy over where authenticity is seen as residing. Some argue that it is a quality in situ (essentialism), while advocates of constructivism refuse such essentialism, seeing constructed subjective notions of authenticity or feelings (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). And finally there is the critique that the application of the very word 'authenticity' unavoidably, in essence implies essentialism (Olsen, 2002).

The debates on authenticity within tourism research are multifaceted. Consequently, there is not much consensus in analytical approaches either (Robinson and Clifford, 2012). A common approach after Wang (1999) is to organise tourism research's conceptual understandings of authenticity by separating them between three profoundly different categories or discourses (Cohen and Cohen, 2012): *object authenticity, constructed authenticity* (or symbolic authenticity as it is also referred to) and *existential authenticity*. These three categories differ considerably in terms of ontology and epistemological anchorage, and in terms of research subject and scope (Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Reisinger and Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999).

The first category, object authenticity, refers to approaches (e.g. Lau, 2010; MacCannel, 1973) where the existence of a measurable objective authenticity of the toured objects is a key ontological and epistemological prerequisite. These approaches involve detecting, proving and describing a definitive and unambiguous status of either original or fake. These approaches thus operate with fixed categories of authentic/inauthentic adhering to the ontology of realism, something for which they are criticised as 'realism' is often considered a redeemed relic of a less reflexive social science (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). However, recent contributions indicate that an objective approach to authenticity is not necessarily a matter of the past (cf. Lau, 2010).

The second category, constructed authenticity, is a complex category comprising a wide range of diverse contributions with the commonality of seeing authenticity as something constructed (e.g. Bruner, 1991; Bruner, 1994; Chhabra, 2008; Chhabra et al., 2003; Cohen, 1988; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Olsen, 2002; Salamone, 1997). The ontology of such approaches is constructivism, in which the social construction of a symbol's authenticity (symbolic, meaning) is the research subject. Within this category, authenticity is approached as something that is a projection of the tourist's own beliefs, a notion of authenticity that has its basis in the tourist's own stereotyped images, preferences and expectations. Contrary the first category's approach to authenticity, the understanding of something as authentic or not, is not based on any 'real assessment' in this case, but projected from consciousness and cultural notions; it is something that is negotiated and emergent or issuant even. Constructed/symbolic authenticity is in this way dependant on context, ideology and time. It is therefore a relative authenticity in contrast to the first category's authenticity.

The significance for tourism studies of the constructed authenticity approach is that authenticity is viewed as dependant on one's perspective; that the judgement of something's authenticity is a subjective matter and that authenticity emerges through negotiation. However, this approach to authenticity is criticised for still focusing on authenticity in a (postmodern) world. A world in which not only replications and simulations are tourist destinations, but where the notion of something's status as original/false, or as reality/symbol, is perceived as becoming irrelevant (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999) as the consumer playfully consumes in the 'society of simulacrum' (cf. Best, 1989).

The last category, *existential authenticity*, consists of works referring to authenticity in a fundamentally different way than the former categories. Here authenticity is a potential state of being. This category's authenticity-concept is rooted in existential philosophy and it is the tourists' subjective feelings and emotions in term of their touristic activity/experience that are addressed. *Existential authenticity* is conceptualised as a postmodern negation of the first category's ontology and the second category's research subject (symbol authenticity) (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999), adhering to phenomenology (cf. Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

The existential approach views tourism as a source for achieving existential meaning (e.g. Brown, 2013; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999). The existential approach is criticised for retaining a binary property of 'either/ or', lapsing into essentialism as the role of social constructions in the formation of sentiments of an existential authenticity are downplayed or neglected, for overplaying tourists' quest for/need for existential meaning, and finally for downplaying consumed elements' inter-subjectivity (e.g. beliefs and landscapes) (Belhassen et al., 2008; Olsen, 2002; Robinson and Clifford, 2012; Xie, 2010b).

Any compilation of such a complex field is bound to have imperfections. The threefold categorisation of Wang's is, for instance, criticised for hiding the fact that it is compiling on the basis of characteristics that are not of the same level (Cohen & Cohen, 2012); that it, consequently, is not sensitive to the constructive nature of what are basically notions of 'objectivity authenticity' and 'existential authenticity' (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Olsen, 2002). However, such a criticism is to my understanding blind of its own ontology of constructivism.

A more pressing criticism, I would argue, is that the compilation constitutes, with its exclusive categories, an inherent inability to recognise hybrid approaches. For instance, where existential and essential sentiments are fused with phenomenological and social constructivist perspectives; as is the case with recent calls to include place, belief, practices and performance in tourism research's approach to authenticity and tourism (e.g. Belhassen et al., 2008; Knudsen and Waade, 2010; Rickly-Boyd, 2012, 2013).

Tourism research has recently been criticised for being underdeveloped in its understanding of the processes by which authenticity is constructed (Cohen and Cohen, 2012) as the

> **social process** by which the authenticity of an attraction is confirmed, remains almost unexplored. (Cohen and Cohen, 2012: 1296 [original emphasis]).

This is a serious critique. One attempt to amend this shortcoming has been to turn the attention from the authentication's end-result to the process by which something is authenticated. With such a move, the more tractable, but nevertheless still unattained, questions of identifying those who make claims for authenticity and the interest such claims serve, emerges as a subject for research; exploring the different ways notions of authenticity are established, and who is able to endow a tourist attraction with authenticity (Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Jacobsen, 2000). Approaching authenticity from the perspective of authentication highlights the close relationship between authenticity and power (Bruner, 1994).

Approaches turning to authentication are springing from constructivism too (cf. Bruner, 1994), but differ from the constructivist approaches of 'constructive/symbol authenticity' in that the latter are concerned with the social processes' 'end product' (i.e. symbolic authenticity) (cf. Wang, 1999), while the authentication-approaches are concerned with understanding the social processes through which notions of authenticity emerges and works. Moreover, turning the analytical focus on the authentication processes, how authenticity becomes politicised, an agent of power, by the commodification and consumption of the tourism product (cf. Robinson and Clifford, 2012) becomes an apparent analytical subject as tourism phenomena's authenticity is approached as something negotiated and involving institutionalisation, power and a multitude of actors, their actions/practises, knowledge and traditions (Wall & Xie, 2005; Xie, 2011).

METHODOLOGY: RESEARCHING CONTESTED SPACES

So far, I have outlined the thesis' onset and its theoretical framework. At this point, it is clear that I approach rural as emerging, as socially produced, and something that may be contested and opposed. In this section, I will discuss the methodological aspects of my research. Such a methodological account is part of the reflexive habit necessary for sound social science practice.

First, I outline my ontological perspective and epistemological position, as these are the basis from which any other methodological choices or assessments are made. Then, I discuss the gathering, and analysis, of the data. I will only address issues that are not dealt with in the thesis' three papers. Finally, I will discuss reflexivity and the positioning of the researcher within the research and knowledge produced by the research, before making some ethical considerations.

The social 'reality': my ontological perspective and epistemological position

Theoretical and methodological choices are not independent of each other; the former has certain ontological and epistemological implications, and there is no logic in choosing a theoretical framework that goes against one's methodological convictions. Finding a focus and knowing one's stand is thus a fundamental prerequisite for sound research, be it qualitative or quantitative, as it lays foundations for key choices in designing the research project; what is to be researched, how it is to be researched, and the status of the knowledge emerging from the research are all influenced by one's ontological perspectives and epistemological position (Mason, 2002). According to Mason (2002), accounting one's ontological perspective and epistemological position is important in order to facilitate 'a habit of active reflexivity' (p. 22), urging, among other things, researchers to ask *what is the nature of the phenomena, or entities, or social 'reality' that they wish to investigate*? (ontological perspective) and *what might represent knowledge or evidence of the entities or social 'reality' that they wish to investigate?* (epistemological position).

The first question is the most fundamental question a researcher can pose on his or her research; it is so fundamental that assumptions on these matters take place prior to even identifying the research topic (Mason, 2002: 14). The previous section outlined a Halfacreean approach to rural space as the chief conceptual foundation of my research into rural tourism's negotiation, commodification and consumption of conflicting ruralities. In fact, the very research topic; rurality as something that can be negotiated, commodified, consumed, conflicted, opposed and involve conflict, is a topic that indeed is Halfacreean by virtue (cf. Halfacree's recognition of multiple notions/species of rurality with varying coherency/incoherency involved in a battle to set its mark).

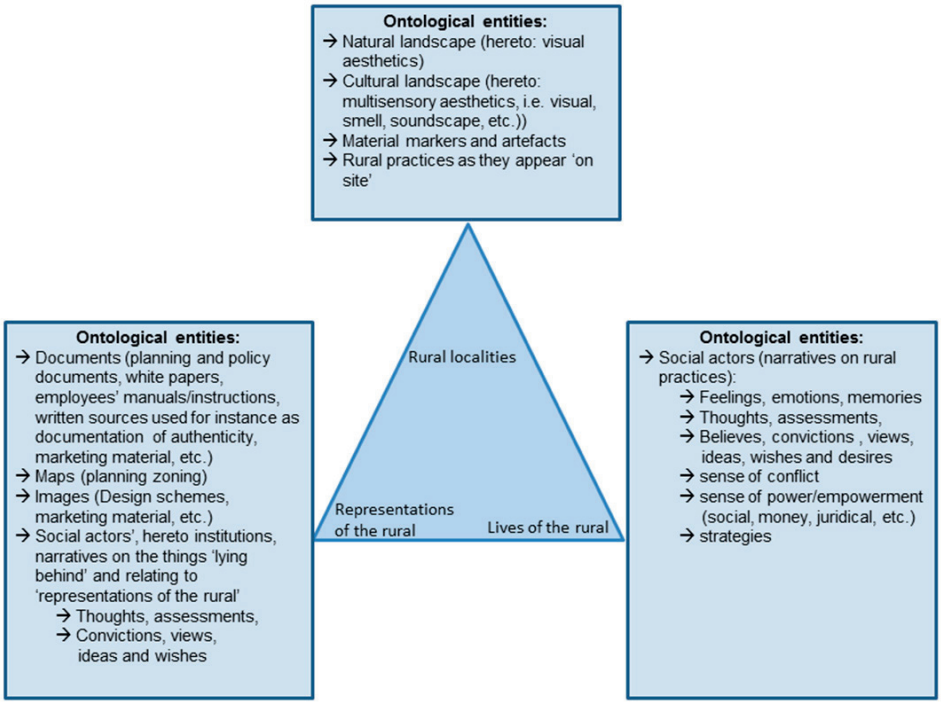
So what kind of social reality follows from such a theoretical choice? Or even, what ontological convictions make such a theoretical approach to rural issues appear prosperous? And finally, what would the epistemological status of knowledge generated by research on this social reality be?

In the philosophy of science, four ontological positions/traditions are traditionally recognised: *materialism*, which sees the world as made up entirely of matter, and that the different characteristics of material objects, people, societies etc. can, in principle, be explained in terms of the organisation of matter; *idealism*, that sees the mental reality as the finite reality; *dualism*, which distinguishes between what is accepted as existing and what, on the other hand, we are able to know; and *agnosticism*, which adheres to the position that the only acceptable ontological position is the epistemological position that we can only know things from experience (Benton and Craib, 2011).

As noted in the previous section, Halfacree's threefold architecture is influenced by Lefebvre's writings on space's social production. Indeed so fundamental, I would argue, is this Lefebvrian influence, that Lefebvre's ontology influences the ontological stand of the Halfacreean approach. To my understanding a key ontological feature with Lefebvre's approach is his attempt to bridge the traditional ontological (and consequentially also epistemological) gap between materialism (in epistemological terms: empiricism) and idealism (in epistemological terms: rationalism), cf. his notions of the illusion of transparency and the realistic illusion. His desire, so to speak, is for the union of that of the *physical*, that of the *mental* and that of the *social*. In a Lefebvrian influenced approach the 'social reality' consists of physical aspects, mental aspects and social aspects.

So, *what is the nature of the phenomena, or entities, or social 'reality'* that I have investigated? The ontological position of a Halfacreean approach with its foundations in Lefebvre, to whom ontology seems to be about bridging the ontological duality between mind (idealism) and matter (materialism), is one of *dualism* rather than agnosticism, I would argue. (cf. Benton and Craib, 2011; Sohlberg and Sohlberg, 2009). The phenomena, or entities, in the social reality investigated are accordingly a duality of matter (artefacts and other markers of materiality) and mind (ideas, emotions, reasoning, perceptions and assessments) (see figure 2).

Figure 2. The ontological entities of a Halfacreean approach



As illustrated by Figure 2, the different corners of the architecture each have their distinct ontological entities. The *representations of rural*, referring to how rural is portrayed in formal contexts, has a wide range of ontological entities: planning documents, white papers, policy and governance documents (e.g. rural development agencies' policy/requirements), tourism enterprises' employers' manuals, zoning maps and marketing materials, tour guides' narrations'/self-guide materials' and marketing material's use of

imagery and wordy appraisals. The ontological entity of the *lives of the rural*, which refers to people's reproduction of rural practices, is foremost rural people's (including tourists in the countryside) narratives as social actors, narratives on their rural lives (for tourists: their tourism experience) and the emotions, memories, thoughts, views, perceptions, ideas, wishes and assessments relayed by these narratives. Other important entities here are the social actors' sense of being in a conflict for their rurality; their sense of power/empowerment in these conflicts and their strategy/agency in these conflicts as emerging from their narratives. The natural landscape (here chiefly its visual aesthetics), the cultural landscape (along with its multisensory aesthetics, material markers/artefacts) and rural practices, as they are noticeable on-site, are ontological entities of the third dimension, or *rural locations* (i.e. the localities as inscribed through spatial practices). Due to the trialectic nature of a Halfacreean approach, the different dimension's ontological entities are interpreted, or approached, in a trialectic manner.

What about the second question Mason urged researchers to ask themselves, that of the nature of knowledge generated by their research endeavours? Is, for instance, knowledge generated about the material ontological entities that of a material reality from which it is possible to acquire an accurate, universal and objective rendering? No, the knowledge acquired about material elements cannot be accurately and objectively rendered. I would argue that this is epistemologically impossible for a social science, as the material elements which we are interested in, in our effort to understand the social world, are embedded in social contexts; implying that generating knowledge about them is also a social process conducted by social beings in a social world (Hacking, 1999). My epistemological position on the material elements is thus that of *constructivism*. Before addressing this further, my epistemological position on the elements of the mind needs to be outlined.

So, what about the nature of the knowledge on the matters of the mind? Is this knowledge an accurate and objective rendering of an objective and universal reality? No, this knowledge is also composed of social constructs. One particular interpretation is of multiple interpretations of a multitude of realities, and as ideas emerge, they are translated into practice, interpreted and recast in a social context by social beings, as is the knowledge generated about these matters. It too is generated in a social context by social beings. What about the knowledge generated on *social beings* implied by '*social* production of space', and

on their social *interactions* with other social beings; let alone their interaction with rural space's mental and physical aspects? Knowledge on such phenomena is of the social, but it is also expanding the social; making non-social elements, such as the physical aspects of the world, into social phenomena (cf. the trialectic nature of Halfacree's architecture). My epistemological stand here is also that of *constructivism*; a constructivism grounded in a material realm that is socially embedded.

Such a constructivism may perhaps appear contradictory. However, I would argue it is in tune with the ontology outlined above, and with the epistemological term 'constructivism'; in the philosophy of science, constructivism is ontologically seen as embracing idealism to some degree. Nevertheless, it often has a mix of materialism in its ontological stand too (Sohlberg and Sohlberg, 2009), which I would argue is in accordance with Lefebvre's attempts to outmanoeuvre the 'illusion of transparency' and the 'realistic illusion'. The ontological entities of the 'social reality' researched are thus not social constructs in terms of isolated mental constructs (merely ideas), but grounded with material elements (the physical and social aspects of space), as are the material elements themselves; they are researched not as an isolated material reality, but material elements grounded in social and cultural realms.

Such an epistemological stand is in fact close to the core of the epistemology of constructivism. As pointed out by Hacking (1999) ideas do not exist in a vacuum, as they inhabit a social setting, and may refer to a material reality. Likewise, this material reality does not exist in material emptiness evacuated of ideas and social contexts. As far as Hacking (1999) is concerned, what is implied with the phrase 'social construction' is not the denial of the material reality of any given objects, or phenomena, but the recognition of the social context in which the phenomena's meaning and our experiences of them is formed and exists.

As I discussed in *Theoretical perspectives*, Halfacree's architecture is seen by commentators to rematerialize the field of rural studies' understanding of rural, and rural issues (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2012b). However, a Halfacreean approach's ability to rematerialize is at an ontological level, I would argue. The dialectic (or more precisely the trialectic) between materiality, ideas and social practice is essential to the approach; re-introducing the material aspects once more as a constituent of the 'social reality'

researched. However, epistemologically, a Halfacreean rural materiality is still social by nature, with social constructs, and knowledge with multiple situations.

The fact that my research has resulted in knowledge that is generated by social processes, raises certain issues that need reflexivity and transparency (Mason, 2002; Silverman, 2011). One such issue is how the knowledge has been generated. I will therefore discuss how the data was gathered and analysed. Another issue in need of further addressing is the researcher's position. In order to facilitate a habit of reflexivity (cf. Mason, 2002), I kept a research journal, in which my reflections, considerations and choices were noted. During the project's different stages, particularly during the writing of this methodological section, this journal has been consulted.

Gathering and analysing data

Methods: generating the data

The methods by which the data is gathered, or, perhaps more precisely with my epistemological position in mind, generated rather than gathered, have to be appropriate for the task at hand (Mason, 2002). The task was: researching the consumption of rurality taking place in rural tourism (paper #1 and paper #2); researching the roles played by notions of authenticity in rural tourism's production and consumption (paper #2); and researching rural tourism's contested rural spaces (paper #3).

As mentioned in the *Introduction*, this PhD-project began with four particular observations. The implications of these observations were, as previously discussed, that there were different ruralities not necessarily 'compatible' within the same locality; that different actors or stakeholders would have conflicting agendas or wishes for the rural development; and that rural tourism constituted a well-suited lens through which to study this, as it is an economic activity in which certain notions of rurality, certain rural spaces, certain rural artefacts and certain rural practices are commodified and consumed, and by that acquire custodial rights as it were to rural space and adherent notions. Such a commodification is likely to include some degree of design, or active consideration of what would constitute an attractive rural tourism product, and, likewise, some consideration by the tourists on what rural tourism product they want to consume, and perhaps the reasons they want to consume a particular product or not. In other words, rural tourism was

regarded as bringing to the surface the very issues I wanted to study. In terms of data-generation, this outset had certain implications in terms of choosing which study areas to research, what data to gather and from which perspectives to approach the research.

The researched study areas were chosen through *strategic sampling* (cf. Mason, 2002; Thagaard, 2003), based on criteria following from the aforementioned observations and their implications. This meant that *rural tourism needed to take place within the study areas*, and there needed to be *voices of opposing ruralities* present. However, was the strategic selection to be choosing study areas that could be regarded as *typically* or *specially* branded by these issues (cf. Thagaard, 2003)? As a core task of my PhD-project has been to research the social production of contested rural spaces, I assessed that choosing areas specially branded by the issues of interest would be fitting.

The reasoning behind this strategy was that choosing study areas especially marked by the issues I wanted to study, would make what I intended to research more detectable. Thus I went looking for areas that quite recently had made the transition from being dominated by primary industries to becoming dominated by rural tourism. Furthermore, based on the conceptual assumption of consuming the rural, I also wanted the area's tourism to be based on the cultural heritage of the 'old rurality' of primary industries, as the theoretical framework points to the commodification of these as important in the consumption of the rural.

Additionally, I suspected that such commodification would have a greater potential to bring contestations to the surface, as people have different emotions; memories; perceptions of, and wishes for, their rural lives (cf. Halfacree, 2006, 2007; Jones, 1995). So, when a rurality from a certain perspective is brushed up and polished, and championed as *the rurality* of a specific area, opposition; contestation and ushering of other ruralities will follow. This was an important consideration in the research design as I wanted to study areas in which the tourism was overtly opposed by identifiable actors. This was important as one of the core tasks of the PhD-project was studying conflicts surrounding those captured by Halfacree's (and Lefebvre's) metaphor 'trial by space' (cf. paper #3).

Another issue to consider was the *number of study areas* needed; I wanted more than one in order to make the generated data broad and robust. On the other side, the sheer volume of data generated had to be manageable, so not to potentially compromise the quality of, either the fieldwork, or the analysis. It was judged that having two study areas

would suffice in terms of robustness, and keeping the data generated at a manageable level for a project employing only one researcher.

After interrogating friends and colleagues about their recent rural tourism experiences; browsing the web for web-portals and web-pages of Norwegian tourism enterprises/entrepreneurs, travel guides to Norway and searching media data bases (A-text); as well as talking to researchers knowledgeable about rural tourism, three candidates emerged: *'Farmington'*, *'Codville'* and '*Western Islands'*. After explorative fieldwork in each of these study areas; interviewing key informants (municipality officials and heads of tourism boards); surveying tourism marketing material and driving around scouting, getting a first-hand impression of the candidates; Farmington and Codville were chosen as study areas. For more details on Farmington and Codville, see papers #2 and #3.

As mentioned above, the four observations from which the underlying idea of the PhD-project ignited, had consequences for what data to be generated, and from what perspectives. Moreover, my ontological perspective and epistemological position had certain implications for the research methods chosen. The ontological entities previously outlined (see Figure 2) constitute the social reality to be researched. Consequently, my research design and choice of methods needed to ensure that the knowledge generated by the research was on this social reality. With a Halfacreean approach, these ontological entities are of the *material realm* (landscape, material markers, artefacts and rural practices' mark on the locality), the *mental realm* (ideas, notions, perceptions, assessments, evaluations, judgements, etc.) and the *social realm* (practice, social interaction, agency, etc.); all joined in a trialectic manner.

One consequence of such an ontological perspective is that each data-source is to be regarded as embodying access to information from each of these realms. Also following, is that a wide range of data-sources had to be considered: documents, maps, landscapes, imagery, narratives/personal accounts, etc. Another outcome is that the issues being researched are multidimensional. Consequentially, I required data-sources that allowed me to generate knowledge from multiple perspectives: *institutional sources* (policy, planning/zoning, laws, by-laws, other regulations, enterprises, rural development agencies, tourism offices, etc.), *personal sources* (entrepreneurs, tourists, residents, farmers, business owners, etc.) as well as *artefacts* (the material markers employed as signs/markers/identifiers

of the rural and not rural: buildings, scenery, people, clothing, boats, fishing vessels, tractors, practices' material (hereto also visual) 'imprint', etc.).

I assessed a multi-method approach (cf. Mason, 2002; Thagaard, 2003) as appropriate to generate data that reflected this multidimensionality. The methods by which the study's data were generated were interviews (chief method); document studies; a quantitative survey (Farmington, only (see paper #1)); 'informal' observations (a consequence of doing fieldwork) and one formal, overt observation at a tourism enterprise (see paper #2). The key considerations supporting the different choices made in the deployment of these methods are accounted for in the thesis' papers and will thus not be dwelt on here (see papers #1, #2 and #3 for details). Nevertheless, there are one set of considerations and choices warranting further accounting for than that allowed for by the limited space of a journal paper; those regarding the sampling of tourism enterprises. I judged that a strategic sampling logic was appropriate. In Codville, a fairly small community, the selection was rather self-evident as only one was present. However, which enterprises to sample in Farmington, a much larger study area than Codville, was not straight-forward. The remainder of this section will thus be devoted to the Farmington-sample.

In Farmington, the explorative fieldwork showed that the *regional dimension* was an important element when considering the aspects the study was to research; a regional development organisation was not only an important 'voice' in the area's rural discourse, but it also had an outspoken objective to develop rural tourism, facilitate its integration with agriculture, local food production and the area's cultural heritage. It thus became apparent that having focal points in Farmington only would be meaningless as its trial by space was integrated, quite literarily, with that of the rest of the region (see paper #3). This had one particular methodological consequence: the study needed focal points outside of Farmington; as its trial by space was regional, so my research focus had to be too.

The regional development organisation emerged quite early as a 'master weaver' in the study area's rural discourses. It made sense therefor to use the official rural tourism catalogue of the region, which was edited and published by the regional development organisation, as a population from which to sample appropriate tourism enterprises to constitute the focal points of the data generation. The catalogue provided promotional spaces to the region's rural tourism enterprises, allowing for promotion through text and imagery. The number of selected enterprises needed to be limited in order to ensure that

the sheer quantity of data generated was manageable. Nevertheless, the sample needed to be large enough to be robust in terms of the range of rural commodification cases, and big enough to allow for drop-outs. Nine tourism enterprises were strategically sampled from the catalogue. In addition, the key tourism enterprise in Farmington, Farmington Ltd. (see paper #3) was strategically sampled. This enterprise was not presented in the development organisation's catalogue (criteria will be discussed below).

A key criterion of the sampling of the 10 enterprises was to acquire cases through which the social production of rural space, its commodification and consumption could be exposed. It was paramount to ensure that the cases constituted a spectrum of commodification of rural; based on how they presented themselves in the catalogue, the goal was to have enterprises that commodified one or more of the following: *local food*, *rural heritage, summer farm*, *farm* and *art*; all emerging from the explorative fieldwork as important countryside capital exploited by the region's rural tourism. Another criterion was that the enterprises needed to be not only up-and-running in terms of tourism activity, but also having tourists visiting at the time of fieldwork (in order to interview their tourists). 'Farmington Ltd.' was sampled because the explorative fieldwork showed that this enterprise not only had been a principal actor in Farmington's development from pastoral land to tourist town (making it relevant in terms of production and consumption of rural space), but also envisioned a rurality contrasting with that envisioned by the regional development organisation (making it relevant in terms of the project's focus on contested spaces).

Of the sample of 10 tourism enterprises, one initially selected summer farm based enterprise had to be replaced during fieldwork as it turned out that it did not meet the criteria of being an 'up-and-running tourism enterprise'. As this particular enterprise was located in the heart of the study area (Farmington), I decided to change it for its neighbouring tourism enterprise, which also was a provider of summer farm experiences ('Display Farm' in in papers #2 and #3). Three enterprises were dropped during the early stages of fieldwork: a farm, a summer farm and an art-gallery. The farm was dropped as I had, by then, already generated data at two farm tourism enterprises; making the assessment that the farm-based rural tourism was sufficiently represented in the data for the purpose of the study. The summer farm was dropped as its owner turned out to be one of the employees I had to interview as a representative of the development organisation.

The art-gallery was dropped as its owners were having a baby at the time of fieldwork. The total number of tourism enterprises serving as focal points into the region's social production of rural space, and its commodification and consumption is thus seven: 'Folk Museum', 'Display Farm', 'Heritage Farm', 'Goat Farm', 'Banqueting Farm', 'Mountain Foods' and 'Farmington Ltd.'. In the thesis' papers I have analysed four of these: 'Folk Museum', 'Display Farm', 'Heritage Farm' and 'Goat Farm' (see Papers #1 and #2).

The reason for this is foremost that different classes of data emerged from the seven cases during the fieldwork. Data generated at 'Farmington Ltd.' and 'Mountain Foods' constitutes contextual data on the production/commodification of rurality. Here, only the tourism host/entrepreneur was interviewed. Data generated at 'Folk Museum', 'Display Farm', 'Heritage Farm' and 'Goat Farm' is data that would 'carry' an analysis of the commodification and consumption (cf. paper #2, but also paper #1). Here hosts and tourists were interviewed. The final class is data generated from the threefold perspective of 'tourism hosts', 'tourists' and 'local residents'. One enterprise falls, with certain reservations into this category ('Display Farm') (addressed below). The original plan was to generate data from these three perspectives at 'Banqueting Farm' too. However, it had no scheduled guests during the fieldwork period.

This stratification emerged as the fieldwork progressed. 'Folk Museum', 'Display Farm', 'Heritage Farm' and 'Goat Farm' (cf. paper #2) proved to be feasible cases to recruit tourist informants at. More importantly, they emerged as those of the seven cases that were most suitable to expose the social production of rural space, its commodification and consumption as they ensured an intriguing spectrum of rural tourism products with particular relevance for the project's focus: a formally authenticated authenticity ('Folk Museum'), a rural tourism product to which an ambience of authenticity was important ('Heritage Farm'), a rural tourism product commodifying contemporary agriculture ('Goat Farm') and a rural tourism product in a bustling tourism setting ('Display Farm'). I interviewed local residents at two of the seven cases: 'Banqueting farm' and 'Display Farm'. The reasons why I chose to interview residents at only two were partly practical and partly strategic. 'Banqueting farm' was chosen as it was the only one of the sampled focus points with neighbours close to where its touristic activity took place. Nevertheless, the data generated at 'Banqueting farm' has only been employed as contextual, as the zoning issue at

Farmington (cf. paper #3) proved to be a better case to analyse the production of contested rural spaces.

In terms of local residents and 'Display Farm' there is a 'twist' in the research design. As it is a recently emerged town, and as my interest was in the anticipated dynamics between old (farming) and new (tourism), I suspected that the nearby community of 'Farmville' would constitute the best community from which to interview residents (as Farmington is the old summer pasture of Farmville farms) and that the tourism-driven development had left these pastures marginalised (cf. paper #3). The decision not to interview residents in Farmington constitutes a potential weakness with the study design (and thereby a potential source of destabilisation of the data quality). However, I would argue that it is a minor weakness; the conflict between the 'old' rurality and that of the 'new' actually analysed, was a specific 'hot spot' of these clashing species of rurality, the zoning conflict analysed in paper #3. Here the knowledge generated from interviewing Farmville residents provides contextual information. The data carrying the analysis, however, was generated by interviewing strategically sampled informants; the landowners who had rights to the property in question. These were recruited after a tip from a key informant (see paper #3). Nevertheless, Farmington residents are represented in the data in the form of documents (i.e. statements in formal records generated by the planning process). In some ways this is an epistemological strength within the data, as one of the things documents and other written sources generated prior to the research project provide is representations (of a given reality) generated independently of the research process (Thagaard, 2003). In other words, these, as well as other written sources, constitute a version of the land zone conflict that is generated outside that of the research projects' data generating social processes (see paper #3).

Analysing and interpreting the data

As discussed in *The social 'reality': my ontological perspective and epistemological position* the knowledge generated by the research is situated, as it is social: it is about social phenomena, and the data on which the research's findings rests are generated by social processes in a particular social context. Likewise the analysis is social, I would argue, especially when the findings are to be published in peer-reviewed journals (will be discussed further below). The consequence of this epistemological position is that the stages of analysis and interpretation of the data do not sequentially follow the data collection in a continuous

process. Instead, analysis takes place at every stage of the project, indeed even in the midst of data generation (Mason, 2002). The questions of who to interview, what topics to make inquiries on in the interviews, what is to be followed up on in the interviews and how, and when to stop fieldwork illustrate the interpretative nature of qualitative methods. According to Mason (2002) rigour and a habit of reflexivity ensure that this potential mess of social and floating relativity qualifies as research. Other authors on qualitative methods and methodology make similar points, although there seems to be little agreement on how formalised and detailed the rigour should be (cf. Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Feyerabend, 2010)

My position on rigour is that every choice of significance (e.g. research design, which focal point to select, which informants to sample, etc.) has to have a reason that is traceable to the research topic and the study's 'social reality'. Another key aspect in my take on rigour in qualitative research is that every analytical interpretation and finding should be traceable to the generated data and the conceptual foundations of the study. With this approach to rigour the qualitative method employed should be flexible enough to learn from the field as one goes about generating new knowledge, while preventing my approach from lapsing into the laissez-faire of Feyerabend's anything goes theory of knowledge (cf. Benton and Craib, 2011).

The previous section accounted for the reasoning underlying key choices not accounted for by the thesis' papers. My attempt in these accounts was to justify that these key choices in fact were linked to the research topic, and that the choices made would not compromise the ability of the data generated to constitute the empirical foundation of the thesis' analytical endeavours into these matters.

There were several formal analytical stages in which the data was analysed in the project. The first was after the explorative fieldwork, before the final selection of study areas. Here the recordings of the interviews were listened through, while taking notes summarising issues relevant for the strategic choice at hand. The key informant interviews from Codville and Farmington was then subsequently transcribed and added to the data pool. Between each field stay I listened through the recordings made in the previous field stay, making notes summarising issues seeming particularly relevant. The interviews were transcribed and all of the data was imported to software facilitating the analysis of qualitative data (NVivo). The data comprises documents, interview transcripts and field notes which recorded among other things the interview-context and my impressions and

notes from scouting (doing onsite fieldwork), and photos taken during the fieldworks (see paper #2). Also imported into NVivo, and employed as contextual data were summaries made from listening through my recorded oral fieldwork reflections and commentaries.

In terms of analysing, I used NVivo's functions for categorising the data (mainly free nodes and tree nodes, but in the early stages of the analysis I also employed its functions for classification in terms of getting acquainted with the data). The categorisation was cross-sectional (or categorical indexing), in which the data set is categorised by a consistent system of coding (cf. Mason, 2002). This was done in several stages going back and forth between different interview transcripts, different data sources (i.e. written sources, field notes, summaries of my commentaries, but also the photos to 'refresh' my visual memory) and between data and the theoretical framework of the study.

First the categorisation was explorative, guided by the four observations spurring the project idea and the fieldwork experiences of trying to employ the theoretical framework on the empirical world. The purpose in these early stages of the analysis was to form a publication strategy, which was based on assessing the data generated (what topics were covered and how well they were covered) and a re-examination of the relevant literature in order to identify gaps or weaknesses that my data had potential to contribute to.

A key analytical assessment in the first stages of analysis was to identify topics in the data and assess whether they would be publishable. Of this early categorisation three topics emerged as promising to pursue further: tourism research's lack of empirically based research on tourists' consumption of 'local food' (paper #1); weaknesses with tourism research's 'authenticity' as a conceptual platform from which to analytically understand consumption and commodification of (notions of) countryside authenticity (paper #2), and weaknesses with the Halfacreean approach in terms of analytical sensitivity towards social actors (paper #3).

The Halfacreean architecture's lack of sensitivity towards social actors' dealings in 'trial by space' emerged quite early in the fieldwork as an apparent weakness with the approach, as informants were discussing issues not easily organised by the architecture (see *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons* and paper #3). Likewise, the issue that tourism research's various approaches to authenticity were not easily able to facilitate an analytical understanding of the commodification and consumption of the countryside (see paper #2) was actualised quite early on. In my

opinion there is little value in a conceptual model/conceptual understanding if it cannot be employed empirically or used analytically, either directly or reasonably operationalised. Thus the topics of two of the papers emerged as conceptually motivated; a motivation occurring from my efforts to ground these abstractions, as it were, by employing them to organise and understand something empirical (i.e. the data and my experiences from generating the data). The third topic (paper #1) was motivated by a lack of empirically based analysis in the international tourism literature.

The data was then categorised and coded further towards these three topics and their adherent conceptual foundations, analytically following both *theme/topics* (conflict, rurality, authenticity, money, tourism product, preferences etc.) and *case* (i.e. persons and institutions, e.g. Codville Ltd., Farmington Ltd., 'Hillary', the key owner of Codville Ltd., 'Lisa', 'Marie', 'John' etc.) (cf. my ambition of socially fleshing out a Halfacreean approach) as well as *patterns* (links and cross-references, did any of the persons and institutions pop up in other contexts and was there a deeper relationship between issues?).

According to Thagaard (2003) the process of coding is an interaction between the researcher and the data. On one side, the organisation of the material rests on the researcher's preliminary understanding of the material, while on the other the reading of the data develops an understanding of the content of the categories. The data was then analysed by open and axial coding (cf. Corbin and Strauss, 2008) following deductive and inductive principles (cf. Miles and Huberman, 1994). There was dialectic between the deductive and the inductive in my coding. Coding in this sense is very much an integrated part of the analytical reading of the data.

As mentioned above, I see the process of publishing in journals as yet another social process in social research (cf. Paasi, 2013). The data and the analysis are directed towards perceived gaps in the literature, and its presentation is mediated by journal requirements, reviewers and journal editors. It is here that the social nature of scientific publishing surfaces, as it tests the integrity of the research (or more precisely the paper's presentation of the research), the researchers' need/desire for the paper to get accepted (in other words, testing the researcher's integrity), and the blind reviewers and their insights. In these mediations my principle of rigour, accounted for above, was key: any rewrite or reviewer input could not compromise the analytical argument's grounding in data. This does not

imply that the review process did not have any impact on the papers; both paper #2 and paper #3 benefited significantly from input of anonymous reviewers.

Reflexivity: Researcher's position

Reflexivity is to some degree associated with feminist methodologies, as it is a strategy to position the researcher within the investigated research topic (Rose, 1997). Positioning was advocated as a way to end the illusion of the so called god-trick of science, i.e. the seeming ability to produce universal knowledge, while distanced from what was understood. Feminist methodologies, argued, on the other hand, that all knowledge is an interpretation from somewhere and therefore embodies certain power relations, values, agendas etc. In other words, knowledge was seen to have a standpoint; a position. Such an epistemology was not exclusive to feminist approaches though (cf. Marxian standpoint epistemology (Benton and Craib, 2011)). In any case, it has become a widespread strategy in much geographical research for the researcher to position himself/herself within, or relative to, the researched field (e.g. Bye, 2010; Flemsæter, 2009).

Reflexivity is however being recognised as a problematic strategy to achieve positionality (Crang, 2002; Moser, 2008; Rose, 1997):

> Reflexivity has become something of a shibboleth – no one will brag about being unreflexive – but it has been critiqued for implying the eventual goal of a fully known social situation, when claiming to know even our own motives is difficult enough (Crang, 2002: 651)

The key reason why reflexivity is being debated is that employing it becomes somewhat of a rhetorical trick, casting the illusion that everything is known, indeed knowable, about the researcher's positionality; the power imbalances between researched and researcher; and where the researcher's interpretations comes from. This trick thus builds a different kind of illusion; that knowledge emerging through transparent reflexivity reduces the 'distance' between researched and researcher (Benton and Craib, 2011; Mason, 2002; Rose, 1997). The literature on positionality is also criticized for focusing too much on social characteristics (gender, class, etc.), overlooking the researcher's personality and social skills (Moser, 2008).

Nevertheless, reflexivity is important, I would argue, from an epistemological point of view. In *The social 'reality': my ontological perspective and epistemological position* I outlined the

epistemological position of 'socially constructed knowledge'. Such an epistemological position is undeniably a mess of values, ideologies, infinite interpretations and viewpoints, agendas, relativisms and possibilities for what I judge to be research gone bad; research tweaked more or less consciously to fit either one's own agenda or the agenda of others. Here a reflexive habit can be a tool to keep track of the researcher's self/position. I approach reflexivity thus, not as a strategy to reduce the distance between myself as the researcher and the researched (i.e. as a strategy to position myself in my research field), as I judge this to be a task that is ontologically impossible; ontologically I am not a part of the social reality I research and my interpretations of the social reality studied will thus always be those of an outsider's. I view myself as researcher, not as possessing an objective godlike view that comes from nowhere, but as an outsider trying to get a glimpse of the insiders' situation in the social reality, and their assessments of their world, with the aid of research methods and theoretical frameworks. Epistemologically, however, it is another matter of course, as the researcher and the researched are part of the same social processes, brought together by the processes of knowledge generation.

I have approached reflexivity as a habit of necessity, in order to keep track of myself in the data generation and the analysis. It is a strategy to provide reassurance that the analysis is grounded in the empirical field as emerged via the project's data generation, and not towards my own a priori prejudices. I deploy it thus as a tool to check that I have learned from the field. Certainly, most of what has been written in this methodological chapter has its origin in the reflexive habit following the research.

Information about the project was first provided to the informants (except tourist informants) in a formal letter describing the research and my intentions (see appendix), before recapping this information as the interview began (the tourist informants were given this information for the first time as the interview began). In this way the presentation of the project along with the interview guide constitutes a frame for the interviews. In the interviews I was trying to establish a tone with my informants that would best allow me to elicit the information required. My intention was to keep the interviews as informal as possible, where the informant spoke as freely and undisturbed as possible. The goal supporting much of my behaviour in the interviews was to facilitate an ambience of trust. In most of the interviews this adaption of my presentation of me, as well as my behaviour,

was within what I would judge as normal for social interactions between strangers. For most of the interviews I thus judge my position to be but minor.

However, in four of the interviews regarding the cases of contested spaces (zoning in Farmington, and the conflict between 'Hillary' and Codville Ltd., see paper #3) my position may have played a more significant part in the data generation. In the Codville interviews I expressed sympathy and understanding towards the informant's position and assessments in the interviews, with both sides of the conflict. The strategy was to come off as someone the informant could confide in. The interviews in which I most actively and deliberately used my position to negotiate trust were the interviews with the key stakeholders of Farmington's land zone conflict; especially in the interview with 'Lisa' (see paper #3), who was very cautious. I was conscious of her fear of the consequences of information being traced back to her.

Some ethical considerations

Doing research presents ethical issues. Particularly doing qualitative research, with its kind of data that is not reducible to numbers and charts, and its often holistic analysis and presentations, in which the voice of the informant, and thereby also the informant's person, is brought to the very surface (Mason, 2002). These issues or dilemmas emerge at every stage of the research process: the interviews, the analytical process and in the dissemination of the research. Furthermore, they may regard principles for sound research (Thagaard, 2003).

As this project was to keep a register of personal information to be electronically used and stored, the project needed to be reported to Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) who sanctions the soundness of measures taken to meet ethical requirements to protect personal information (see appendix). Ethical issues may also regard ethical responsibilities for those participating in the study (Thagaard, 2003). A study that generates information on the various processes of contestation and conflicts at an actor level, presents significant ethical issues. The researcher needs not only to be cognisant of these issues, but also needs to consider active responses to them, in order to adhere to the ethical principles guiding research.

In terms of outbound ethical responsibilities there are three overall principles: informed consent, being conscious of the consequences that participation in the research

may have for the informants, and confidentiality. The first principle is rooted in the principle of the autonomy of the person, i.e. the right to be in control of one's own situation and the right to make free decisions regarding one's person. In order for an informant to make such choices he/she needs to be informed about the purpose of the research; the key issues to be researched; the principle of voluntary participation and the possibility to withdraw from the study at any time (Thagaard, 2003).

I presented information regarding informed consent in written form at the first contact (see appendix); then in the phone-call in which participation was negotiated; and then finally, again orally as the interview was about to begin. The tourist informants were presented with this information once, as they were recruited on site. Here, however, no personal information was registered.

There follows from the second principle – an awareness of the consequences that participation in the research may have for the informants – a need to assess what negative consequences participation may have for the informants. In this project, with its study of contested ruralities, this is closely linked to the third principle; confidentiality. Confidentiality refers to the integrity of the protection of the informants' privacy. This principle involves a need to treat information generated with caution so that the identities of the participants remain concealed, and thus the identities of the informants need to be anonymised when research is disseminated. It also means that information generated in an interview cannot be made available to others in a manner that discloses the true identity of the informants. However, confidentiality is a difficult principle as the strategies required to conform to it, may in fact undermine the research's inbound ethical responsibilities (Thagaard, 2003). At a basic level, in order to meet the principle of confidentiality, I was the only one who had access to the cross-reference list, where personal data about the informants were paired with the alias given to protect their true identity.

However, research in small and transparent communities requires more difficult choices and assessments than this simple file technique. In some of the interviews, those done in public spaces in the study areas, I had to point out to the informant (as part of the informed consent) that confidentiality in the local community could not be guaranteed, as the interview took place in a public space.

What really demanded special measures was my research interest into the conflicts at Codville and Farmington. This research provided intimate knowledge (at an actor level) of

the on-going conflicts in these small, transparent communities. The potential for negative impact on these informants (particularly those closest to the conflicts) had to be assessed as considerable. These negative impacts would be, as I judged it, foremost linked to confidentiality breaches. Measures to reduce these potential negative outcomes were thus taken, in order to minimise the risk of compromising the confidentiality. These measures had implications also for the papers not dealing with the conflict (cf. paper #1 and #2) as they were to be presented as part of a whole (this thesis). To meet the requirement for confidentiality, and the responsibility to avoid negative consequences for the informants, the study areas needed to be anonymised.

But what kind of measures should be employed to ensure study area anonymity? Was I to conceal contextual information as well as giving the informants aliases (the logic being: the fewer characteristics given, the smaller the chance for anyone to identify the study areas and thereby also the informants)? The literature does provide, in extreme cases, justification to even make up cases or information to aid the concealment (McDowell, 1998). In making these judgments however, I would argue, one needs to balance these needs against to comply with the inbound ethical principles of research. I assessed that the conflict cases studied here, and the potential negative consequences for the informants, did not warrant going to extreme lengths to ensure study area anonymity. The alternative would be to disclose the nationality of the study areas. However, that would make it difficult to get the study published, as one of the leading principles of qualitative methodologies is 'contextual information' (as indeed the reviewers of paper #3 required more of).

I believe the balance between research needs (i.e. contextual information and adhering to principles of sound research) and the need to conceal the study areas in order to protect the confidentiality of the informants is achieved, so long as the research is published only in international journals that are not open access. Another measure to secure confidentiality is to refrain from communicating findings and elements from the analysis directly back to the researched communities. This goes against some of the strategies normally used to balance negative consequences arising from the participation (cf. Thagaard, 2003). Nevertheless, I consider fulfilling my responsibilities in terms of confidentiality as paramount in this respect.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is, as stated in the *Introduction*, to address three sets of research questions. The first set comprises two research questions regarding *consumption of 'countryside capital'*, while the second set comprises two research questions focusing on *authenticating countryside capital in rural tourism's commodification and consumption.* The last set consists of four research questions interrogating the *contested spaces of rural tourism*. These sets of research questions are addressed by three papers: a paper on consumption (paper #1) addressing the first set of research questions; a paper on consumption and authenticity (paper #2) addressing the first and the second set of research questions; and the final paper (paper #3), addressing the last set of research questions.

The first paper sets the stage, documenting what rural tourists consume and what elements of the countryside capital are most important for the travel decision and the tourist experience. The second paper, with its aim to analytically deconstruct the roles that notions of countryside/rural authenticity play in rural tourism's production, delves deeper into rural tourism's commodification and consumption of the rural. The third paper goes yet further, taking a look beyond the rural idyll of rural tourism, analysing the social struggles lying beneath rural tourism's commodified rural spaces.

In the following, a brief summary of each paper is presented before I turn to each set of research questions, and summarise each paper's contribution to answering the respective research questions. Finally, some implications of the thesis are outlined and discussed.

The papers – a brief overview

Paper #1: Frisvoll, S., M. Forbord and A. Blekesaune (under review): An empirical investigation of tourists' consumption of local food in rural tourism: a Norwegian case. Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism.

The thesis' first paper explores tourist consumption of countryside capital on a set of variables, measuring their consumption of local food, as well as the importance of other countryside capital in the decision to travel to the countryside and to the tourist experience. The paper's key analytical focus is on consumption of 'local food' for three reasons: firstly, 'local food' is, as outlined in the thesis' *Introduction,* one of the joints between tourism and

rural policy; secondly, food is, as discussed in *Consuming the rural*, a recognised part of the rural idyll (cf. 'idyll on a plate'); and thirdly, there are few empirically based studies analysing tourists' consumption of food (see paper #1).

The evidence supporting the claim that food is an integral part in tourists' quest for the rural idyll, and that it therefore constitutes a viable strategy for rural economies traditionally dominated by primary industry to transition to the service economy, seems thus insubstantial. Food in terms of tourism is a complex and multi-facetted phenomenon. On one side, at its most basic level, it is something essential to the body as nourishment. On the other side, it may be integral to the tourist experience. Indeed, in its most extreme level food may even constitute the purpose of travel (cf. culinary tourism (Hall and Sharples, 2003)). Moreover, it is elusively embedded within society, culture, politics, institutions, and economy.

Although food's complexity is conceptually explored within tourism studies, empirical investigations into the consumption of food are few and far between. Paper #1 presents an empirical analysis employing both quantitative and qualitative data, finding that only a minority of rural tourism's tourists have a special interest in food. Nevertheless, for those with an interest, we find that local food plays an important role to their tourist experiences. Furthermore, the study suggests that local food is a means employed by parents in their parenting; educating their children in the ways of 'the rural idyll'. We judge the research design to allow for the findings to be generalised to tourists travelling in Norway.

Paper #2: Frisvoll, S. (2013) Conceptualising authentication of ruralness. Annals of Tourism Research 43 (0), 272-296.

The goal of paper #2 is to put forth and demonstrate a conceptual impetus, or a roadmap as it were, for how notions of authenticity in rural tourism could be approached analytically. The motivation for this is fourfold: firstly, authenticity is, as demonstrated in the thesis' section *Consuming the rural* a key notion of the 'rural idyll'; secondly, the nostalgic longing for the authentic countryside is, as also discussed in *Consuming the rural*, believed to be a key motivation for the desire to consume the rural; thirdly, authenticity is, as shown in *Consuming the rural,* regarded as a component of the set of moral parameters that rural (tourism) experiences are judged by (cf. 'rural gaze'); and finally, authenticity is, as discussed

in the thesis' section *Authenticity*, a problematic concept as the debate on authenticity has been unable to deliver a conceptual route for analysing the workings of such notions in rural tourism. I would argue that without an analytical approach to authenticity and rural tourism, researchers risk merely reproducing the cultural myths of the countryside's authenticity, instead of analytically deconstructing such myths' fusion with the commodification and consumption of the rural.

Paper #2 suggests a framework to analyse rural tourism's authentication of ruralness that is operationalised from a Halfacreean-approach to rural space, in which, as discussed in *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence*, ideas, locality and practices interact. The reason why I argue a Halfacreean perspective is well-suited is that in such an approach to rural space, assumptions regarding the authenticity of the countryside are precisely that, an assumption of the rural – a representation on rurality, which is fused with rural practices and rural localities. This framework has thus the potential to analyse the coherency between what is expected/anticipated, what is consumed, what is intended to be consumed and the tourism products' coherency with the surrounding countryside.

This framework is then deployed on empirical data from four Norwegian rural tourism cases. This application demonstrates the analytical abilities of the framework, uncovering, among other aspects (will be discussed further in the subsequent section *Beyond the idyll of rural tourism)*, the political nature of authentication and the role of rural tourism consumption in authenticating the 'rural idyll' as the 'authentic' ruralness to a new generation. As these findings stem from information generated by qualitative data from strategically sampled cases and informants, they cannot be statistically generalised. However, I judge the study design and the analytical procedures, as outlined and discussed in the thesis' section *Methodology: Researching Contested Spaces* and in paper #2, to allow for theoretical generalisations.

Paper #3: Frisvoll, S. (2012): Power in the production of spaces transformed by rural tourism. Journal of Rural Studies 28 (4), 447-457

The two first papers deal with tourists' consumption and tourism entrepreneurs'/hosts' commodification of the rural. However, in the thesis' *Introduction* I discussed the observation that the kind of rural commodified and consumed within rural tourism is not necessarily compatible within the same rural locality as other legitimate rural

developments and desires for rural lives may be present. As discussed in the thesis' section *Approaches to rural: from essentialism to hybrid tactics of co-constituting natures*, rural studies recognises that there are multiple ruralities and desires for rural developments and rural lives attached the same territory. Moreover, rural geography recognises, as discussed, that some are supressed while others dominate rural space.

The third paper turns the search light on the trial by space (cf. the section *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence*). Its aim is to analyse the contestation and incoherency between different species of rurality battling for hegemony in the wake of rural tourism developments. Such a perspective on rural space is a Halfacreean approach's forte; it is what sets it apart from the alternative approaches to rurality in the rural studies (cf. the thesis' *Theoretical Perspectives*). However, as discussed in the section *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture: some pros and cons*, I argue that Halfacree's conceptualisation embodies certain weaknesses when it comes to its ability to analytically recognise social actors, their agency, their interaction, their actions and the workings of power at the analytical level of social actors. This is a shortcoming that, to my understanding, risks jeopardising the architecture's ability to interrogate rural space.

In fact, I argue it cripples the architecture's ability to interrogate the localised processes of rural change as social actors, their interactions, their struggles and the workings of power remain in the approach's blind zone, consequentially masking these and thereby rendering the localised fault lines of rurality analytically out of reach. The consequence of this masking is that to employ the Halfacreean architecture to understand rural change's spatial outcomes is to seriously underplay the social consequences of rural change, instead of aiding in understanding actors' actions, agency, interactions and struggles within rural change's trial by space.

Paper #3 suggests a conceptual extension to Halfacree's architecture comprising three hubs through which the analysis will gain sensitivity towards power, and with that, also towards social actors, their agency, their interactions and their struggles in the trial by space of rural change. This is done as an attempt to give Halfacree's tool for interrogating the social production of rural space analytical sensitivity to the actors engaged in the processes implied by social production. In order to demonstrate the analytical potential of the extended Halfacree approach, the conceptual model is applied to data from Farmington and Codville; two communities rapidly changing from being dominated by primary industry

to becoming tourism destinations. I judge the study design and the analytical procedures, as outlined and discussed in the section *Methodology: Researching Contested Spaces* and paper #3, to allow for theoretical generalisations.

Beyond the idyll of rural tourism: addressing the research questions

Set 1: Tourists' consumption of countryside capital

Research question 1-A: What 'countryside capital' is consumed by tourists?

In paper #1, we found that the tourists participating in our survey were reporting that the opportunity to consume what may be termed 'countryside capital' indeed was important to their decision to travel to the Farmington region. In the section *Consuming the rural* 'countryside capital' was defined as the countryside assets that are capitalised by rural tourism via commodification and consumption. In our study, the most important countryside capital in term of tourists' motivation to travel to a rural region was the possibility to experience nature and activities in nature (76 per cent of the respondents), with 'rest and relaxation' as the second most important reason (66 per cent). That nature and cultural landscape are important for tourists is a finding shared by other studies (see paper #1). In terms of the more cultural aspects of the countryside, 45 per cent reported the cultural landscape as important, while 28 per cent stated the opportunity to experience local life, culture and cultural events as important (this kind of cultural consumption is analysed further in paper #2). 24 per cent of respondents stated that eating or experiencing food from the region was important.

As discussed in paper #1, we found in terms of tourists' consumption of local food that the tourists most inclined to buy local food were tourists traveling with family, children and friends, and particularly tourists traveling with children under the age of 18. Also previous knowledge of the region seems to increase the likelihood of a tourist consuming local food. This is as could be expected from the tourism research literature on the subject, as discussed in paper #1. More interesting is our finding that tourists who had, prior to travel, made a conscious decision to visit the studied region were more inclined to consume local food than those who were visiting on the off-chance. Also interesting, I would argue, is our finding that none of the variables 'nationality', 'town dweller' or 'owner of holiday

property' produced significant results in the multivariate analysis; although the reliability of nationality's lacking significance could be questioned (see paper #1). We also found that tourists *served meals containing local food* were different to the tourists *buying local food*. Tourists served food tended to travel with friends or in a group as part of an organised tour. Those least inclined to be served/or buy prepared meals containing local food were in fact tourists traveling with family/children.

I would speculate, on the basis of our findings in paper #1, that there is a correlation between different types of tourists and the likelihood of them being interested in local food. So, not only did the survey show that at different interview locations the likelihood that tourist-respondents had bought local food varied, but also that there is difference between the tourists in terms of the likelihood of being served prepared meals with local food versus buying local food (see paper 1#).

In paper #2 I further address the cultural consumption of countryside capital, by researching a set of rural tourism cases that each in its own way was offering a rural experience commodifying cultural rural aspects. I found that material artefacts and practices associated with the countryside along with narratives about country-life and rural practices were all part of what was consumed by the tourists. In this respect, the country capital consumed was assessed in terms of its ability to live up to the set of representations inherent in 'rural idyll'. Further, the quest to experience 'authenticity' and the nostalgia of yesteryears' country life were described by informants across the studied cases. Two issues emerge as key in this respect: how central is this quest to the tourist experience, and what kind of ruralness is sought? This varied among the set of cases studied. This will be addressed further by the next research question and the second set of research questions.

Research question 1-B: What purpose(s) does tourists' consumption of 'countryside capital' seem to serve?

Paper #1 and paper #2 suggest that the consumption of countryside capital, for some of the tourists at least, plays a role in the symbolic consumption of rurality. As the study seems to indicate, there are different types of tourists in terms of what they consume in the countryside (cf. RQ 1-A). Similarly, the findings suggest that there are differences between different tourist types in terms of why the countryside is consumed. For instance, paper #2 suggests that there are differences in terms of what kind of ruralities are sought.

An indication of this is for instance that all of paper #2's international tourist informants were encountered while consuming the generic rurality of the Folk Museum, while Norwegian tourists were encountered consuming the more specialised tourism experiences on offer at the other cases (see paper #2).

Local food is, for some of the tourists' at least, consumed as something of a conveyor of rurality; something that is communicating or transporting rurality into their tourist experience. In this sense local food is part of what the 'rural gaze' puts on trial. As outlined in the section *Consuming the rural* the 'rural gaze' is a moral organiser of how something is viewed, and what is viewed (and regarded) rural. The study's findings suggest that if that which is consumed passes the 'rural gaze', it supports or amplifies the desired rural experience, while if it fails the 'rural gaze' it risks ruining the rural experience (this will be addressed further by the second set of research questions).

Paper #2 suggests that the artefacts, practices and the rural narratives consumed serve to satisfy the nostalgic desire (for some of the informants, longing even) to experience a 'simpler rural life' and an older, more 'authentic', way of life closer to nature. Furthermore, the study found that parents touring the countryside employ the countryside capital commodified by rural tourism in the cultural education of their children. I find this most intriguing as the entire purpose behind the consumption of a given tourism product is, as discussed in paper #1 & #2, legitimised by these particular tourists with their suggestion that their consumption of the countryside both allowed the children to experience alternative lives than their own everyday situations, and showed their children that their food is 'made by someone'. As discussed in paper #2 this motivation seems attached or linked to the overall discourses on rurality. This will be further addressed by the second set of research questions.

Set 2: Authenticating countryside capital in rural tourism's commodification and consumption

Research question 2-A: To what extent is nostalgia for an authentic countryside part of rural tourism's commodification and consumption?

The study suggests, as already hinted at, that nostalgia for an authentic countryside is a key part of the segment of rural tourism commodifying and consuming the cultural

heritage of the countryside. As suggested by paper #2, the centrality of such nostalgia, and thereby also the centrality that authenticity plays for the tourism product and the tourists' experiences, varies from providing a backdrop to being the very product and experience sought. Likewise, where authentic rurality was seen to reside varied. In some of the cases studied in paper #2, the authenticity was seen to reside in the artefacts. While in other of the cases the authenticity of rurality was understood to reside in the rural practices commodified and consumed.

Consequently, authenticity was seen to be conveyed by the tourism products' 'hardware'; the very material (artefacts and practices) commodified and offered to the tourists. Furthermore, all of the artefacts and practices commodified and consumed in the studied cases are elements central to the rural idyll set of representations. Paper #2 indicates that this set of representations is a key element in both the selection of what hardware to employ/deploy in a given tourism product, and how the hardware is interpreted/perceived/experienced. This will be addressed further in Research Question 2-B.

As suggested by the first set of research questions' findings, the degree to which a trip to the countryside is conceived and planned seems to be linked to what kind, or what segment of, rurality is sought for consumption. This was also evident in terms of the nostalgic desire to experience authentic rurality/rural heritage: consuming a rural tourism product by chance seems to imply that the authenticity of the experienced rurality is more peripheral to the experience compared to situations where the consumption of a particular rural tourism product has been well planned.

Research question 2-B: To what extent is 'rural gaze' at work in the 'authentication' of the 'countryside capital' commodified and consumed within rural tourism?

The study suggests that 'rural gaze' is at the heart of the authentication of the commodification and consumption of the 'countryside capital'. As already mentioned, 'hardware', in the cases investigated in paper #2, was mobilised, groomed, consumed and interpreted by the set of rural representations belonging to 'rural idyll'. In this sense, as argued in paper #2, the rural idyll-myth is the blueprint by which the rural tourism product is commodified and its consumption assessed. As outlined in the section *Consuming the rural*, 'rural gaze' is precisely a concept referring to such a blueprint; the moral organisation of

our view of the rural, what is recognised as rural, what is 'seen' (and indeed promoted for view and what is 'overlooked/neglected' and indeed hidden from view (cf. Daugstad and Kirchengast, 2013)).

The study found that tourism entrepreneurs'/hosts' were weary that there were limits to what they could fill their tourism product with, and still come-off as rural (i.e. an authentic rurality in the tourists' authentication), as indeed were the tourists. If the consumed product included elements that did not fit the rural idyll, it was regarded to potentially ruin the ruralness sought; it included elements signifying an alternative rurality, one not stacking up to the 'rural gaze'.

Another important finding was that tourists include elements beyond the control of the tourism entrepreneur/host in this authentication. If the surroundings tell of a rurality that to the tourist's 'rural gaze' does not measure up to the rural idyll, then it jeopardises the quality of the tourism experience, and its ruralness is not so easily authenticated. The findings addressed by the first set of research questions suggested that there are different types of tourists in terms of consumption of the countryside. This suggestion is further underlined when addressing the role of 'rural gaze' as some tourists seem more 'conscious', or perhaps more precisely: more able to explicitly express their 'rural gaze' than others.

For some the quality of ruralness (i.e. its ability to stack up to their 'rural gaze') seems more important to their travel decision and their assessment of the tourism experience than it does for other tourists. Those that were most explicit, and also relayed that the quality of the rural tourism product was important, seemed to be those tourists that invested time and effort ahead of the travel to investigate which rural tourism experiences they wanted to consume. Yet, the most intriguing finding to my mind was the role tourists' consumption of the rural tourism products, and thereby also the role 'rural gaze', played in authenticating the 'rural idyll' as the authentic and desired rurality to a new generation. In this sense the commodification/consumption constitutes a link between the rural locality undergoing rural change; its battle between the rural species, within which tourism is reproducing one ('rural idyll'); and the wider rural discourse as the next generation of tourists are socialised to sympathising with the rural idyll. In this way, rural tourism is suggested to be a powerful tool in confirming 'rural idyll' as the cultural template by which what is rural is to be seen as proper and desirable to a new generation (see paper #2).

Set 3: Contested spaces of rural tourism

In the previous sets of research questions I demonstrated that tourists indeed consumed aspects they perceived to be rural; that the countryside's commodification and consumption were linked to the 'rural idyll'; and that tourists have a nostalgic longing for the countryside of the past. Tourists and tourism entrepreneurs/hosts alike employ cultural notions of a rural idyll when designing, commodifying, consuming and assessing the experience of tourists; the rural tourism products/experiences are thus subject to a moral verdict, a classification as authentic and not so authentic, in which what lives up to the set of cultural myths labelled 'rural idyll' is, it seems, authenticated as the authentic rurality.

The findings, particularly those of paper #2's analysis of the authentication of ruralness address the deliberate and conceived design of the rural tourism products; a design following the moral guidelines of 'rural gaze' and the template of the rural idyll. In rural localities heavily marked and dominated by rural tourism activities, the combined spatial force of this commodification may lead to what was described in *Consuming the rural* as a 'society of spectacle', perhaps even, as some of the voices in the trial by space analysed in paper #3 would have me believe, a society of the simulacrum (see paper #3).

I would not go so far as to describe any of the cases analysed by this thesis' papers as societies of simulacrum. They all bear the tell-tale signs of 'society of spectacle'. The tourists and the tourist hosts may very well perceive what is seen, experienced and otherwise sensed at the 'marketplace for rural spectacle' as a coherent space in which the lived, the conceived and the perceived are mutually internalised (cf. the section *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence*); one living up to the moral code of 'rural gaze' and thus authenticated as a real/proper rurality. Locals, who may desire alternative ruralities, other rural lives than that which would stack up to the 'rural gaze' may of course see it otherwise. This contestation is addressed by the third set of research questions.

Research question 3-A: To what extent are contested spaces of rural tourism coherent spaces?

The study's findings suggest that the contested spaces of rural tourism certainly are incoherent spaces. In the two trials by space studied in paper #3 there were several species of rurality clashing for hegemony. In Codville I found two: *Company-Codville* and *Resistance's*

Codville. The first is a rurality geared towards cashing in on tourism; a conceived rurality creating a tourism product that can be consumed effortlessly as it manufactures a consistent visual appearance. This species portrays Codville's history and the fishery heritage as Codville Ltd. perceives it. Resistance's Codville is the rurality of those contesting the conceived rurality of Codville Ltd. This rurality is produced discursively, as its backers related it to and challenged Company-Codville with it.

Although Codville to a visitor scratching the surface may appear to be a space that coheres in a smooth and consistent manner, Codville's structural coherence is not that of a congruent and unified rural space. It belongs to the second level of structural coherence, where space is *contradictory and disjointed*. Although there is tension and contradiction, an overall coherence holds (cf. the section *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence*). This study suggests that the battle for which species of rurality will dominate Codville was about how the heritage was manifested, who possessed the legitimacy to capitalise on and control this heritage, and the manner in which Codville and its heritage was commodified.

In Farmington I found three clashing species of rurality: Resort Farmington, Culturally-Rooted Farmington, and Summer Farm Farmington. The first is an engineered rurality designed to meet the needs of Farmington's largest tourism enterprise by transforming a mountain grazing landscape into a resort town; creating and sustaining a tourism driven economy; and creating recreational activities and events. *Culturally-Rooted Farmington* is also a conceived rurality. Its purpose is to reorientate the area's tourism away from a large-scale, generic form of tourism, to tourism based on perceived area-specific qualities (i.e. the area's agricultural heritage). Culturally-Rooted Farmington was conceived to provide for the commodification and commercialisation of agricultural heritage and activities. The third species of rurality I found in Farmington was *Summer Farm Farmington*, which represents the original rurality of the area. Summer Farm Farmington is the product of local farming practices which have exploited the mountain land as an agricultural resource.

These three ruralities have different abilities to harmoniously co-exist with each other. To some degree, Culturally-Rooted Farmington depends on the traffic generated in Resort Farmington and the farming activities of Summer Farm Farmington, as this rurality spatially underpins the very heritage upon which Culturally-Rooted Farmington was

conceived to capitalise. Resort Farmington is to a lesser extent dependent upon its competing ruralities. In fact, the presence of Summer Farm Farmington and its adherent activities were perceived to be a problem; foremost its roaming livestock and extensive land use.

Farmington, like Codville, falls into the second level of structural coherence. Its trial by space seemed to run hot over two issues: whether tourism should take place or not, and the cultural rootedness of any tourism that did take place. Farmington's space may have been chaotic and disjointed, as the primary battling ruralities (Resort Farmington and Summer Farm Farmington) seem mutually exclusive, but Resort Farmington appeared to suppress opposing voices, thereby maintaining the structural coherence within stage two (this is addressed further by the remaining research questions).

Research question 3-B: How are rural spaces contested?

The findings suggest that the different rural species undeniably were promoted, contested and resisted actively, not only by the people occupying a residence in the territories the species was fighting to dominate, but also by actors attempting to capitalise on them and by agencies working for the implementation of rural policies. In Codville the data suggest, in addition to Codville Ltd.'s strategies, three particular strategies for engagement in the production of space employed by the local residents: *condoning resignation*, *supportive participation in Company Codville*, and *resistance*. The first group consisted of local residents that sympathised with Codville Ltd.'s need to commercialise Codville, seeing tourism as a preferred alternative to letting the town dwindle into oblivion. The second group comprised locals working for Codville Ltd, while the actors championing *Resistance's Codville* rurality are the third group. In the case of Farmington, a comparatively larger town, the study's sample does not allow for rendering a precise picture of the engagements outside the inner core of stakeholders engaged in the three identified ruralities.

Each of these species of rurality had its advocates that were championing their preferred/desired rurality. A set of strategies and resources were mobilised, and more importantly, the contestations and the support were noticeable at each of the three dimensions conceptualised by Halfacree's architecture. Within what Halfacree conceptualises as 'representations of the rural' (cf. the section *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence*) the analytical focus is turned to the clash between the different

rural species through formalised space - as expressed by capital interests, cultural arbiters, planners or politicians. In the case of Codville, this translates to Codville Ltd.'s formal layout and schemes for their envisioned Codville.

Likewise, the local opposition commanded components sorting under 'representations of the rural'; foremost the conceiving behind their own tourism products and the reasoning and judgements their opposition towards Company-Codville rested on. In Farmington politicians' and planners' formal representations played a much more central role, as manifested through the town's master plan and zoning, which made the municipality a champion of the Resort Farmington-rurality (see paper #3 for further details).

The second conceptual corner in Halfacree's architecture turns the analytical focus on how each species of rurality is materially expressed, i.e. the materialisation of the actors' representations from the first corner and support/resistance. In Codville's case, the company's commercialisation and the commercialisation's infrastructure are important material expressions of Company-Codville. Furthermore, the fishery heritage was imperative for the company, as it was the material basis for its business, but the actual fishery activities were of marginal importance in Company-Codville.

On the other hand, Resistance's Codville was championed by actors wanting the station's fishing heritage and a continuation of its fisheries to play centre stage in Codville's 'real' space. Furthermore, the resistance revolved around the material aspects of Company-Codville rurality's commercial activities (ticket booth and souvenir shop). These were, in a way, serving as rally points to the contestation/resistance, as much of the resentment was focused upon these. Farmington's second corner parallels Codville's, with a dominating tourism company commercialising its space, and a group of voices that wished to see economic development more rooted in local heritage. The two cases diverge, however, in that Resort Farmington was not based on such a heritage. Moreover, Farmington had summer farming champions, who were keeping farming activities and their material elements discernible in the town's surroundings. The Culturally-Rooted Farmington-rurality, however, was materially barely noticeable in Farmington (see paper #3 for further details).

The final corner, 'lives of the rural' is, as discussed in the section *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence,* inevitably subjective and diverse; reflecting varying

levels of coherence and in-coherence. In relation to Codville and Farmington, this translates into the execution of the strategies that stakeholders employed to champion their envisioned rurality. In Codville these were characterised by the activities associated with a bustling site of tourism: employees' performance of their chores for the company, and tourists' behaviours (see paper #3 for further details). Moreover, it was also in the lives of the rural that the conflict between the spearheads of each rurality was played out.

It was in everyday life that Codville's trial by space manifested itself as confrontations and execution of the tactics and actions involved in the struggle to champion/resist one of the two ruralities (addressed further below). Also here, Farmington's conceptual corner resembled Codville's, with tourists and employees undertaking the chores associated with a resort town's different activities (e.g. running bars and restaurants, and large scale tourism) (see paper #3 for further details). The performances of the supporters of Culturally-Rooted Farmington rurality were all but invisible. The performances of the champions of Summer Farm Farmington rurality, on the other hand, were recognisable; their farming practices acting as a reminder of their rurality. As in the case of Codville, it was in the everyday life of Farmington's stakeholders that its trial by space manifested (addressed further below).

Research question 3-C: To what extent is Halfacree's architecture able to 'interrogate' the social aspects of the contestation of rural spaces?

The findings addressed by research question 3-A and 3-B demonstrate that power and social aspects are revealed when Halfacree's architecture is applied to localised processes of rural change: different species are distinguished between, by the degree to which their coherency/incoherency becomes assessable, and the degree to which they have been able to set their mark on rural localities becomes appraisable. As demonstrated by paper #3, a Halfacreean interrogation of Codville's and Farmington's respective trials by space makes evident that in both communities the rural space is incoherent. Yet, to a visitor scratching the surface they appear coherent, as in Codville the Company Codville-rurality dominates, while Resort Farmington dominates Farmington's rural space. As discussed in the section *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons,* it is precisely on such a systemic level that the approach is sensitive towards contestation and power.

However, this is as far as a Halfacreean approach is able to take us in terms of contestation and its social aspects. I would thus argue that my study illustrates that Halfacree's architecture is unable to direct the interrogation beyond the fact that Resort Farmington and Company Codville are the dominant ruralities in Farmington and Codville respectively.

There are clear boundaries for how deep or the extent to which the architecture is able to interrogate the social aspects of contested spaces. On its own a Halfacreean architecture is unable to 'interrogate' how the structural coherence of a given rural space has emerged. The social world in which the actors champion and pursue their struggle for their desired rurality, and equally important in which they may become disempowered, remains in the dark. In order to be sensitive towards this, Halfacree's architecture requires an upgrade, an extension, directing analytical capabilities towards the messy social world of power, actors and their agency and social interactions (see paper #3, this will also be addressed further in the subsequent section *Dissertation's implications*). I will now turn to address what part power plays in rural people's production of contested spaces.

Research question 3-D: What part does power play in rural people's social production of contested spaces?

With the discussion regarding the former research question, it became clear that power certainly is part of the processes conceptually referred to as 'structural coherence' and 'trial by space'. As outlined in the thesis' *The papers – a brief overview* (and in greater detail in paper #3) I devised a conceptual extension to Halfacree's architecture in order to provide analytical sensitivity to the social aspects of the social production of rural space (this will be discussed further in *Dissertation's implications*).With the extension applied to interrogate the studied trial by space it becomes evident that power also plays a key part beyond (or perhaps more fitting, within) the systemic level of the clashing ruralities.

Power works through, but also within, the formal organisational law and Farmington Ltd. and Codville Ltd.'s company directives, and the laws and by-laws regulating municipalities and public development schemes such as Farmington's Regional Development Organisation. A key feature in Farmington's trial by space was precisely the municipality's formal zoning authority that effectively checked the development

organisation's attempts to advocate a Summer Farm Farmington rurality within the territory of Farmington. As illustrated in paper #3, the municipality acted in such a way that the development organisation leader's offensive for a Summer Farm Farmington-rurality was effectively pushed back, by rebuking the leader for his actions. In Codville the organisational juridical aspects were also at work on the social interaction taking place in its trial by space; these was especially important it seems in terms of the social interaction within Codville Ltd (cf. the employers' compendium, see paper #3). Power was also at play through and within networks and/or relations in the two cases. This was particularly noticeable in the Farmington case, in which the bonds between the actors and their different roles and positions were tight.

As outlined in paper #3, there is with the Foucauldian understanding of 'power as entanglements' a union between 'truth', 'discourse' and power. As discussed in *Consuming the rural*, such a union of (rural) truth (i.e. what is really rural), 'discourse' and power is referred to as 'rural gaze'. In terms of the social production of rural space, 'rural gaze' not only is at work, but is also worked on by the trial by space as the entire spatial trialectic, the lived-conceived-perceived, are potentially recast (cf. my discussions in sections *A Halfacreean approach: rural space as a trialectic emergence* and *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons*).

For the actors involved in the social production, championing or resisting particular rural species, my findings suggest that this union of truth, discourse and power is also at work as 'normative conviction', spurring actors into actions for the cause of conviction. A key moral or normative issue at play in the studied trials by space is whether the countryside's resources were best used for the production of food, or to produce experiences and cultural consumption? Other important normative issues at work in the social processes studied were whether the traditional resource use could be sacrificed for a more profitable resource use if it benefited the community as a whole, and whether countryside capital was up for the capitalisation into hard currency by one actor or do other actors also have a legitimate say in that matter? (see paper #3 for further details).

However, power was also at play in a more material and direct sense. The study's findings suggest that property, money, usufruct and localisation were all important in the empowerment/disempowerment of the actors in their struggle to champion or resist the species of rurality in the investigated trials by space. In Codville, for instance, the

company's ownership of the property was not questioned. Private owners had purchased the fishery station. Naturally, this granted certain rights regarding modifying the property to fit their own needs.

However, as it turns out, it also empowers the key figure of opposition to Company-Codville: the café hostess. Her café was one of the few buildings not owned by the company, and so Codville Ltd. could not evict her. Instead, their options were either to remove their adversary by attempting to talk her into working for them or out-compete her. Money proved both a blessing and a curse for the backers of Company-Codville; having invested significantly in the tourism facilities they had yet to return a profit. The café hostess, on the other hand, had limited expenses and could afford to charge her customers less than Codville Ltd. did.

Another way power impacted on the social interactions between the backers of Company-Codville and the propagators of Resistance's Codville is through location. The hostess drew significantly on her café's favourable location within the fishery station; tourists had to walk past the café on their way to and from the station (in addition her café's outdoor area was more shielded from the weather). The auspicious location interacted with the other aspects of power embedded in her performance in Codville's trial by space, amplifying the empowering effects and rendering the café owner someone to be reckoned with in Codville's production of space. The workings of power in Farmington's trial by space's social processes are similar (see paper #3 for further details).

However, I would argue that the findings discussed in paper #3 suggest that power also works on the actors' social interactions from a more personal side (e.g. fondness of fighting, follow-through, etc.). In Codville, for instance, the personal side was tangible in the contrast between the professional investors who had invested a significant amount of money, and expected not only to create a viable and successful tourism destination but also a return on their investment; and the café owner and her hobby-like aspirations for her business. In Farmington, the desire to convert the value of real estate into cash was an apparent motivation, spurring one of the landowners to action when the chance presented itself. However, she also revealed another motivation, namely a desire to contribute to Farmington's growth (i.e. create occupational alternatives to agriculture), hoping that her children would be able to settle down in Farmington after they had graduated from university (see paper #3 for further details).

Dissertation's implications

In the previous section I addressed the findings arising from the three sets of research questions. Here I will outline what I regard to be the most important implications that could be drawn from the study. To my judgement this thesis and, its findings, has implications on three fields: *implications for the field of rural studies*; *implications for further research*; and implications *for rural policy, rural developments and rural tourism (in the form of a caution)*.

Implications for the field of rural studies I: empirical contributions

The three papers' empirical findings contribute to the several strands of research literature under the overall headings of geography, rural studies and tourism research. Particularly, contributions are made to the understandings of consumption of the rural, rural tourism, rural change and rural space. Of the different papers, it is perhaps paper #1 that makes the most significant empirical contributions, as it presents an empirical analysis of tourists' actual consumption of local food to a field of research (tourism studies and rural tourism research) short of empirical research on tourists and their actual consumption. The study's findings indicate that 24 per cent and 28 per cent of the tourists in Norway's rural areas see 'local food' and 'experience local life, culture and cultural event' respectively as important when touring the countryside. Furthermore, 79 per cent of the tourists reported that the possibility to buy or eat local food is important when they travel. It is important to underline that this is a measure of a hypothetical interest. When measuring tourists' actual consumption of local food, the share drops to 40 per cent (41 and 44 per cent for bought local food and being served local food respectively). I would argue that an important implication of this finding is that researchers need to be aware of such significant differences between measures of hypothetical interest to consume a rural experience and factual consumption when advising rural entrepreneurs and rural policies.

Another important contribution from paper #1 is that it measures a number of factors affecting the tourists' consumption of local food. A key finding is that families with children under the age of 18 and group travellers are important consumers in rural tourism consumption of local food. This is a finding reflected by the few other studies investigating tourists' consumption of rural available (cf. Blekesaune et al., 2010a).

Particularly interesting is the fact that second home owners did not stand out in our analysis as a significant variable. Much of the rural development in Norway views 'second

home' owners as an important pool of potential consumers for the rural cultural economy envisioned. Our empirical findings suggests however, that a rural development strategy promoting local food to serve a growing pool of 'second home' owners is, on its own at least, not a clear cut route to a successful rural development.

Another noteworthy finding is that neither of the socio-demographic variables measured showed significant correlations. The fact that neither age nor whether people came from a rural/urban background emerged as important variables is particularly noteworthy as the few other studies empirically exploring countryside tourists found that both variables are, if not key variables in terms of explained variance, variables showing significant correlations in terms of the likelihood of consuming rural tourism experiences (see Blekesaune et al., 2010a). However, as Blekesaune et al. (2010a) note, age patterns and their correlation with the likelihood of consuming rural experiences is complex and complicated. They therefore undertook a sophisticated analysis, based on a high quality data set (Norsk Monitor), of domestic tourists that have consumed farm experiences using a complex age model, and found that age indeed is a significant factor. It may thus be that the measure of age in our logistic regression model was too simplistic in order to capture its nuances.

Also important are paper #1 and #2's findings on the purposes served by consumption of local food for tourists consuming the countryside. These findings indicate that an important part of the consumption of local food is in fact cultural consumption of the countryside. The study highlights that a wide range of elements are mobilised as 'hardware' in the tourism product/experience. It is important to note the finding that material things, landscapes, culture, humans and practices are all mobilised by producers and consumers. Moreover, the findings indicate that local food and other elements of 'country side capital' consumed serve as conveyors of 'ruralness' into the rural tourism experiences. The study's findings (particularly paper #2's) underline the interlacing of materiality, social representations and practices in terms of this conveying of rurality.

Another intriguing empirical finding, contributing with empirical support for Abram's (2003) 'rural gaze', is that these consumed elements and the ruralness they (are meant to) convey into the rural tourism experience are in fact held up against a blueprint, a moral guideline of 'proper' and 'authentic' ruralness, and the extent to which the 'hardware' measures up or not affects the perceived quality of the tourism experiences. Furthermore, I

find that this blueprint, as well as rural tourism's production and consumption, is linked to the overall (political) discourse on the Norwegian countryside. Another intriguing empirical finding is that parents quite deliberately expose their children to rural experiences by consuming rural tourism products. A consequence of this finding is that rural tourism is marked as a significant communicator of rurality; a communicator whose definitional power in terms of what is to be regarded the 'proper' and 'authentic' countryside/rurality must be regarded as increasing as Norway continues its urbanisation and decline of the primary sectors. Another noteworthy empirical finding is that the tourism entrepreneur/host does not necessarily have any control over what is, or is not, included in tourists' 'rural gaze'.

The last set of empirical findings revolves around rural change and the social production of rural space. Although these topics are thoroughly researched, I would argue that my PhD offers valuable empirical contributions. A general contribution is that it introduces Halfacree's architecture to a new empirical field (tourism led rural change); deploying it rigorously to deconstruct the social production of rural space in two communities in the midst of profound and concrete transformations. In this way it serves as an example of how Halfacree's abstract architecture could be operationalised and deployed to empirically analyse contested rural change at a local and concrete level.

Another empirical contribution is the demonstration that stakeholders in the local processes of rural change quite deliberately champion/resist species of rurality, and that they are choosing among different strategies and sets of social actions in their struggle to promote or resist. The analysis of the trial by space in Farmington and Codville clearly demonstrates, I would argue, the centrality of humans as social actors with agency. From this follows what I would argue is one of the key findings of the PhD: that the social actor, its agency, and the actors' social entwining in economy, institutions, discourse, social networks and power cannot be analytically neglected by rural geographers. It is humans as social actors that produce rural change via actions and inactions; actions stimulated, promoted and restricted in numerous ways by multifaceted factors.

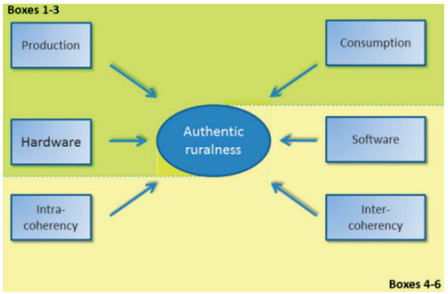
Implications for the field of rural studies II: conceptual contributions

The first conceptual implication is paper #1's finding that a quarter of rural tourism's tourists were significantly interested in food. The conceptual implication of this finding is

that it suggests that the one-dimensional typology of tourists and their interest in food devised by Hall & Sharples (2003) is too simplistic to aid to the analytical understanding of food in tourism. As discussed in paper #1 Hall & Sharples typology distinguishes between different categories of food tourism only by the degree of interest tourists show in a particular food, but does not proceed to investigate which of the food's many qualities are of particular interest to the tourists: are tourists seeking to consume the food's cultural (symbolic) functions, culinary qualities, health qualities, or its eco-friendly qualities? In terms of understanding food consumption in rural tourism, we argue in paper #1 that it is precisely which function of food's multifunctional repertoire plays a key role that is paramount. Based on the findings disseminated by paper #1 and my findings in paper #2 on the role of 'rural gaze' in the authentication of a tourism product's various hardware (hereto: the food), I would argue for the development of a multidimensional typological tool for tourists' interest in food.

Another conceptual implication of this thesis I would argue, is the conceptual roadmap for the analytical deconstruction of the authentication of ruralness (see figure 3). The framework consists of six conceptual boxes, which refer to interwoven and interconnected phenomena, in line with a social production of space-approach to rural tourism. Its purpose is to create an impetus to explore the connections between not only production and consumption, but also artefacts and notions of rurality, and thus constitute a scaffold for the empirical exploration of the authentication of ruralness: how notions of authenticity traverse and are embedded in the tourism product; the consumption of authenticity; and the rural experience its consumption generates. Each of the boxes represents an analytical dimension; for each box applied, the analysis digs deeper into the social processes through which 'authentic ruralness' is authenticated. It is important to note that the framework is conceptualised so that each of the conceptual boxes carries with it the analytical discoveries of the preceding boxes. The first set (boxes 1-3) is conceptually geared towards understanding what is experienced, and how, at the moments of production and consumption. The second set (boxes 4-6) aims to uncover and understand why something is produced to convey 'authentic ruralness' and why it is experienced as such (see paper #2 for further details).

Figure 3. Framework for deconstructing the authentication of ruralness'



As delineated in *Authenticity* and paper #2, authenticity is a much debated concept, and I do not suggest that my proposed analytical approach brings much salvation to the debates. What I would argue, however, is that the analytical model brings some much needed capability to analytically address what is propagated by rural research literature on the consumption of the countryside: that notions of an authentic country life and countryside, and the nostalgic longing for them, are a key tenet in such consumption. Without such analytical capability, I would argue that rural research runs the risk of reproducing precisely the cultural myths we ought to analyse to cast light on their workings in rural space's social production.

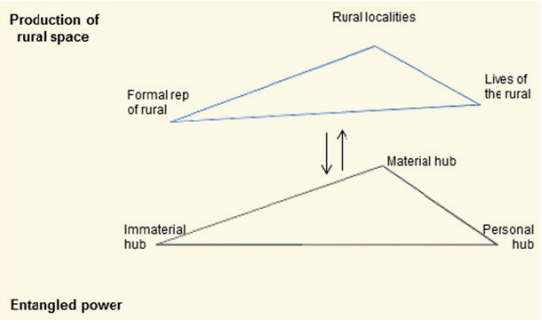
The final conceptual contribution to rural geography/rural studies is my attempt of 'peopleing' the Halfacreean approach's interrogation of rural space (cf. paper #3). As discussed in section *A sympathetic critique of the Halfacreean architecture of rural space: some pros and cons*, Halfacree's conceptualisation is weak on power. As the discussion regarding the third set of research questions highlights, power is indeed indicated when deploying a Halfacreean approach to interrogate the trial by space of concrete and localised rural change. Yet this sensitivity is on a systemic level. The approach is, as demonstrated in the discussion of the third set of research questions, unable to support an investigation into what lies beneath the rural coherency of the systemic level. As previously discussed, without such analytical focus, a Halfacreean approach I would argue, would simply be a re-run of the cultural turn/post-structural approach's neglect of the social (cf. the section *Approaches to rural: from essentialism to hybrid tactics of co-constituting natures*); as the social struggle, the localised fault lines of rural change, remains hidden, unaddressed and unchallenged; thereby running the risk of also being a re-run of the postmodern/post-structural neglect of politics, and producing a rural research that cares for little more than the intellectual

game of dealing in the abstracts (cf. section *Approaches to rural: from essentialism to hybrid tactics of co-constituting natures*).

In order to make analytical contributions beyond intellectualising abstract forms, the extension needs, to my judgment, to be sensitive to power's concretisation into something heartfelt and concerned about by the people performing the different constituents of a community's trial by space. Places are filled with symbolic and representational meanings, as well as people and their social dealings. Halfacree's model is only equipped to enable an understanding of the former. Consequently, questions arise with imperative force to the Halfacreean approach: What is the nature of the processes involved in 'trial by space'? What social processes are involved? Are there conditions that influence the 'trial' (i.e. power)? How and why are these conditions influential? Although practices and everyday life are stressed by Halfacree's conceptualisation, there is no conceptual impetus to investigate actors' social relations within the spatial production.

I suggest therefore an extension to Halfacree's conceptualisation, comprising three hubs through which entangled power could be analytically pursued: *an immaterial hub*, *a material hub*, and *a personal hub* (see Figure 4). Here I see power as 'entanglements' (see paper #3); power is represented by networks of unsettled social relations within a space that is more than just material, or social, or practices. Furthermore, power as entanglements asserts that the only way power is epistemologically discernible/available is through studying the social practices, as power is embedded within action (see paper #3 for a discussion of power). The proposed conceptual hubs call for social practices embedded with action to be examined from three perspectives: immaterial, material, and personal (see paper #3 for further details).

Figure 4: A conceptual model for untangling power in the production of space



Implications for further research: new issues

As I see it, the study also addresses issues that require further investigation, either because shortcomings in my study have resulted in only hints or suggestions regarding these issues; as my study's design, sampling strategies or what I have generated data on make it impossible to say anything decisive about them; or because one study does not suffice in order to unearth all there is to unearth about them. Many of the issues that should be addressed further stem from the limitations of our survey, which was (deliberately) limited to measuring foremost the consumption of local food; measuring only basic variables in terms of who the consuming tourists are.

This has the consequence that I have been not able to say much about who the tourists visiting the countryside are in terms of socioeconomic characteristics, but also about the frequency of their purchases. For the same reasons the consumption of other countryside capital than local food are not analysed quantitatively. Without such analysis, a potential value of the Norwegian market for local food, or any other cultural commodity capitalised on by rural tourism for that matter, cannot be estimated. More fine-tuned studies on the socio-demographic variables and motivations underlying the consumption are thus required before a comprehensive understanding of rural tourism's tourists and their consumption of the rural could be achieved.

As discussed when addressing the two first sets of research questions, my findings seem to indicate that there are different types of tourists consuming the countryside, and that these seem to differ in terms of what part of the countryside they want to consume; what kind of rurality they require; how expressed, or conscious, they are in their 'rural gaze' (moral verdict on the consumed rurality); and how prepared they are on arrival in the countryside in terms of research and knowledge about the consumed product. The tourists who participated in my study ranged from 'arriving by chance' to tourists investing time and effort prior to travel, researching which rural tourism products to see. With the limited research knowledge from the perspective of tourists in rural tourism, and with the limitations of this thesis' data, I would argue that an apparent issue for further research would be to find out more about the *rural connoisseurs* (i.e. those tourists high in knowledge and highly conscious of what rural tourism experience they consume and why) as they seem to not only be decidedly motivated rural tourists, but more importantly, seem to have an expressed 'rural gaze'. Likewise, I have been able to say little about who the tourists

employing rural tourism to school their children in the rural idyll are. I believe there is more to be said about this particular tourist consumption, especially as my thesis' findings suggest that it plays a specific role in re-generating a 'rural gaze' seeing 'rural idyll' as the proper rurality.

Other implications for research are issues emerging from the conceptual contributions. If the analytical roadmap for the deconstruction of authenticity on rural tourism is to be deployed, it is necessary that data is gathered on all of the dimensions emphasised; more generally by the three dimensions of space (representations, locality and lives – i.e. practices and performativity) of the rural, and more specifically on the issues raised by each of the six boxes (product, consumption, hardware, software, intra-coherency and inter-coherency). In terms of the suggested extension of the Halfacreean approach, it is paramount that the research addresses and generates data on all of the aspects addressed by the three hubs. The aspects addressed by *personal hub* may be hard to capture data on and thereby also to analyse systematically. Nevertheless, it is important that studies that are to employ the proposed expansion to Halfacree's conceptualisation have the personal hub in mind when designing the fieldwork, so that data covering the personal side of actors' dealings in a rurality's trial by space is collected.

Implications for rural policy, rural developments and rural tourism: a word of caution

In *Introduction* I showed that rural tourism is pointed to as a saviour for rural communities struggling with the effects of rural change and rural restructuring by rural policies, by rural development agencies, and by researchers alike. However, as this thesis' papers have demonstrated, and as I have discussed throughout the thesis, the knowledge supporting such a policy seems foremost rooted in research on the producers and their need to diversify; their need to leave the old economy behind and embrace a new economy in which rural resources are to be harvested as experiences. The research investigating those actually demanding and consuming such experiences seems much thinner; consequently little is known beyond conceptual exercises and what could be deduced from research on the tourism providers. In this sense, to my mind, a warranted, but admittingly potentially controversial caution would be to raise the question whether the policy promoting a rural policy for the cultural consumption of the countryside, and the research generating the knowledge base from which it is promoted, constitutes a tautology.

The reason why I argue for a word of caution is the combined effect of two observations. Firstly; most of the rural research in Norway is funded by research programs with aims stemming from rural policy, some of which are intended to aid/stimulate a cultural consumption driven/based rural economy. Consequently, most of the research on rural tourism is designed to meet calls to develop or strengthen rural tourism. Secondly, Norwegian rural studies, and as the thesis at hand itself reflects, are as discussed in the thesis' *Theoretical Perspectives*, heavily dependent on conceptual approaches from British rural studies, particularly the cultural turn approaches undertaking research on the 'rural idyll' and cultural consumption of the countryside. In terms of rural research such perspectives are indeed relevant. However, in a rural study/rural geography in which such approaches' are seen as rapidly growing (cf. Berg and Lysgård, 2004; Haugen and Lysgård, 2006; Norwegian Research Council, 2011), certain blind spots are bound to emerge as the perspectives are neglecting the social, the material, the politicised and that which are only epistemologically accessible with quantitative methodologies (cf. the critique of the cultural turn discussed in the section *Approaches to rural: from essentialism to hybrid tactics of co-constituting natures*).

The consequence of these two observations is that the research on rural tourism risks a bias towards *culture*; providing predominately cultural explanations, outcomes and phenomena, that are produced within a policy/research-union. Thus it risks generating its own ontology without any grounding outside of the cultural consumption-field. As demonstrated by this thesis' findings, material and social dimensions alike are important facets to understand if a viable and sustainable rural tourism is to be nurtured. A word of caution is also required concerning any belief that tourist consumption and tourists' activity, desires, motivations and assessments are static within the embodiment of the tourist role at the level of individual tourists.

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THE PAPERS

Paper 1

PAPER #1 – Setting the stage: On tourist's consumption of rural

Frisvoll, Svein, Magnar Forbord and Arild Blekesaune (under review): An Empirical Investigation of Tourists' Consumption of Local Food in Rural Tourism: a Norwegian Case. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*.

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Han høyrde Språkteigen
te han fekk hjartespreng.
Han ville heim te si eigen
uskuldige grend.

Stein Torleif Bjella

An Empirical Investigation of Tourists' Consumption of Local Food in Rural Tourism: a Norwegian Case

Food's part in tourism is facetted and complex. Food is essential to the body but also integral to the experience; moreover, it is elusively embedded within the society, culture, politics, institutions, and economy. Although food's complexity is conceptually explored within the tourism studies, empirical investigations into consumption of food are few and far between. Here we contribute an empirical analysis that employs both quantitative and qualitative data from fieldwork in a Norwegian rural region, where there have been sustained efforts to develop and integrate 'local food' and rural tourism. Three research questions are investigated: to what extent is 'local food' consumed by tourists?; what factors are emerging through the data as affecting tourists' consumption of local food?; and what purpose does the consumption of 'local food' serve to the consuming tourists? We find that only a minority of rural tourism's tourists have a special interest in food. Nevertheless, for those with an interest, we find that local food plays an important role to their tourist experiences. Furthermore, the study suggests that local food is a means employed by parents in their parenting, educating their children in the ways of 'the rural idyll'.

Keywords: Rural tourism, food, local food, consumption

Introduction

Research into the consumption of food seems to be a sin of omission in tourism research. Although the consumption of food is conceptually recognised to be complexly interwoven with tourism (Everett & Aitchison, 2008; C. M. Hall & Sharples, 2003; Quan & Wang, 2004), socio-culture (Baumann, 1988; Featherstone, 1991), politics, and institutions (MacDonald, 2013), empirical studies of tourists and their food consumption are few and far between (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Mak et al., 2012a; Mitchell & Hall, 2003). Little is known beyond conceptual ideas and assumptions. This becomes a problem not only when one seeks to understand the circumstances under which food itself is the tourism product, but also when food and the tourism product are integral, as seems to be the case with 'local food' and rural tourism in Norway.

Internationally, as well as in the Nordic countries, there has recently been a significant focus on 'local food' among policy makers, advisors, entrepreneurs, and researchers (cf. Ljunggren et al., 2010; McEntee, 2010; newnordicfood.org; White paper no 9 (2011-2012)). This is supported by ideas pointing to rural tourism as the cultural consumption of a rustic and idealised rurality (cf.Creighton, 1997; Crouch, 2006; Mitchell, 1998; Perkins, 2006; Rogers, 2002; Short, 2006), along with a view of food as an item that could be commercialised to convey a tourism product's sustainability and/or authenticity,

as well as cultural, geographic, and/or rural characteristics to destinations/tourism products (cf.Bessiere, 1998; Hillel, Belhassen, & Shani, 2013; Mykletun & Gyimothy, 2010; Sims, 2009; Sims, 2010; Vittersø, 2012). However, what significance local food actually holds in the context of rural tourism is largely unknown as tourism research has been seemingly unwilling to explore food in tourism empirically. Here we contribute with an empirical analysis of rural tourists' consumption of local food.

As tourist's consumption of local food is poorly researched, we choose to empirically examine basic variables by using a multi-method approach. We employ both quantitative survey data and qualitative interview data from fieldwork in a Norwegian rural region where there has been sustained efforts to develop and integrate 'local food' and rural tourism. Three research questions are investigated: to what extent is 'local food' consumed by tourists?; what factors emerge through the data as affecting tourists' consumption of local food?; and what purpose does the consumption of 'local food' serve to the consuming tourists?

Background

Food in tourism has been researched from different angles. Some have explored local food as means to stimulate rural development (e.g. Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1999; Marsden & Smith, 2005; Saxena et al., 2007), and others have examined local food from the perspective of sustainable tourism (e.g. Sims, 2009; 2010) and identity (e.g. Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Yet others have conceptually attempted to conceive a typology of food tourist behaviour (Mitchell & Hall, 2003). In terms of food as attraction/experience, most of the research is conceptual or literature works (cf. Boniface, 2003; Mak et al. 2012a; Mak et al., 2012b; Quan & Wang, 2004). Food is generally regarded by tourism research's conceptual contributions to constitute two purposes in tourism: key attraction (i.e. 'niche tourism') or as peripheral to the tourist experience (i.e. food as nourishment) (Quan & Wang, 2004). Similarly, Hall and Sharples (2003) suggest a categorisation of food tourism by how central food is for the motivation to travel, defining rural tourism as a segment of tourism in which food plays but a minor motivational role. Recent conceptual contributions also address food's idiosyncratic nature; it is essentially a source of nourishment on one hand and has a symbolic nature on the other (Bessiere, 1998; Long, 2004; Mak et al., 2012b). Nevertheless, which purpose local food is filling in

tourists' consumption, to what extent local food in fact is consumed, and the tourist's verdict in terms of quality of the experience appear uncharted, as empirical studies of tourists' food consumption are few and far between.

Noteworthy international exemptions are Jacobsen's (2000) study of charter tourists, Tse and Crotts' (2005) exploration of factors influencing tourists' culinary choices, Chang et al.'s (2010) study of Chines tourists' food preferences while visiting Australia, and Sims' (2009; 2010) investigation into tourists' consumption of local food in UK's rural tourism. However, these contributions' context of origin is other than that of rural tourism in Norway. Rural tourism and food seem to chiefly be researched from the point of view of producers (farmers or tourist hosts), and they either see rural tourism as a way to diversify in times of rural restructuring (e.g. Ilbery et al., 2007; Kneafsey, 2001) or tourism as constituting a market for local primary industries (e.g. Telfer & Wall, 1996; Torres, 2002, 2003).

Norwegian research on local food and tourism reflects the international lack of attention on this subject. Few empirical studies of the different facets of tourism and food are available. Most of the Norwegian studies on food in tourism research the tourism product or the tourism enterprise. One example is Mykletun and Gyimothy's (2010) inquiry into tradition food as a source of entrepreneurship and events; another is Einarsen and Mykletun's (2009) exploration of a food festival. Other examples are Mykletun (2009) and Jaeger and Mykletun (2009). However, these studies do not explore food's role as attraction or experience from the tourists' point of view.

Only a handful of studies seem to research tourists' consumption of food in Norway. A survey of motoring tourists (Jacobsen et al., 2002) stands out for its reliability. Although the analysis is relatively simple, without multivariate tests, it does not have the methodological deficiencies associated with self-administered questionnaires. They find that around a quarter of their respondents report a general interest in food. When asked about local specialities, however, less than a quarter of the respondents express interest in 'local specialities' (16 to 20% of their respondents). Yet, this is a measure of a *hypothetical interest* to consume local food, not actual consumption of it. Moreover, the study investigated tourism context is general, lacking detailed investigating into rural tourism consumption. There are also a few studies that attempt to explore *actual consumption* of local food in Norwegian tourism. One is a study of visitor satisfaction at four cabins belonging

to the Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT) (Elvekrok & Engeset, 2010), another is a survey of restaurant guests (Amilien, 2002). However, these suffer from methodological challenges. Moreover, they are not designed to say anything particular on the consumption of 'local food' in rural tourism. While also including non-tourists in their pool of rural tourism informants, Vittersø and Amilien (2011) research the meaning food consumption holds to its consumers, finding, among other things, that the purchase of local food items extends the touristic experience beyond the travel, constituting a 'third gaze'.

Methodology

The survey and the qualitative interviews were carried out in the summer of 2008 in an inland region of Norway where local food products were easily available. Five interview locations were selected for the survey. This selection was done after discussing various alternatives with the region's tourist offices and with organisations promoting rural tourism in the region. The rationale behind the selection was twofold: (a) provide good opportunities for intercepting a high number of tourists, and (b) allowing for a broad sample of the various types of tourists visiting the region (see table 1).

Table 1: Key data about the survey

	Number of persons contacted	Number of responses from tourists	Number of tourists who declined to participate	Response rate among tourists contacted (%)
Location 1 (tourist boat on lake)	86	65	21	76
Location 2 (folk museum)	211	146	40	78
Location 3 (resort town's grocery shop)	478	101	104	49
Location 4 (shopping centre in non-resort town)	288	73	92	44
Location 5 (speciality shop)	-	62	-	-
Total	-	447	257	-

The table presents key information about the quantitative data: interview locations and periods, number of persons who were contacted, and number of respondents from the tourists who were contacted. A total of 447 respondents completed the questionnaire. The response percentage varied from one location to another. The response percentage at typical tourist locations (locations 1 and 2) was almost 80 per cent, while at the shop locations (locations 3 and 4), the response percentage was lower, at just under 50 per cent. At location 5, a response rate was not registered.

In order to escape some of the problems traditionally associated with tourist surveys (i.e. low response rate, biased sample of respondents, and lack of control over externalities (cf. Tse & Crotts, 2005; Vittersø & Schjøll, 2010)) and to obtain a probability sample, we had researchers approach and interview respondents. The interviews were based on a structured questionnaire. We limited the length of the questionnaire (22 questions) in order to maximise the response rate. The questionnaire was prepared both in Norwegian and English. The questions covered topics such as the use of and views on local food, background variables, and reasons for traveling to the selected area. The interviews at locations 1, 2, 3 and 4 were carried out during selected periods between 23 June and 7 August (see Table 1). Generally, the traffic at the locations was manageable, and the interviewers could approach everyone who passed. At locations 1-4, the interviewers were instructed to ask on completion of one interview the next passer-by if he or she was a tourist and if so, requested to participate. At location 5, the sampling strategy had to be different for practical reasons. Here the shop owner and two assistants were conducting the survey after being instructed to ask every customer whether they were tourists; those that identified as tourists were requested to fill out the questionnaire on site.

In order to analyse the second research question we carried out two logistic regression analyses. In one case we used the variable "During your trip, have you bought local food products from the region?" as the dependent variable (cf. Table 6), and in the other case we used the variable "During your trip, have you bought or received meals of local food from the region?" as the dependent variable (cf. Table 7). The response categories to both variables were yes, no, and not sure. Yes was coded with the value 1, while no and not sure were coded with the value 0. We operationalised a set of dummy variables that were used as explanatory variables in the analysis of the two dependent variables. The effects of these independent variables on each of the two dependent variables are separately estimated using two logistic regression models. In these models, the coefficients of each independent variable represent the natural logarithm of the chance that the dependent variable is in category 1 when the value of the independent variable increases by one step. When the coefficient is 0, it means that the independent variable has no effect. Positive coefficients mean positive effects, and negative coefficients mean negative effects. In order to decide whether the coefficient is statistically significant or not, we show both the exact p-value and use an asterisk (*) to indicate significant coefficients.

In addition to the quantitative data, the study also includes qualitative data. 30 semi-structured interviews with strategically chosen (Mason, 2002) tourists were carried out. As the purpose of these interviews was to produce qualitative data on tourists' motivation for consuming local food while consuming a rural tourism product, locations for the qualitative interviews were chosen by a strategic logic (criterion: cover a spectrum of the study area's outbid of rural tourism products). Four rural tourism enterprises were chosen: a folk museum (same as survey's location 2), a historic farm, a mountain dairy farm (Nor: støl), and a resort town's petting zoo. The interview guide was partly standardised and partly open; the first half was the same as the survey-questionnaire, while the second half was an open section, picking up on and drilling deeper into the answers given in the first half.

Whether the study's survey findings could be generalised to other tourists and tourist destinations depends on the study's validity. Here the quality of the sample (i.e. probability sample and eventual skewness) is potentially an issue. We believe that the study design, with its selection of five different interview locations and strategy for recruiting, ensures external validity. However, the limitations of conducting the survey in only two languages, Norwegian and English, may have contributed to some skewness, as tourists unable to communicate in English or Norwegian were not eligible for participation. There is a chance that this has led to an underrepresentation of certain groups of tourists. We judge this potential skewness to be a minor problem, as our design allows for assessing the quality of the sample; interviewers were instructed to count the number of people passing their stations, and contacted people who turned out not to be tourists and tourists who declined to participate. From these records, a response rate was calculated (see table 1). At location 5 (the specialities shop), however, such information was not recorded. This part of the data (62 out of 447completed questionnaires) thus shares some of the typical weaknesses of self-administrated tourist surveys. On the other hand, these questionnaires constitute a limited segment of the data. The study's findings should be generalizable to the region studied.

Whether the findings could be generalised to tourists in other parts of Norway or elsewhere is another matter. As our findings correspond well in terms of reasons to travel with other studies (Jacobsen et al., 2002; Vinge & Fløe, 2012), we regard the findings to also hold relevance in understanding local food consumption of tourists traveling in Norway.

However, as there are few international, empirical studies measuring tourists' consumption of 'local food', assessing generalisability to other tourism contexts is impossible.

In terms of reliability, i.e. the quality of measures, it is foremost the quality of the definition of, along with respondents' understanding of, 'local food' that is a potential challenge for the survey. In order to secure reliability, we have employed the same definition of 'local food' in the article as the one employed while conducting and analysing the survey: food products or dishes made or prepared locally based on traditions, techniques, and non-generic produces associated with that particular geographical area. This definition was read aloud to every respondent along with examples of typical local food in the study region, thus ensuring a uniform understanding across the sample of respondents and aiding a reliable measure.

Results

The extent local food is consumed

A quarter of the respondents regarded eating or experiencing local food as an important reason for travelling to the selected region, compared to the 76 per cent score of activities or experiences in nature (see table 2). About 20 per cent of the respondents report that, for them, local food is extremely important (see table 3). For a majority of tourists, however, local food is of 'some significance' to the trip, while a minority do not regard local food as important. These figures correspond well with the figures in table 2, indicating that local food is not the main attraction for tourists visiting the study area. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that local food is of some significance to a larger portion of the tourists: 40 and 41 per cent (for products and meals, respectively) report to have consumed local food on their travel.

Table 2: Which of these reasons are important for you when you travel to this region?

	N	Percentage of total (%)
Natural activity or experiences	338	76
Rest and relax	293	66
Cultural landscape	203	45
Experience local life, culture or cultural event	125	28
Eat or experience food from the area ('local food')	109	24
Family, relatives or friends	95	21
Activities and opportunities for the children	40	9
Meeting, conference, course or equivalent	15	3
Total[a]	447	

[a] The total number of responses is greater than the number of respondents since respondents could answer this question by ticking more than one reason.

Table 3: Is being able to buy or eat local food important to you when you travel?

	N	Percentage of total (%)
Yes, extremely important	94	22
Yes, somewhat	249	57
No	95	22
Total	438	101

What about tourists' actual consumption of local food during their travel? Table 4 shows the figures pertaining to the purchase of local food products. 40 per cent of the respondents stated that they had bought local food products of one kind or another. However, a majority reported not having bought any. Held against the survey's findings of local food's rather limited significance for travel decision and the touristic experience for the majority of the respondents, it is not surprising that a majority reported that they had not bought local food. More surprising is the low rate of respondents reporting uncertainty as to whether they had bought local food products. With a slippery concept such as 'local food', one would expect higher figures here.

Table 4: During your trip, have you bought local food products from shops (not from cafes or restaurants) in the region?

	N	Percentage of total (%)
Yes	182	41
No	253	57
Not sure	10	2
Total	445	100

Table 5: During your trip, have you bought or received meals that contained local food from this region?

	N	Percentage of total (%)
Yes	196	44
No	228	51
Not sure	20	5
Total	444	100

The results for consumption of complete meals containing local food are similar (see table 5). The majority of respondents had neither bought nor been served meals of local food. However, 45 per cent of the respondents had bought or been served a meal that was local or contained local products during their stay in the selected region. Again, surprisingly few report uncertainty about whether they had bought or received meals of local food from the region.

Factors affecting tourists' consumption

None of the socio-demographic variables have significant coefficients on the dependent variables (see tables 6 and 7). The regression analysis shows that tourists travelling with family, children, and friends are more inclined to buy local food products than tourists travelling alone (cf. table 6). This is particularly so for parents travelling with children under the age of 18. There is also a clear tendency for tourists with previous knowledge of the region's local food products or dishes to be more inclined to buy local food products. In the same way, we can see that tourists who had planned to travel to the

region were more inclined to buy local food than those who came to the region by chance. There is also a clear and pronounced tendency for the length of stay to increase the probability that the tourist will buy local food products. The analysis also shows that tourists on the boat (location 1) are less inclined to buy local food products than tourists at the other interview locations. The tourists most inclined to buy local food products were those encountered at the speciality shop, unsurprising as the speciality shop only sells local food items. It is more interesting to note that the three variables of 'nationality', 'town dweller', and 'owner of holiday property', variables that are clearly significant in bivariate analyses of the dependent variable 'bought local food', are not significant in the multivariate model, suggesting that the bivariate effects of these variables are merely spurious.

Table 6: During the trip, has bought local food products in the selected region, in relation to various characteristics of the tourist.

	Log. coeff.	t-value	p-value
Gender (women=1/men=0)	-0.045	0.173	0.863
Age (number of years)	0.008	0.764	0.445
Nationality (Norwegian=1/other nationality=0)	-0.221	0.537	0.592
Lives in town (yes=1/no=0)	0.401	1.399	0.162
Grew up in town (yes=1/no=0)	0.144	0.503	0.615
Owns holiday property in region (yes=1/no=0)	0.155	0.47	0.639
Travelling companions (with 'Alone' as reference)			
Family with children under 18 years	1.577 **)	2.994	0.003
Family with no children under 18 years	0.967 *)	1.965	0.050
Friends	1.424 *)	2.251	0.025
Travelling in group	0.425	0.584	0.56
Visited region before (yes=1/no=0)	0.375	0.777	0.437
Knowledge of local food products (yes=1/no=0)	1.103 **)	2.888	0.004
Length of stay in region (logarithm of number of days)	0.402 **)	2.7	0.007
Region was part of holiday plans (yes=1/no=0)	2.704 **)	2.754	0.006
Location of interview (boat on lake as reference)			
Museum	1.425 **)	2.854	0.005
Grocery shop	1.536 **)	3.083	0.002
Shopping centre	1.080 *)	2.05	0.041
Local food shop	5.779 **)	6.538	0.000
Constant	-7.915 **)	5.673	0.000
Gender (women=1/men=0)	-0.045	0.173	0.863
(N=)	447		
Nagelkerke R^2	0.499		

*) significant at 5 % level, ** significant at 1 % level

Table 7: During the trip, has bought or received meals containing local food from the selected region, in relation to various characteristics of the tourist.

	Log. coeff.		t-value	p-value
Gender (women=1/men=0)	-0.228		0.990	0.323
Age (number of years)	-0.003		0.355	0.723
Nationality (Norwegian=1/other nationality=0)	0.359		0.947	0.344
Lives in town (yes=1/no=0)	0.161		0.634	0.526
Grew up in town (yes=1/no=0)	-0.224		0.867	0.386
Owns holiday property in region (yes=1/no=0)	-0.157		0.514	0.607
Travelling companions (with 'Alone' as reference)				
Family with children under 18 years	1.132		0.291	0.771
Family with no children under 18 years	0.351		0.823	0.411
Friends	1.557	*)	2.900	0.004
Travelling in group	2.353	**)	3.969	0.000
Visited region before (yes=1/no=0)	0.520		1.193	0.234
Knowledge of local food products (yes=1/no=0)	0.949	**)	2.920	0.004
Length of stay in region (logarithm of number of days)	0.546	**)	3.911	0.000
Region was part of holiday plans (yes=1/no=0)	0.467		0.893	0.372
Location of interview (boat on lake as reference)				
Museum	1.216	**)	3.178	0.002
Grocery shop	0.435		1.091	0.276
Shopping centre	-0.397		0.891	0.373
Local food shop	2.110	**)	4.663	0.000
Constant	-3.780	**)	4.359	0.000
Gender (women=1/men=0)	-3.780	**)	4.359	0.000
(N=)	447			
Nagelkerke R^2	0.307			

*) significant at 5 % level, ** significant at 1 % level

The analysis also shows that tourists buying or receiving meals containing local food are quite different from those who have bought local food products (cf. table 7). The tourists who are most inclined to consume meals are those who are travelling with friends, in a group, or as part of an organised tour. Tourists travelling alone or with their family are less inclined to buy such meals. Similarly, tourists with previous knowledge of local food products from the region are more inclined to buy meals of local food than tourists without such knowledge. We find a clear and pronounced tendency for the length of the visit to increase the probability that tourists will buy meals of local food. The analysis shows that the location of the interview also has an effect. Tourists at the museum and

customers at the shop specialising in local food are much more likely to buy or be served meals of local food than tourists at the grocery shop, shopping centre, or tourist boat. Again, this is as could be expected, as the museum has a café serving tradition food from the region, and, as mentioned, the speciality shops only offer local food. In this model, there is a higher correlation between the complete regression model and the bivariate effect of each independent variable.

Purposes served by the consumption

In terms of rural tourism, our study indicates that an important side of local food consumption is the cultural (i.e. symbolic) consumption of the countryside. Our findings suggest that local food is a conveyor of 'ruralness' into a rural tourism experience. The following quote illustrates this as it addresses the separation between food that is 'in place' (i.e. perceived to be naturally belonging) in a particular countryside experience and food that is regarded to be 'out of place' and thereby ruining the desired rural experience:

> When you have travelled to a farm such as this one I really savour the opportunity to taste local food. So that aspect is very good. If they had been serving hamburgers I wouldn't have bothered staying here. Definitively, I'll promise you that. (Tourist)

Here we see that the tourist points to 'hamburgers' as somewhat of an anti-theses of local food in terms of the tourist experience he was seeking to fulfil. In the context of 'rural idyll' and associated ideological values (cf. Cruickshank et al., 2009), it is reasonable to interpret the reference to the hamburger as a cultural sign with reference to imported American consumerism, a reference to a culture perceived as foreign to the culture commercialised in rural tourism, that of a 'rustic rural idyll' of the Norwegian countryside. It is precisely food's cultural connections (i.e. symbolic functions embedded in culture, cultural heritage, traditions, and practices) that cause some food items to be perceived as 'in place' and thereby underlining, amplifying, or contributing to a countryside experience by conveying rurality.

It is striking that families travelling with children stand out as more inclined to buy local food products, while people travelling with friends or as part of an organised group tend to be the ones who buy or are served meals with local food. The domestic informants

traveling with children typically pointed in the qualitative interviews to the children's need to experience the countryside. These informants addressed that they wanted their children to experience a different side of Norway than their own everyday situation. These tourists were quite deliberately using their holiday to expose their children to the countryside as it emerged through the consumed rural tourism products' local food, farm experiences, rural heritage, and rural space. The following quotes exemplify this. The first is from an interview at a mountain dairy farm:

> Interviewer: Why did you want to experience a summer farm such as this one?
>
> Tourist, father: It's so that the children, and we for that matter, get to experience a tradition. That they can experience something else than the city and witness that food is something that is made, and not only something that's eaten.

The second quote, from a mother traveling with her young son and visiting a farm serving local, traditional food in historic buildings, communicates an aspiration for her child to have experiences similar to her own rural childhood memories:

> This [countryside change] is perhaps why we seek places like this, where we rediscover some of these characters that have been up here forever, and that belong here. I believe that this is the case for most of the tourists coming to places such as this, that we once more find the feeling of belonging. (…) That's why we eat cured meat, that's why we dress in our 'bunad' [a national costume with regional distinctions], and that's why we bring our kids along to these mountain villages, right? (Tourist, mother)

Again, the interviewed tourist points to aspects covered by 'symbolic function' while addressing rural tourism's role as a socialising 'tool' through which certain 'notions of rurality' (cf. Frisvoll, 2012; Halfacree, 2007) are introduced to a new generation; above we see the informant addressing certain words such as 'cured meat', 'bunad', and 'mountain villages', words strongly associated with *rural idyll's* traditionalism and embeddedness into ideas on Norwegian heritage, Norway, and Norwegianness(cf. Berg & Lysgård, 2004; Daugstad, 1999).

Discussion

So far we have established that local food is a key part of the tourist experience for a minority of the respondents (24 per cent). For a clear majority (76 per cent), it had no particular significance. This reflects Jacobsen et al.'s (2002) and Vinge and Flø's (2012) findings of nature as the most important reason for tourists to travel around Norway. In this sense our findings supports Hall and Sharples' (2003) typology of food tourism, in which rural tourism is classified as tourism where the interest in food is subsidiary to other interests. Nevertheless, a quarter of our rural tourism respondents do not easily fit Hall and Sharples' typology as their interest in food played a significant role. To this segment, a more fitting label would perhaps be 'culinary tourism' (cf. Hall & Sharples, 2003). This finding suggests a weakness with Hall & Sharples' one dimensional typology in that it distinguishes between different categories of food tourism only by the degree of interest in food rather than also which of the qualities of food interest homes: its cultural functions, culinary qualities, health qualities, or eco-friendly qualities. In terms of understanding food consumption in rural tourism, we would argue that precisely which function of food's multifunctional repertoire plays key role is paramount. In the context of this study, one of these symbolic meanings is 'rurality'.

As shown in Results, we have identified a set of factors that affects the surveyed tourists' consumption of local food; some were fairly reasonable, while others were more surprising. 'Knowledge of local food' seems to be highly significant. This is a finding supporting Mak et al.'s (2012a) conceptual claim and Tse & Crotts' (2005) finding that exposure and past experiences affects tourists' consumption of food. Another factor is 'length of stay'. Again, this is reasonable, as longer stays result in more meals and thereby more chances of coming into contact with local food. 'Interview locations' also emerged to have an effect. Again, this was anticipated and led to the strategy of having different interview locations. Tourists visiting the specialities shop and the folk museum demonstrated a significant inclination to have bought and/or consumed local food, while this inclination was lower at the other locations. Obviously, tourists visiting a speciality shop selling only local food are more interested in local food than tourists who are visiting a general shopping centre (locations 3 and 4). Likewise, tourists visiting a folk museum are likely to be more interested in local heritage and thereby local food traditions than tourists

on a scenic cruise in a natural landscape. More engrossing is the fact that the respondents at the museum tended to be mainly travelling as part of organised groups (package tours). These were at the mercy of their tour operators' schedules and package design, which generally incorporated at least one stop at a catering facility serving what the respondents perceived to be local food. This indicates that the purchase and/or consumption of local food is not just a question of the properties of the individual tourists but is also situational.

The final factor that has an effect is the type of travelling companion. A striking find is that families travelling with children, particular younger children, are more inclined to buy local food products, while it tends to be people travelling with friends or as part of a group who buy or are served meals with local food. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that this is a cost issue for families on excursions. For people travelling in a group, the reason for this may very well be tour operators' commercial assessments that a package incorporating at least some meals with local food would make a trip more attractive. Another explanation may be that families with children choose establishments with generic kid's menus, food they know their children would enjoy, and more carefully introduce them to the local speciality products in the comfort of the family's own cooking, while tourists traveling without children may choose more freely where to dine.

However, we argue that there is more to it. The countryside, and its practices, adherent notions of rurality and perceived authenticity, is a tourism niche exploited by rural tourism, trading on rural symbols and experiences, and servicing a perceived demand for 'the rustic' and 'the authentic'(Blekesaune et al., 2010; Daugstad, 2008; Frisvoll, 2012; Hall et al., 2003; Lane, 1994). With this in mind, 'local food' becomes a multi-faceted subject: it is a mean to replenish, but it could also be a source of cultural experiences, a conveyor of meaning (here: ruralness). Moreover, this symbolic function of local food plays a role in socialisation and upbringing, as tourists traveling with their children typically pointed to the children's need to experience a different side of Norway than their own everyday situation, exposing their children to local food, farm experiences, and rural heritage. Although the study is too limited to say anything about who (in terms of socio demographic variables) the parents are that expose their children to the rural idyll of countryside tourism, and in what number such tourists appear, the study has unearthed an intriguing aspect of rural tourism and local food; tourists introduce local food and food traditions to their children quite deliberately with an educational or personal developmental purpose. In this sense,

buying food items to bring home poses a post-trip potential to not only extend the touristic experience beyond the trip (cf. Vittersø & Amilien, 2011), but to extend its educational aspects as well.

Factors that do not have an effect on the purchase of local food are nationality, place of residence, and ownership of holiday property. That ownership of holiday property does not have an effect in our study was surprising, as one could expect that such ownership would imply frequent trips to the region (cf. Mak et al., 2012b). Another surprising find was that nationality did not have an effect. Again, based on the conceptual claims of exposure in the literature (Mak et al., 2012b), one would expect that nationality would clearly have an effect on the likelihood of a tourist consuming local food. However, our study indicates no such relationship. One rather obvious interpretation of this is that foreign tourists 'taste' as they travel, and that they to a large extent taste the same food as the domestic tourists and to the same degree. Another and perhaps more likely explanation is the geographical dimension of knowledge: where a Norwegian would separate between generic brands of a traditional food product and 'local food', an international tourist would not distinguish between 'Norwegian food' and 'local food' to the same extent.

Conclusion

Few studies have investigated tourists' consumption of food (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Hall & Sharples, 2003; Mak et al., 2012b). In terms of tourists' consumption of food, most of the published works seem to be conceptual exercises and literature reviews (cf. Mak et al., 2012b; Mitchell & Hall, 2003). Little is in fact known about tourists' demand for local food; the extent of tourists' consumption of local food is unknown, as is what role the consumption serves for rural tourists' tourist experiences, and thereby what significance it holds in the context of rural tourism.

The study presented here is but a beginning of bridging this knowledge gap. We have empirically examined basic variables related to tourists' actual consumption of local food by using a multi-method approach. Three research questions have been investigated: to what extent is 'local food' consumed by tourists?; what factors emerge through the data as affecting tourists' consumption of local food?; and what purpose does the consumption of 'local food' serve to the consuming tourists?

In terms of the first research question, our study indicates a relatively limited demand for local food among countryside tourists: a quarter of the respondents report that the prospect of consuming 'local food' is important to them when on travel. However, approximately 40 per cent report to have consumed local food during that specific travel. In terms of the second research question, we found that tourists 'traveling with children' and 'travelling as part of an organised group' were particularly inclined to consume local food. Our study also indicates that the tourists interested in consuming local food may be a specific group of tourists, as the different interview locations turned to have a significant effect. In terms of the last research question, the study demonstrates that the consumption of local food, especially for tourists travelling with children, does hold an element of cultural consumption. Our study correlates well with how the role of food for tourists is generally categorised into core attraction and peripheral experience in tourism research (Quan & Wang, 2004). We observe both categories in our study. For a minority of respondents (24 per cent), local food is a key part of the tourist experience, while a clear majority (76 per cent) decline that it had any particular significance to their travel decision.

Consumption of food has a recognised symbolic side (Baumann, 1988; Miele, 2006). The study has demonstrated that tourists consuming the countryside judge local food to be more in-place in the consumed rural tourism product than other foods. We argued that this judgement is rooted in the consumed food's correspondence with dominate notions or cultural myths about the countryside (i.e. 'rural idyll). Moreover, the findings indicate that local food is quite deliberately harnessed by parents using countryside holiday experiences to educate their children in (an idealised version of) the countryside. Alas, the study is too limited to provide any knowledge on who these tourists schooling their children in the 'rural idyll' are and how large a segment of rural tourism's tourist pool they make up. Our study merely points out that such tourists are among the tourists consuming rural tourism's products and that such consumption seems to serve certain educational aspects in their care for their children.

Our study does not answer all questions regarding the meaning consuming local food holds for countryside tourists in the countryside. We have, for instance, not measured the frequency of tourists' consumption of local food; without such, a potential value of the market for local food represented by Norway's rural tourism cannot be estimated. More fine-tuned studies on socio-demographic variables and motivations underlying the

consumption than what we have measured here are also in demand before a comprehensive understanding of local food's role in rural tourism could be achieved. Nor have we found all there is to find about that segment of tourists that primarily consumes 'local food' and other rural tourism products for their cultural value (i.e. as a signifier of 'rural idyll'). We would argue that more research needs to be targeted in this segment. Especially desirable would perhaps be attempting to estimate their numbers, as this group of tourists seem to be a key market for rural tourism. Particularly vital would be to target more research onto the phenomenon of parents using rural tourism products to culturally educate their children in the ways of the countryside.

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Paper 2

PAPER #2 – Digging deeper: On authenticating the rural

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Stein Torleif Bjella

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CONCEPTUALISING AUTHENTICATION OF RURALNESS

Svein Frisvoll
Centre for Rural Research & Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

Abstract: Authenticity, a key asset to rural tourism, is a problematic concept. The debate on authenticity has so far proven unable to deliver a conceptual route for analysing the workings of such notions in rural tourism. Here a Halfacreean-approach to rural space as a threefold emergence, in which ideas, locality and practices interacts, is put forth, from which a framework to analyse rural tourism's authentication of ruralness is suggested. This is then deployed on empirical data from four Norwegian rural tourism cases. The article demonstrates the analytical abilities of the framework, uncovering, among other aspects, the political nature of authentication and the role of rural tourism consumption in authenticating the 'rural idyll' as the 'authentic' ruralness. **Keywords:** authenticity, rural idyll, rural tourism, social production of rural space, social representations, structural coherence. © 2013 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Perceived authenticity is a key asset for any rural tourism venture (Blekesaune, Brandth, & Haugen, 2010; Daugstad, 2008; Hall, Roberts, & Mitchell, 2003; Midtgard, 2003; Skaavhaug & Brandth, 2012). Indeed, notions of the countryside's authenticity seem inherent to the very cultural notions commodified and consumed within rural tourism (Bell, 2006). However, despite the importance of the concept there is no widely accepted paradigmatic framework under which claims of 'authenticity' can be justified, analysed and interpreted (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006), a fact which contributes to authenticity being fiercely debated in the literature (Brown, 2013; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999; Xie, 2011). This is problematic. As perceived authenticity is pivotal to rural tourism, the lack of a conceptual framework through which to view and assess claims for authenticity raises the danger that we are simply reproducing popular myths about authenticity in the countryside; rather than developing a theoretically grounded understanding of the fusion between the rural, notions of

Svein Frisvoll [Centre for Rural Research, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway, and Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway. E-mail <Svein.Frisvoll@rural.no>] is a researcher at the Centre for Rural Research in Norway. His research interests are in tourism, rural and regional issues, social production of rurality and nature management (resource use and conservation issues).

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its authenticity, and rural tourism's commercialisation and consumption of the countryside.

\Tourist sites are contested, negotiated and consumed spaces. In rural tourism it is rural space and notions of its rurality/ruralness which are commercialised and consumed (Frisvoll, 2012; Lacy & Douglass, 2002). The contestation, negotiation and consumption of space involve the interaction of *ideas* (i.e. representations, or notions of rurality and authenticity), *locality* (i.e. the countryside as emerged via human endeavour/practice and nature) and *human practice* (i.e. lived life, traditions, social action and interaction, such as e.g. tourism's commercialisation and consumption) (Frisvoll, 2012; Halfacree, 2007). Moreover, rural tourism products involve deliberate and conscious design or staging (Bell, 2006; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013). Without the support of a critical analysis of the threefold fusion between the countryside and notions of its authenticity, and such notions workings in rural tourism's commercialisation and consumption of the countryside, any research concerning authenticity's critical importance to rural tourism risks evoking premature reproductions of cultural myths of the countryside as a stronghold of authenticity. It will also be blind to authenticity's social sides, such as power (c.f. Bruner, 1994), and the moral organisation of what is put on display and what is included by the consuming tourists (c.f. Abram, 2003). This is decidedly problematic as the key concepts: authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Cole, 2007; Xie, 2011), rurality (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 2007), cultural consumption (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004) and tourism (Britton, 1991) are all highly political.

The purpose of this article is to develop and demonstrate a framework from which notions of the countryside's authenticity can be investigated. Based on tourism research's debates on authenticity (c.f. Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999), conceptual works within the field of rural studies (i.e. Frisvoll, 2012; Halfacree, 2006, 2007), and empirical research on the production and consumption of ruralness in four Norwegian rural tourism cases, I address recent calls to conceptualise the social processes in which notions of authenticity are created, sustained and reinforced (c.f. Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Furthermore, the analytical capability of the proposed framework is demonstrated. Two connected research questions are addressed: '*How can an analytical deconstruction of authentication in rural tourism be conceptually framed?*' and '*What can an application of the proposed framework tell us about 'authentication' in cases of rural tourism?*' The key finding is that 'authentication' is social processes involving a complex range of elements (material, ideas, practises and performances) which are linked to discourses outside the consumed tourism product.

AUTHENTICITY AND TOURISM RESEARCH

Considerable debates have been devoted to 'authenticity' (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Taylor, 2001), generating not only ''as many definitions

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of authenticity as there are those who write about it'' (Taylor, 2001, p. 8), but also calls to reject the concept (e.g. Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). To present a comprehensive review of the contributions of such a complex and lasting debate is both beyond the scope of this article and unnecessary as the issue has been thoroughly reviewed (see Buchmann, Moore, & Fisher, 2009; Olsen, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Robinson & Clifford, 2012; Wang, 1999; Xie, 2011).

A common analytical approach after Wang (1999) is to separate between three profoundly different categories or discourses, differing not only in terms of ontology and epistemological anchorage, but also in terms of research's subject and scope (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). The first category, *object authenticity*, refers to approaches building on the existence of a measurable (objective) authenticity of toured objects (i.e. whether they are the originals or not), operating with fixed categories of authentic/inauthentic and an ontology of realism. *Constructed/symbolic authenticity*, the second category is complex as it involves a wide range of contributions with the commonality of seeing authenticity as constructed. The ontology of such approaches is constructivism, in which the social construction of symbol authenticity is the research subject. The third category, *existential authenticity*, consists of works referring to authenticity as a potential state of being, i.e. the tourists' feelings in term of their touristic activity/experience. It is conceptualised as a postmodern negation of the first category's ontology and the second category's research subject (symbol authenticity) (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999).

Regardless of the enduring and complex conceptual debate, emerging conceptual consensus towards the socio-constructive subjective understandings of authenticity can be observed (Robinson & Clifford, 2012). There is, however, not much consensus in analytical approaches (Robinson & Clifford, 2012) and the processes 'by which authenticity is constructed remain analytically under-developed' (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p. 1296). This is a problem as ''the *social process* by which the authenticity of an attraction is confirmed, remains almost unexplored.'' Cohen and Cohen (2012, p. 1296) [original emphasis]. Recent approaches have focused on the commodification of the tourism product and how authenticity becomes politicised, an agent of power, seeking to understand the intersection of place, individuals, tourist behaviours and beliefs (Bruner, 1994; Robinson & Clifford, 2012). Some have kept a focus on authenticity, building conceptual bridges between the conceptual fissures of 'authenticity' into their approaches; such as Belhassen, Caton, and Stewart's (2008) conceptualisation of 'theoplacity', and Rickly-Boyd's (2011) return to 'aura', in order to capture a perceived affinity between artefacts, practice, experience and meaning. Others have turned to the process of authentication (Bruner, 1994; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Wall & Xie, 2005; Xie, 2011), building their approach on the recognition that the tourism phenomena's authenticity is something negotiated and involving institutionalisation, power and a multitude of actors, their actions/practises, knowledge and traditions (Wall & Xie, 2005; Xie, 2011).

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Cohen and Cohen (2012) criticises the authentication-approaches for not having theoretically developed a conceptualisation of 'authentication'. Some attempts have been made. Xie (2011) turns among others to Saïd's 'orientalism' and Bhabha's 'thirdspace' to inform his approach to the authentication of ethnic tourism's. Xie's approach may very well be fit for understanding ethnic tourism, but rural tourism in a western context is of a different sort. Cohen and Cohen (2012), on the other side, propose two overarching concepts: 'cool authentication' and 'hot authentication'. The first refers to the formal, fact based certification issued by an institution with authority to examine, document and judge an artefact, a site or an attraction's authenticity, while the latter ''is an immanent, reiterative, informal performative process of creating, preserving and reinforcing an object's, site's or event's authenticity.'' (p. 1300).

While distinguishing between different processes of authentication, I argue that the notion of hot and cool fails to address what shapes the very notions of authenticity involved—beyond pointing to experts' certification (i.e. cool) or to confirmation through performative practices on basis of beliefs and assumptions (i.e. hot). 'Hot authentication' is thus, as I see it short of any real impetus to investigate the origins of what spurs the performative practices and its embeddedness with the complex and messy mesh of cultural notions, social representations, materiality, political discourse and practices. Consequently, Cohen and Cohen's (2012) conceptualisation, although undoubtedly applicable to some tourism contexts, leaves research on rural tourism unable to investigate and interpret how tourism, notions of rurality and notions of authenticity interact, not only with each other, but also with other aspects of the countryside (e.g. locals, agriculture, industry, landscape etc.). Key issues for rural tourism research, such as how notions of a tourism product's *real ruralness* comes about, what influences such notions, what destabilises such notions, what sustains them and how they are reproduced, eludes I fear analytical attention with 'hot authentication'.

So, how can an analytical deconstruction of authentication conceptually be framed in order to overcome analytical shortcomings? I propose to further develop the conceptualisation of authentication by turning to the role of social representations of space and spatiality as it is attuned to precisely the intersection of *social representations* (e.g. notions of authenticity), *materiality* (e.g. the visual appearance of a village) and *practice* (e.g. mass-tourism, individual small-scale tourism, agricultural practice).

A CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF AUTHENTICATING RURALITY

The conceptual point of departure is rural space as socially produced (c.f. Halfacree, 2006, 2007). Tourist sites are spaces ''within which multiple interpretations of a single ostensible culture can be negotiated, contested and consumed'' (Lacy & Douglass, 2002, p. 7). A Halfacre-

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ean-approach constitutes sensitivity to precisely such aspects (Frisvoll, 2012) as it, influenced by Lefebvre's (1991) writings on space, recognises space and spatial notions as emerging and contested.

A Trialectic Approach to Rural Space and Associated 'Ruralness'

The social production of rurality and rural space is a conceptualisation adopting a socially-based spatiality (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). It is particular its recognition of the complex and embedded interaction of *ideas* (i.e. representations, or notions of rurality), *locality* (i.e. the countryside as emerged via human endeavour/practice and nature) and *human practice* (i.e. lived life, traditions, social action and interaction) that constitutes the ability to conceptually contribute to the understanding of authentication. Two elements are of relevance here: *rural space's three dimensions* and *the structural coherence of rural space.*

The conceptualisation addresses attention towards three dimensions: *representations of the rural, rural localities,* and *lives of the rural.* Together, these elements both constitute and reciprocally influence each other, thus creating rural space and associated notions of rurality/ruralness. The first dimension, representations of the rural, refers to how the rural is portrayed in formal contexts, such as authorities' policies, planning documents, industrial interests and cultural arbiters (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). In terms of tourism this also translates to the tourism entrepreneurs'/host's schemes, their design of their product and notions of rurality that have guided these (Frisvoll, 2012). In their approach to authentication Cohen and Cohen (2012) distinguish between formal and informal routes through which authentication takes place. The first dimension in Halfacree's conceptualisation is addressing many of the issues captured by 'cool authentication': formal institutionalisation involving professional actors and professions that may gain hegemony. However, here this formal dimension is seen to interact with the other dimensions.

The second dimension, rural localities and their characteristics (e.g. natural landscape, cultural landscape, aesthetics, etc.) relates to localities as ''inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices, linked to production and/or consumption activities'' (Halfacree, 2007, p. 127). In this corner are placed spatial practices exuding a society's distinct space with its material expression—elements associated with what is perceived as 'real' space (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). This refers to the material dimension of rural space, and translates in touristic terms to the 'toured objects' (or activities) and their material context (e.g. elements in the surrounding landscape or present at the tourist site) (Frisvoll, 2012). This dimension conveys in other terms analytical awareness to cultural tourism's material side (e.g. artefacts). It is important to note that this refers both to elements introduced deliberately to the tourism product and to elements beyond the control of the tourist entrepreneur/host.

The third dimension, lives of the rural, refers to people's reproduction of rural through practices in everyday life (space as lived) (Halfa-

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cree, 2007). The lives of the rural are inevitably subjective and diverse, reflecting varying levels of coherence and in-coherence (Halfacree, 2006, 2007). In terms of tourism this also relates to tourists' and tourism entrepreneurs'/hosts' touristic practices, to ''the execution of the strategies that stakeholders employed to champion their envisioned rurality'' (Frisvoll, 2012, p. 454), to tourists' and tourist hosts' performance of their roles, their bodily interactions with the tourism product (c.f. Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Edensor, 2001; Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Olsen, 2002). This dimension represents the potential to include tourists' and tourist hosts'/entrepreneurs' feelings and assessments of a tourism product/experience. Due to the threefold nature of the conceptualisation, I argue that such an approach to authentication has the potential to analytically recognise how such sentiments feed into the tourism product and the rurality they are perceived to represent.

The second element of relevance here is structural coherence, which refers to the degree to which the different elements present in a rural tourism product and its rural space are perceived to fit together (Frisvoll, 2012; Halfacree, 2006, 2007). 'Structural coherence' indicates whether 'harmony' is present within rural localities, and thus the extent 'to which rural residents, policy makers, business interests, pressure groups, etc. ''are singing from the same hymn sheet''' (Halfacree, 2007, p. 128). There are three categories of spatial coherence: (1) congruent and united, (2) contradictory and disjointed, and (3) chaotic and incoherent. In the first, the elements come together in a consistent manner, yielding a single narrative of uniform ruralness; the conceived, the perceived and the lived internalise each other. However, in the other two categories the spatial character is open for debate as there is either contradiction within and between the different elements present (second category) or fundamental contradictions between them (third category). Here fundamental conflicting ruralities co-exist and the elements of rural space fail to internalise each other (Halfacree, 2007).

Structural coherence translates as I see it to tourism in that it refers to a particular rural space or tourism products' *ability* to come off as 'authentic' rurality. Such an endpoint is of course a subjective assessment of the individual tourist/tourist host involved (c.f. Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). This does not make an understanding of the processes through which such notions emerge any less important and it is this that structural coherence brings with it, without deploying a binary understanding as either/or. A stage one coherence is what Halfacree (2007) labels a 'cultish space' (p.128), a space where what is perceived and lived meets the expectation of not only what type of rurality is to be encountered, but also the expectations of how such an experience ought to be, ought to feel. At the other two stages the experience of a uniform rurality would be challenged by the presence of elements suggesting of alternative versions of the countryside, of other kinds of ruralness.

Structural coherence is thus about power (Frisvoll, 2012), as is authentication (Bruner, 1994). Whose rural vision is the 'right' vision and why, is thus key questions in understanding authenticity and rural

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tourism, as staging, designing and grooming is part of rural tourism's commodification of the countryside (c.f. Bell, 2006; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013). Abram (2003) introduces 'rural gaze' in order to conceptualise this, and the concept refers to power and to the collective social norms guiding the active organization, or the weeding of the countryside as it were. In this sense 'rural gaze' lies at the heart of 'authentication' of ruralness.

The Analytical Framework

However, before the Halfacreean approach can be deployed to analyse authentication, it needs to be operationalised. I propose a framework consisting of six conceptual boxes, which refer to interwoven and interconnected phenomena in line with a social production of space-approach to rural tourism (see Figure 1). Its purpose is to create impetus to explore the connections between production, consumption, artefacts and notions of rurality, and thus provide a scaffold for the empirical exploration of authentication of ruralness; each of the boxes represents an analytical dimension. For each box applied, the analysis digs deeper into the social processes through which 'authentic ruralness' is authenticated. It is important to note that the framework is conceptualised so that each of the conceptual boxes carries with it the analytical discoveries of the preceding boxes. The 'rural gaze' is at work in each of the dimensions the boxes refer to.

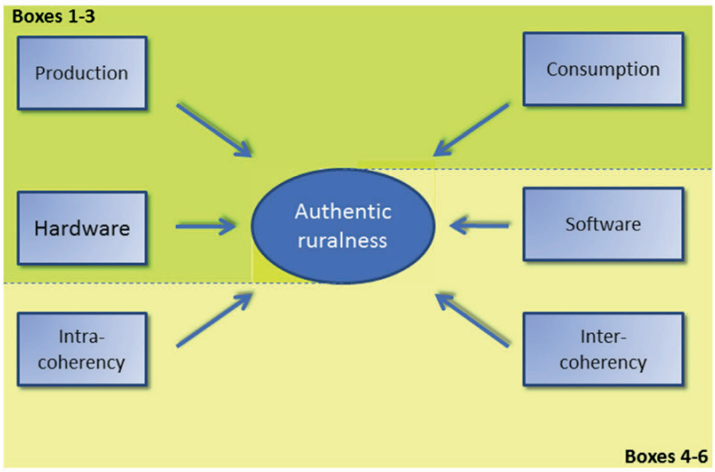

Figure 1. Framework for Deconstructing the Authentication of 'Authentic Ruralness'

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The framework's first box, '*production*', indicates that the production of the tourism product needs to be investigated. Thus it urges (for each rural tourism enterprise under investigation) analytical questions such as: What is the tourism product? To what extent do the hosts believe that their rural tourism product embodies a real ruralness? To what extent do the producers see authenticity as the product? And where in the product is its authenticity thought to reside (i.e. artefacts, practice, traditions, etc.)? The second box, '*consumption*', refers to the touristic moment of experiencing the product and what that moment reveals: what is really consumed? Is it a tourism product's higher order functions (i.e. cultural symbols, such as ruralness) or is it its most basic function (e.g. a meal as means to still ones hunger)? To analytically cover this, the second box commends that the analysis asks: How central to the purpose of consuming a particular tourism product is its ruralness and how central is consumption of the 'authentic' (i.e. real)? The third box is '*hardware*', referring to the elements utilised to convey ruralness in the tourism product. This may be material elements such as farm buildings, animals, and landscapes, but also non-material elements such as rural practices. 'Hardware' refers to the visual, to the hands-on artefacts and actors constituting the tourism product and its surrounding countryside. This box urges an exploration of 'what is mobilised and employed by tourist hosts in producing the tourist product on offer?' and 'what is included in the consumption by the consuming tourists?'

The fourth box '*software*', refers to the cultural lens (i.e. notions of rural representations) and personal input (i.e. previous experiences, assessments, beliefs, etc.) layered onto the hardware in acts of production and consumption by tourist hosts and tourists alike. In other words, software is all those things involved in moving beyond the physical character of the 'hardware'. This box aims to capture the yardstick by which tourism products are assessed. It is important to note that 'software' not only applies to the tourists consuming a rural tourism product, but also to tourism hosts that are constructing/grooming ruralness into a tourism product, as it is conceptually referring to the 'template' by means of which the product is produced/groomed. This conceptual box provides impetus to explore the popular myths of the rural (i.e. rural representations) and their integration with a tourist product's production and consumption. The last two boxes reflect authentication's political sides. '*Intra-coherency*' warrants an investigation of the relationship between the rural tourism product and its rural space, which could be quite simply defined as what is seen, heard and otherwise sensed (i.e. experienced) while consuming a rural tourism enterprise's product and the significance attributed to these aspects (i.e. their meaning). 'Intra-coherency' parallels Halfacree's (2007) notion of structural coherence, and the key question to address here is to what extent do the different elements of a given rural tourism product and its surrounding space tell the same story: 'Is the rural narrative of the tourism product internalised in the elements present, or is it undermined'? An important aspect of rural as socially produced is the idea that representations are formed, sustained and changed in a

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discourse with other representations, practices, material realities and their representational meanings (Frisvoll, 2012; Halfacree, 2007). The last box '*inter-coherency*', encourages an inquiry into this, urging that the linkages between the rural tourism product and overarching notions of rurality are explored. This conceptual box sets out to ask: how does the tourism product investigated relate to the larger discourses involving countryside and regional issues and to what extent is this reflected in the tourist's consumption of the products?

EMPIRICAL DEPLOYMENT OF THE FRAMEWORK

Before addressing the issue of what an empirical application of the proposed framework can tell us about 'authentication' in rural tourism, the study's method and empirical data needs to be accounted for.

Methodology

The empirical analysis is based on research in a Norwegian mountain region. The study region, a developing mountain community located in a peripheral region, is rapidly changing from being dominated by agriculture into a tourism driven economy. Four rural tourism enterprises were chosen as cases using a strategic sampling logic (Mason, 2002). The chief criterion was to cover a spectrum of the rural tourism products on offer in the study area.

The data was collected in 2008 and 2009 and contains interviews, document sources and observations. In addition a research journal was kept in which contextual information from the interviews and fieldwork were recorded. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 51 strategic sampled informants on site and covering a wide range of stakeholders (see Table 1). All of the informants except the tourists were contacted by a letter describing the research project with a subsequent phone call to negotiate participation. Tourist informants were recruited on site. Furthermore, data also includes information from public records, documents from the region's agency for development and rural tourism marketing material. Formal, overt observation of the moments of consumption/production was undertaken in one of the cases (see below). The interviews were transcribed and imported into qualitative analysis software (NVivo) along with the document data and research notes from the formal observation. The data was then coded with a focus on categorisation of meaning in relation to authenticity and social production of rural space.

The Cases

Each of the four cases are commercialising rural space and ruralness, presenting tourists with the opportunity to consume countryside experiences associated with summer dairy farming in mountain grazing landscapes, inland small holding's farm heritage, food traditions and

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Table 1. Oversight of the Study's Interview Data

	Position	Number of informants	Key perspectives generated information on
Contextual data			
Municipality	Mayor & Planning officer	2	Regional development, municipality's prioritisations, different industrial sectors' significance (especially tourism and agriculture)
Development agency	Manager & advisors on tourism, agriculture and culture	4	Regional development, large scale generic tourism (resort, hotels), small scale, niche tourism (i.e. rural tourism), and challenges on developing a viable rural tourism in the area
Tourism resort (Ltd.)	CEO & key owner	1	Region's tourism, the resort and resort town (strategic idea, purpose, etc.)
Destination agency	Manager	1	Region's tourism industry, its work on destination promotion and strategies and challenges in commercialisation of the region's attractions
Chamber of commerce	Director	1	Regional development, traditionalists vs. progressive voices in region's, tourism vs. other industrial sectors' significance
Rural tourism enterprises	Hosts	3	Supplementing information, building a broader understanding of the rural tourism in the study area and the cases' contexts.
Case data			
The Folk museum	Curators & manager	5	Host's approach to tourism product (considerations, strategy, aims, motivation, etc.)
	Tourists	14	Tourist's approach to the consumed tourism product (considerations, motivation etc.)
Heritage Farm	Host	1	''
	Tourists	7	''
Goat Farm	Hosts	2	''
	Tourists	3	''
Display Farm	Host	1	''
	Tourists	6	''
	Total:	51	

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folk culture. The *Folk Museum* is the study area's public museum, employing curators, historians and guides. The museum's collection of buildings, among them summer farm houses and farm buildings, and display of artefacts offers a certified narration of the region's rural culture and traditional way of life to tourists.

Heritage Farm is a restored farmstead with old buildings, some of which are considered to be of significant heritage value; the farm is mentioned in several books on cultural heritage presenting Norwegian buildings with heritage value. The farm is own by a married couple, the husband, a master builder, has restored the run down farm using historic techniques. The tourism business is run by the wife with some hired staff. Tourism is the farm's chief activity and its tourism product is lodgings and a café serving traditional food in the old farm buildings. On request, the host provides guided tours of the farm's oldest building.

Goat Farm is a summer farm devoted to the local tradition of dairy farming with free-ranging herds grazing on highland grasslands in the summer months. The farm is run by a husband and wife. The wife lives at the summer farm during the grazing season and entertains the tourists. Dairy farming is the couple's main business. In addition they manufacture traditional food from their farm's goats, and lastly, they invite paying tourists onto their summer farm. The scale of the tourism is moderate, accepting only small, prescheduled groups on certain days of the week. The tourism product is a farm visit, with the farmer's narration of a typical day at Goat Farm. Coffee and biscuits are provided in the cottage, before milking the goats (tourists are encouraged to try) and sending them off for night grazing. One session was overtly observed by the researcher.

The last case, *Display Farm* is a summer farm own by a tourist company and is managed by a trained tourism industry professional, employed by one of the company's hotels. Display Farm is located in the company's resort town, but is situated on a site that has a long history as a summer farm. Current buildings, which are on their original location, are more than 200 years old. Its tourism product is petting zoo in a summer farm setting.

Deconstructing Authentication of Ruralness

Box 1: Production. The Folk Museum's product is a collection of artefacts and buildings from different parts of the region and from different time periods, representing a variety of uses. Inside the historic buildings artefacts corresponding with the buildings' purpose and time periods are on display and historical scenes acted out. At Heritage Farm the product is homemade traditional food, served in an historic rural atmosphere, as well as lodgings in historic buildings. Display Farm is located in a booming resort town, and its tourism product is chiefly contact and interaction with animals in a summer farm setting. The product at Goat Farm is a package containing social gathering with the farmer in her summer farm cottage, a narration of the day

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Figure 2. Goat Farm

at the farm and why the summer farm is important, before watching the farmer milking her goats and sending them out to pasture (see Figure 2).

Important here is whether authentic ruralness is perceived to be part of the product, and to what extent authenticity was important for perceived product quality. In this study this varied between the cases. At Goat Farm, the hosts believe that displaying and communicating an authentic ruralness *is* the product. At Heritage Farm and the Folk Museum to display 'authentic' rural buildings was important (see Figures 3 and 4). However, at Display Farm and Heritage Farm ruralness seem to serve merely as a backdrop to its main elements on offer (petting-zoo and traditional food and lodgings, respectively). However, all of the interviewed hosts seem to share an understanding that their own product was reflecting a real ruralness (this will be further addressed in box 3). Most of the hosts were wary of limits to what their product could be composed of and still pass as authentic ruralness. In the study's data,

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Figure 3. Heritage Farm

this concern is most clearly articulated in Goat Farm and the Folk Museum. The following quote from one of the interviewed professionals at the Folk Museum illustrates this: ''The original plan was to put such an exhibition [of a 1970s home] inside one of the houses from the 19'th century. (...) But such a display would be too provoking.'' From a professional curators' point of view, this would be an accurate representation of how modern appliances was introduced in post-WWII Norway in this rural region. However, the informant was, as illustrated by the quote, wary of not meeting the visitors' expectations of how a folk museum should represent rural heritage. This attention to the tourists' judgment in the designing and staging of rural tourism products was not exclusive to the informants from the Folk Museum (further addressed in Boxes 3–6).

Further, the location varied as to where 'real' was perceived to reside. At Heritage Farm, 'real' was seen to reside in the buildings, their original location and the traditional food served, while at the Folk Museum 'real' was seen to dwell in the certified buildings and artefacts as well as the professional staging of the displays, rather than the location and

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Figure 4. The Folk Museum

milieu. At Goat Farm and to some extent at Display Farm also, realness was seen to reside in the activities taking place there; Goat Farm's authentic ruralness was seen by its hosts to reside in their agricultural practices and in the integration of the host's own life as a farmer with the tourism product. Consequently, they tried to keep the agricultural practice shown to tourists the same as if they had no tourism product:

> I'm a goat-farmer. I don't want to be a tourist host. I could've built a fire and made brown cheese for them [in the traditional manner], but I don't. It wouldn't be true. (...) What I want to do is to show tourists how it is in real life. (Olga, tourist host Goat Farm)

Box 2: Consumption. When it comes to ruralness' centrality to consumption, tourists do not seem to be that dissimilar across the four cases. However, what kind of rural and which part of it was sought varied among the tourists. International tourists reported that the ultimate motivation for going to Norway was its natural landscape. These informants were encountered at the Folk Museum and not in any of the other cases which perhaps catered to a more niche market. Domestic tourists also ranked nature high, but typically linked their

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motivations to the countryside's (perceived) safety and child-friendliness—particularly with reference to the presence of animals for their children to interact with. Such motivations were particularly clear cut at 'Display Farm' where ruralness' child-pleasing qualities were mentioned by all of its informants.

Another aspect addressed by the interviewed domestic tourists was the perception that a rural way of life was a lifestyle in harmony with nature. The practices of moving the livestock upland to take advantage of summer grazing still typical in this region were seen as examples of such a relationship. A common reoccurring motive among the interviewed tourists at Heritage Farm, the Folk Museum and Goat Farm was nostalgia: either for the old ways or for the perceived qualities of a 'simple rural life'. Another important motivation for consuming the cases' products was cultural education. Rural tourism products were used, by international tourists, to refine and hone their understandings of Norway. This was even more pronounced for the domestic tourists, who were outspoken on their desire to experience a different side to Norway than that of their own everyday lives. This motivation was most clearly articulated and expressed by the domestic tourists travelling with children.

The second element referred to in Box 2 is authenticity's centrality in consumption. As the tourists are heterogeneous, so is the centrality of 'authentic ruralness'. In all cases except Goat Farm centrality of authenticity was of peripheral importance to the informants arriving by chance. At the Folk Museum and Display Farm tourists sought purposely to consume a recognised 'authentic' ruralness. This applies for the interviewed tourists consuming Heritage Farm and Goat Farm as well. The desire to experience these cases' particular take on rural experiences is important. At Heritage Farm the mentioning of the farm in books on Norwegian heritage was addressed as a key lure, while at Goat Farm it was the farm's practice as a farm and the fact that it was the farmer herself that hosted:

> I experience this as a summer farm where we have come for a visit, where things are for real, where they live themselves and they tell us about their life. If it were a guide hired to do Olga's job, even though the guide was a good one, it wouldn't have been the same. It wouldn't have been for real in the same way. (Father, tourist visiting Goat Farm)

Box 3: Hardware. The data suggests that three overarching types of hardware were employed to convey authentic ruralness in the investigated products: material objects, their formal certification (i.e. 'cool authentication') and practices. It was particularly at the Folk Museum and Heritage Farm that 'cool authentication' was deployed to communicate authenticity. The Folk Museum is, for instance, employing its certified collection and traditional food such as sour cream porridge to convey its take on rurality. Additionally the museum used its staff, such as conservators, guides and staff in costumes performing, folk dancers and folk musicians, when staging and designing displays and

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information material. The data suggests that what was consumed by the interviewed tourists mirrors the hardware employed by the Folk Museum.

At Heritage Farm it is the farm's buildings, dating back to the 17th and early 19th century, their interior and 'local food', which are employed by the host along with the farms' animals and its surrounding agricultural landscape: ''We wish to create the atmosphere, telling [people] about the farm in the old days, how it was back then (...) Everything here is quite unique in many ways, thanks to the farm's old buildings.'' (Tourism host, Heritage Farm). Additionally, elements falling into Cohen and Cohen's (2012) 'cool authentication' are present, as educated endorsement of the farm is mobilised. Books on heritage discussing the farm are placed in a manner that invites people to read them, and a formally awarded brand from the organisation Norwegian Heritage is mounted at the entrance in addition to several other brands, including the symbol for Norwegian Rural Tourism (see Figure 5). However, performative (c.f. Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Knudsen, 2010) elements were also employed, as the hostess told about the restoration to tourists wanting a guided tour of the buildings. In addition, at Heritage Farm the data indicates a correspondence between what the tourist hosts include in their product and what is included by the consuming tourists (i.e. the local food, the hostess and the farm's old buildings).

The hosts of Goat Farm employ the summer farm's buildings, interior and farming infrastructure, in addition to their animals and the pastoral mountain landscape surrounding the farm. Moreover, the performative element was perhaps clearest at Goat Farm, as the hosts embedded their farming practices into their tourism product. As for Folk Museum and Heritage Farm, this is echoed by what the interviewed tourists included in their consumption. At Display Farm, the summer farm's 200 year old buildings are employed in making the tourism product, in addition to farming infrastructure such as pens, grazing enclosures, animals and traditional food. Contrary to the preceding cases there was no symmetry at Display Farm between what was employed in the intended product by the host and the elements included by the consuming tourists. This will be further discussed in box 5.

Box 4: Software. Two issues need to be addressed within this conceptual box: what representations constitute the foundation of the choice of hardware used to construct/design the rural tourism product and what rural representations comprises the tourists' judgments/sentiments of ruralness when consuming the same product? Berg and Lysgård (2004) identify two sets of representations that dominate lay discourses on urban/rural differences in Norway. The first, the 'rural idyll' is a collection of positive stereotypes on what rural is, while the second is a collection of negative. These myths are dichotomous to accompanying urban myths. If the rural is positively charged, then the urban elements are negatively charged. For instance the myth on

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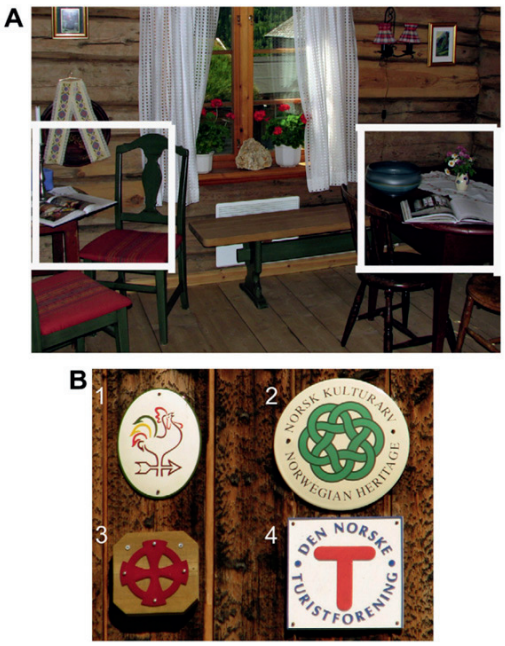

Figure 5. Examples of the Deployment of Cool Authentication at Heritage Farm

rural as idyll sees the rural as characterised by peace and quiet, cleanliness, safety, social inclusiveness, picturesque locations, harmony with nature and wholesome ways of life (sustainable) whereas the mythical counterpart, urban disperse sees the urban as represented by noise, dirt, danger, social isolation, ugliness, and unhealthy ways of life (unsustainable).

The products in all of the cases, with their hardware of traditional small rustic farm buildings, countryside/agriculture's heritage, grazing farm animals and traditional food, provide elements central to the dominant myth of the 'rural idyll'. The study suggests thus that the 'rural idyll' and elements associated with these representations were central to the authentication of the investigated cases' ruralness. Another aspect of the 'rural idyll', supporting this was the Norwegian tourists' reference to the rural's harmonious relationship with nature, of which the region's summer farming practices were seen as exemplary. As seen in Box 1, hardware in the form of farming practices that constitute the backbone of the rural idyll myth was paramount at Goat Farm. It is these practices' cultural connotations of a sustainable

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embeddedness of human/nature which the experience is assessed by. The following quote illustrates this: ''(. . .) by the look of it the children enjoyed that they could try it [milking] themselves, being allowed to actively engage with the animals.'' (Tourist Goat Farm, father). Moreover, as mentioned, a recurring motive among the interviewed tourists was nostalgia. Such nostalgia is part of the 'rural idyll', seeing the countryside as uncorrupted by modernity. However, at Display Farm tourists included elements beyond those intended by the hosts in their design. Here 'hardware' could be organised into two categories: that which supported the consumption of 'authentic ruralness' as intended by the hosts, and that which contradicted/undermined it. 'Supportive hardware' involved elements that fitted well with the myth of the rural idyll, such as free ranging grazing animals and old summer farm buildings. 'Undermining hardware' on the other hand involved elements associated with the rural idyll's dichotomous twin, urban despair, i.e. the developing resort town's urban sprawl onto nearby pastures.

Box 5: Intra-coherency. The cases' internal coherencies are reflective of stages one and two in Halfacree's (2007) structural coherence framework. At the Folk Museum, Heritage Farm and Goat Farm the data suggests symmetry between what was produced, what was consumed and the purpose intended by hosts and perceived by tourists, i.e. a stage one coherency. The study's data points to the myth of the 'rural idyll' as constituting a guideline or blueprint for what to expect from a rural tourism enterprise in terms of rurality. This set of representations thus constitute a template as to what 'naturally' belongs. In all of the cases except Display Farm, what was consumed seems to have largely corresponded to expectations prior to consumption. However, at Display Farm, some informants pointed to elements not belonging to the 'rural idyll' that disturbed their experience. This was related to the resort town's urbanisation of space which was clearly visible from the site of consumption, and represented urban development's commercialisation of the once pastoral land (see Figure 6). For example,

> It's sad that they are going to build as close as this. I can't grasp that they're allowed to do that. It ruins so much. But it's like this it tends to come to. The first time I visited this town was 30 years ago, and it was something completely different back then. Today it's so much more commercial here, unfortunately. (Tourist, Display Farm)

Moreover, the study suggests that the set of representations belonging to the 'rural idyll' also constitute the blueprint of what would pass as authentic ruralness as the following quote from a tourist interviewed at Heritage Farm illustrates. When talking about why he came to Heritage Farm, he reveals that he interprets the food on offer in relation to the setting in which it is consumed: ''When you have travelled to a farm such as this one I really savour the opportunity to taste local food. (. . .) If they had been serving hamburgers I wouldn't have bothered staying here. Definitively, I'll promise you that.'' (Tourist, Heritage Farm). One interpretation is that the tourist activates the discourse on rurality and its inherent dichotomous set of myths, the 'rural idyll' and 'urban

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despair'. An urban (i.e. modern) element, such as the hamburger with its cultural connotations of imported consumerism, is regarded by the informant as out of place in Heritage Farm; so much so that if it even were on the menu, it would shatter the establishment's 'authentic ruralness'. This illustrates the interlacing of materiality (i.e. the hamburger and the old farm buildings), social representations (i.e. the hamburger's cultural connotations) and practice (i.e. serving/offer the hamburger on the menu).

Box 6: Inter-coherency. Within a Halfacreean understanding of socially produced rural space, the production and consumption of a tourism product is inextricable from the wider discourses on rurality as the rural space and its adherent notions of rurality is formed through a threefold mesh of representations, locality and practices/performances. Discourses and their interlinkages with policies, regulations, practices, materiality and representations become important analytical perspectives to explore. In relation to rural tourism in Norway, two discourses are central: discourses on regional issues, as tourism and rural tourism are part of regional policies (c.f. White Paper nr. 25 (2008–2009); Ministry of Trade & Industry, 2012), and discourses on agriculture, as rural tourism is identified in agricultural policies as a means to diversify and legitimise agricultural policy (c.f. White Paper nr. 9 (2011–2012)). The Norwegian discourse on regional policy is characterised by two hegemonic positions: *growth* and *intrinsic value* (Cruickshank, Lysgård, & Magnussen, 2009). The growth-position approaches rural challenges from an economic and industrial perspective, seeing the countryside as underachieving, prescribing schemes to increase efficiency, and create economic and industrial development. The latter perceives rural life as having a value in itself, prescribing schemes aimed at preserving the 'rural idyll'.

Rural tourism in the study region is situated in the middle of this. These schisms are present and manifested in the region's agency promoting development, which all of the investigated cases interact with. Two of the cases, Display Farm and the Folk Museum, reflect both positions. As part of an industrial tourism complex rather than the agricultural sector, Display Farm incorporates both intrinsic and growth as part of a large resort complex containing a 'rural idyll' in the resort's portfolio of experiences. Similarly, at the Folk Museum both positions were observed by one of the curators as he conveyed that he would have liked the museum to display modern, industrialised agriculture, linking his desire precisely to the agency's perceived agenda of hiding the industrialised agriculture in order to amplify the region's brand as a 'rural idyll' (i.e. an intrinsic agenda).

The two other cases, Heritage Farm and Goat Farm seem moored within the intrinsic position. Heritage Farm has received grants conceived and designed within the intrinsic position and is consumed by tourists largely for its nostalgia of yesteryears' rurality. Similarly, Goat Farm is commercialising the traditional small holding's agricultural transhumance. However, Goat Farm could also be interpreted as an ac-

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Figure 6. Display Farm's Surroundings of Urban Sprawl

tor in the battle between growth and intrinsic value. Its hosts describe themselves as rural activists, linking their motivation for running a tourism enterprise to a desire to inform the public on agricultural issues. By commercialising their farm in the manner as they have, with their farming activities being the core of their tourism product, they perform the role of missionaries of farming practices they judge to be threatened by the growth-position:

> I want the tourist to see how the tradition of summer farming has evolved, how it lives on in a modern age (...) I tell them that this is essential to our small farm. We have to travel up here in the summer with our herd in order to have enough fodder for the winter. (Olga, tourism host Goat Farm)

In terms of the extent tourists relate to the discourses on regional and agricultural policies in the authentication of the tourism product, the data suggests two categories: interpreting the product in terms of these discourses and not. The data does, however, indicate that this is not necessarily due to the domestic tourists' ignorance of such discourses. It seems to be more about the centrality 'authentic ruralness' holds to the consumption. For instance tourists interviewed while con-

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suming the generic qualities of the Folk Museum did not seem to relate their experiences to the overall discourses on rurality or regional policies. However, when these tourists were explaining the reason they were traveling to this particular rural area in the first place, the discourses on regional policy and agricultural policy are evident in their narrations—typically by making reference to the landscape.

At Goat Farm and Heritage Farm on the other hand, the tourism product's relation to the discourses on agriculture and regional policy seem central to many of the interviewed tourists' desires to experience it. These narrations were often indicative of the rural's political dimension. Tourist-informants traveling with children often made reference to their children's need to experience the countryside. The following passage, from one of the interviews at Heritage Farm illustrates this. The informant, a mother traveling with her son, relays that she distances herself and her son's vacation needs from activities that in her eyes do not reflect her template of a real ruralness: ''To me, the activities for kids at the resort town are nonsense. (...) And this is important: the experiences needs to be something real.'' (Tourist, 'Heritage Farm'). In the quote she refers to the resort town's activities as unreal. With a social production to space approach, the root of such normative judgments is how the physical dimension and the performance/practises taking place there stack up with the notions of what a rural experience ought to be.

Figure 7. Examples of Performativity at Goat Farm

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The consumption at Goat Farm (see Figure 7) further addressed this, suggesting that the consumption of rural tourism products and the inherent 'authentication' is employed by parents to socialise the social representations of the 'rural idyll' to their children:

> Interviewer: Why did you want to experience a summer farm such as this one?
> Tourist Goat Farm, father: It's so that the children, and us for that matter, get to experience a tradition. That they can experience something other than the city and witness that food is something that is made, and not only something that's eaten.

In a Norwegian context the future of agriculture and rural areas is a hot political topic and 'growth' and 'intrinsic value' frequently clash in popular media. One interpretation of this quote in light of such a context is that the discourse on regional policy and agriculture has 'forced' this particular tourist to take a stand. Through his family's consumption of Goat Farm, he is socialising his children into embracing the kind of countryside that is advocated by the *intrinsic value*-position, thereby authenticating the 'rural idyll' as the authentic ruralness to his children.

CONCLUSION

Tourism research's debates on the concept of 'authenticity' are complex and enduring. Tourism is a multiplex phenomenon and, consequently, the idea that there is one particular take on authenticity that would fit all its endless variations is farfetched. Instead, calls have been made for conceptualising authentication (c.f. Cohen & Cohen, 2012), the social processes through which notions of authenticity emerge and are reaffirmed. Although providing an overarching recognition between different processes of authentication, Cohen & Cohen's (2012) conceptualisation leaves research on rural tourism unable to investigate and interpret how tourism, notions of rurality and notions of its authenticity interact with each other, and with other aspects of the countryside.

Such interplays are paramount to understand, as rural tourism's market niche is often thought to be the countryside's ability to deliver on authenticity (c.f. Hall et al., 2003). Without exposing these interplays, research are in danger of merely reproducing popular myths. In order to expose the how and why of the fusion between the countryside and notions of its authenticity, I suggested that Halfacree's (2006, 2007) conceptualisation of the threefold emergence of rural space is advantageous with its recognition of the interaction of ideas, locality and human practice. From within a Halfacreean-approach I operationalised an analytical framework to analyse authentication of ruralness that was deployed on data from four rural tourism enterprises.

The suggested framework is not able to predict or rate what the end-product of an authentication-process is in terms of notions of the authenticity of a particular enterprises' take on ruralness—these would be mere subjective judgements of the tourists. However, the framework brings with it an impetus to deconstruct the processes in which such

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notions are formed, influenced, work and reproduced. My analytical deployment of the framework on qualitative data from cases of rural tourism commodification and consumption has demonstrated the framework's ability to: denominate a complex picture of authentication; which is exposing authentication as a multifaceted mesh of materiality, social representations, political discourses, practices and performativity; which could be analytically pursed.

The application of the framework unearthed that certain material elements were employed in the authentication process to transfuse as it were ruralness into the rural tourism products. It highlighted that hosts and tourists alike approached the tourism products from within the reference point of the 'rural idyll', a set of positively charged social representations of the countryside. Moreover, the application of the framework indicated that what is consumed is 'tested' against this set of representations (c.f. 'rural gaze'); some elements support the narratives of a given tourism product's 'authentic ruralness' while others are seen as undermining. Rather than being compatible with the myth of the rural idyll, they are indicative of an alternative rurality brining disharmony into the cultish spaces of a tourism site. The deployment of the framework further demonstrated an ability to include the political side of 'authentication' as it highlighted its imbuedness with discourses on agriculture and regional policy. Moreover, the cases studied here, indicated that rural tourism plays a role in parent's rearing of their children, playing a role in authenticating spaces adhering to the 'rural idyll' as the 'authentic' countryside.

Finally, some implications of the study for future research can be drawn. If the framework is to be employed to analyse the authentication of ruralness, it is paramount that data is gathered on all of the dimensions emphasised, more generally by the three dimensions of space (representations, locality and lives—i.e. practices and performativity) of the rural, and more specifically on the issues raised within the six boxes (product, consumption, hardware, software, intra-coherency and inter-coherency). I believe there are significant contributions to the understanding of rural tourism to be made by further exploring performativity (c.f. Knudsen, 2010) and its role as 'hardware', its embeddedness in 'software', and, finally, its implications for tourism products' 'intra-coherency' and 'inter-coherency' by adopting a social production of space-approach.A

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Paper 3

PAPER #3 – Going beyond the idyll: negotiating contested spaces

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Turistadn køyre forbi
på nye afterski.
Kor vart det tå Telemarkskyre?
Kor vart det tå bygdedyret?

Stein Torleif Bjella

Journal of Rural Studies 28 (2012) 447–457

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Power in the production of spaces transformed by rural tourism

Svein Frisvoll [a, b, *]

[a] Centre for Rural Research, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway
[b] Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway

Keywords:
Rural change
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Trial by space

A B S T R A C T

The article critiques Halfacree's conceptualisation of rural space for masking the workings of power within 'black boxes' such as *structural coherence* and *trial by space*. One consequence is that rural change's social activities and also their social and personal consequences are cloaked, thereby rendering the localised fault lines of rurality analytically out of reach. Halfacree's conceptualisation is developed further by attaching a conceptual extension comprising three hubs: an immaterial hub, a material hub, and a personal hub. This is done as an attempt to give Halfacree's tool for deconstructing the social production of rural space analytical sensitivity to the actors engaged in the processes implied by social production. In order to demonstrate the analytical potential of the extended Halfacree approach, the conceptual model is applied to a case study: data from two communities undergoing rapid change, as they shifted from being dominated by primary industry to becoming tourism destinations.

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Angry as a bull he came after me, grabbing hold of me, wrenching me around, and I told him: 'Listen, you've achieved what you wanted. Now I don't want to talk to you anymore.' I had to sit down over there, shaking, thinking this is going to be hell. (Key owner, Codville Ltd.)

1. Introduction

Rural research has been criticised for not addressing sufficiently the subject of power, having withdrawn from studying social practices, relations and struggles (Cloke, 2006). One of the contributions seen to amend the field's conceptual shortcomings is Halfacree's (2004, 2006, 2007) threefold architecture for the deconstruction of rurality and rural space (Cloke, 2006; Woods, 2009). However, my argument is that neither Halfacree's architecture should escape such critique as application of it reveals limitations. When employed to empirically investigate the transformation of specific locations, social actors – who translate or activate representations of rurality (and other social representations) into lived space and everyday life – and their interactions and agency are left analytically out of reach, and thus the dynamics of power remain hidden.

Such veiling is problematic, as it impedes our understanding of processes in which, in the words of Murdoch and Pratt (1993, p. 411), 'actors impose "their" rurality on others'. Without an analytical tool for power, the localised fault lines of rurality remain in the dark. In the present article, Halfacree's model is developed further, and a conceptual extension is suggested, providing the original model with analytical sensitivity to actors' social actions and power. By employing this framework, actors and their agency, social relations, social practices, and struggles are brought back into the understanding of rurality, while continuing to illuminate the role of discourse and representations.

The extended Halfacree conceptualisation is analytically employed in two cases of communities undergoing rapid transformations. From being dominated by traditional primary industry, the studied communities are becoming increasingly dependent upon tourism. Three research questions are investigated: (1) *How many 'species' of rurality fight to dominate the two cases' space?* (2) *How do actors involved in the social production of rural space champion their desired rurality?* (3) *How is entangled power articulated in the studied communities' production of rural space?* Before I turn to these research questions, first the article's conceptual critique, the suggested conceptual extension, and methodological considerations are accounted for, followed by a presentation of the cases.

2. Powering up rurality

Rural researchers have long been aware that power is an issue in rural change, emphasising the rural as a place of contest, conflict

* Centre for Rural Research, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway. Tel.: +47 73 59 05 12; fax: +47 73 59 12 75.
E-mail address: Svein.Frisvoll@rural.no.

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and diversity (e.g. Bell and Valentine, 1995; Halfacree, 1996; Holloway, 2004; Murdoch and Ward, 1997; Woods, 1998). Nonetheless, rural studies after the cultural turn is criticised for taking unequal power relations and following tensions for granted, avoiding studying social practices, relations and struggle (Bell, 2007; Bell et al., 2010; Cloke, 2006). This is a severe critique as it is not social structures that act and produce social effects and outcomes, but rather social actors, individuals or groups that do so through their actions and interactions in a countryside that is formed by a complex dynamic tangle of social relations, representations, networks, material features, humans and their actions (Engelstad, 2009; Murdoch, 2003, 2006).

2.1. Social production of rurality and power: a 'black box'

Halfacree (2004, 2006, 2007), in adopting a socially-based spatiality, where space is conceptualised as integral to social practice and simultaneously constitutes social practice and is constituted by social practice, provides a Lefebvre-influenced (1991) model that demonstrates how different notions of rurality and the relationship between them can be deconstructed (Cloke, 2006) (Fig. 1).

Halfacree's (2007) model of rural space consists of three elements: representations of the rural, rural localities, and lives of the rural. Together, the elements constitute each other and reciprocally influence each other, thus creating 'rural space' and associated notions. The first element, 'representations of the rural', refers to how the rural is portrayed in formal contexts, such as in authorities' policies, planning documents, and industrial interests. The second, 'rural localities' and their characteristics (e.g. natural landscape, cultural landscape, aesthetics, etc.) relates to localities as inscribed through spatial practices. The third element, 'lives of the rural', refers to people's reproduction of rural practices in everyday life.

Two concepts stand out when attempting to understand the nature of power and the role of power in the construction of rural/rurality: 'structural coherence' (Halfacree, 2006), and 'trial by space', where 'structural coherence' is employed as 'stages' or subprocesses in the overarching 'trial by space' (Halfacree, 2007).

'Trial by space', a concept that Halfacree borrows from Lefebvre (1991), refers to the process through which a notion about a geographical space becomes the notion that is commonly recognised as applying to that particular kind of space (Halfacree, 2007). Lefebvre (1991) saw struggles to be part of trial by space as he writes that it involves "confrontations and clashes" (p. 417) and that it "invariably reaches a *dramatic moment* when whatever is being tried (…) is put radically into question." (p. 417, my emphasis). Lefebvre, however, leaves few clues as to the nature and inner workings of his 'trial by space'. As with most of Lefebvre's work on space, it is left to the user to interpret the concept and adapt it to their research (Merrifield, 2000); Halfacree's solution is to apply the concept of 'structural coherence'.

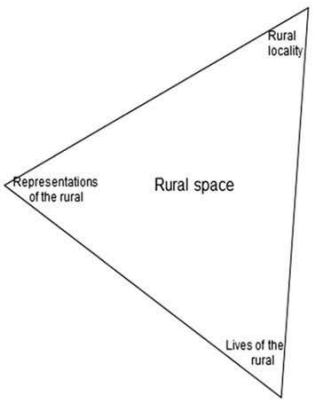

Fig. 1. Halfacree's conceptual triad of the production of rural space.

The application of 'structural coherence' is designed to indicate to what extent 'harmony' is present within rural localities, and thus the extent 'to which rural residents, policy makers, business interests, pressure groups, etc. "are singing from the same hymn sheet"' (Halfacree, 2007, p. 128). There are three kinds of spatial coherence: (1) congruent and united, (2) contradictory and disjointed, and (3) chaotic and incoherent. In the first category, the elements of rural space come together in a relatively smooth, consistent manner, yielding harmony. The lived, the conceived, and the perceived internalise each other, whereas the spatial character is open for debate in the other two categories. In the second category, there is contradiction within and between elements of rural space. Although there is tension, an overall coherence holds. In the third and last category, there are fundamental contradictions within and/or between elements of rural space. Fundamental conflicting ruralities co-exist and the elements of rural space fail to internalise each other (Halfacree, 2007).

Very little is explicitly said about actors' social actions in Halfacree's conceptualisation, although actors are a constituent in the conceptualisation's foundations. In works predating his conceptual model, Halfacree, deals with actors and their power (cf. Halfacree and Boyle, 1998). Another example is where he writes, with reference to Lefebvre's triad, that it is '*the actions – flows, transfers, interactions – that "secrete" society's space, facilitating socioeconomic reproductions. Practices are linked to … the rules and norms that bind society together*' (Halfacree, 2004, p. 294).

However, the actors/agency and the social aspects of their (everyday) lives seem to have been lost in the abstractions. Halfacree (2004, 2006, 2007) employs the model of rural space to analyse rurality on a systemic level in a British context, and finds four different 'species' of rurality (cf. Halfacree, 2007, p. 127). The actors and their agency seem only to play an abstract part, as a constituent in the conceptual 'explanation' of how these particular ruralities have emerged; analytically, actors and their agency are infinitesimal.

A similar critique can be made for power. Certain keyword phrases (e.g. 'cohere in a relatively smooth, consistent manner', 'tension and contradiction', and 'fought for through trial by space' (Halfacree, 2007, pp. 127, 128, and 136 respectively)) bear witness to a recognition of power, but actors' social relations, which by all measures of social science must be seen as imbued with power, do not. Halfacree's notions of power are on a systemic level, as he discusses the clash between different ruralities in the British countryside (2006; 2007). Beyond what is read into 'structural coherence' and 'trial by space', very little is said about the workings of power.

2.2. Perspectives on power

Although power is at the core of all issues approached by social science research, it is possibly the concept that is hardest to come to terms with (Haugaard and Clegg, 2009). The concept has been vastly debated and theorised (Clegg, 1989; Clegg and Haugaard, 2009; Panelli, 2004; Sharp et al., 2000a). The debate on 'power' has shifted from common sense understandings of power as coercion to more systemic, less agent-specific perceptions of power, in

which power is understood as the constitutor of reality (Haugaard and Clegg, 2009).

Two different perspectives on power are identified in what Sharp et al. (2000b) call orthodox accounts: power as domination, and power as resistance. In the domination perspective, power is seen as the capacity to exert force over people and spaces. This capacity is seen as something that could be possessed by institutions or individuals. Power is perceived as enabling institutions or individuals to 'control' certain spaces and coerce people into following particular rules, and power relationships are understood chiefly in terms of how dominance over others is achieved. In the second orthodox perspective on power, power is approached from the viewpoint of resistance. Traditionally, this second perspective has conceptualised power as a binary of opposing forces between those of dominating power and those in resistance to it. Common to these two approaches to power is that they maintain a domination-resistance binary.

Sharp et al. (2000b), based on Foucault as well as their own critique of orthodox approaches, formulate a third understanding of power, 'power as entanglements', which is the perspective on power upon this article rests. Here, power is not conceived as the force of domination, but as something that is insinuated throughout all social activity. By contrast to orthodox understandings, power is not seen as a resource to be held or executed by someone, but as something circulating as a network of unsettled social relations. This implies that power is not conceived as an object and cannot be studied as such. Instead, it is a social practice, in which power is embedded within action that needs to be studied. The concept of 'power as entanglements' also adheres to Foucault's dyad of resistance and domination, as well as to his union between 'knowledge', 'truth', 'discourse', and 'power' (Panelli, 2004; Sharp et al., 2000b).

Power is conceptualised as an amalgam of forces, practices, processes, and relations that 'spin out along the precarious threads of society and space.' (Sharp et al., 2000b, p. 20). In 'power as entanglements', power is thus not seen as

> 'blocks of institutional structures, with pre-established, fixed tasks (to dominate, to manipulate), or as mechanisms for imposing order from the top downwards, but rather as a social relation diffused through all spaces' (Sharp et al., 2000b, p. 20).

The material space is where it all comes together, as it is here that people, institutions, and social structures become entangled and generate relational power (Few, 2002; Sharp et al., 2000b). However, as pointed out by Halfacree, rural space is more than its material side. Representations are equally important, as are the lives of the rural. Doreen Massey (2005) promotes place as conjunctures of trajectories, where spatial narratives meet up or configure. In consequence, places 'pose a challenge' (Massey, 2005, p. 141), as they are not isolated islands of coherence that are only disturbed by external forces:

> *[W]hat is special about place is precisely that thrown togetherness, the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of 'thens' and 'theres'); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman.* (p. 140)

2.3. A conceptual model for decloaking entangled power

The extension needs to be sensitive to entangled power's concretisation into something heartfelt and concerned about by the people performing the different constituents of a community's trial by space. This is a challenge that Halfacree's model has to overcome if it is to be used to guide research on rural change's different processes and effects in concrete locations, as places are constructed and experienced both as material ecological artefacts and intricate networks of social relations, being solidifying configurations of social relations, material practices, elements in discourse and forms of power (Murdoch, 2003, 2006; Sharp et al., 2000b).

Furthermore, places are the focus of the imaginary, of desires, of beliefs, and of discursive activity. In short, places are filled with symbolic and representational meanings, as well as people and their social dealings. Halfacree's model is only equipped to enable an understanding of the former. Consequently, questions arise: What is the nature of the processes involved in 'trial by space'? What social processes are involved? Are there conditions that influence the 'trial' (i.e. power)? How and why are these conditions influential? Although practices and everyday life is stressed by Halfacree's conceptualisation, there is no conceptual impetus to investigate actors' social relations within the spatial production.

I suggest an extension to Halfacree's conceptualisation, comprising three hubs through which entangled power could be analytically pursued: *an immaterial hub*, *a material hub*, and *a personal hub* (see Fig. 2). As shown in Section 2.2, the understanding of power as entanglements sees power as networks of unsettled social relations within a space that is more than just material, or social, or practices. Furthermore, it asserts that the only way power can be studied is through studying the social practices in which power is embedded within action. The proposed conceptual hubs call for social practices embedded with action to be examined from three perspectives: immaterial, material, and personal.

The three hubs are formulated quite loosely to give them flexibility, as the phenomena to which they address are likely to vary across time and space. Nonetheless, the *immaterial hub* would typically in a Western society refer to the juridical side (law, by-laws, and regulations) of actors' social relations, as well as to actors' network relations and normative convictions (i.e. the informal guidelines incorporated into a community's socio-historical fabric). Here, it should be noted that this extension differs from Halfacree's 'representations of rural', which refer to formal representations of rural space and its rurality, not the formal and informal rules regulating, swaying and guiding actors' actions, to which this hub engenders sensitivity towards.

The *material hub* directs analytical attention to the material side of actors' social relations. In this regard, typical elements are property, its location, usufruct, money, and means of violence. These material elements have important social sides, as they either are

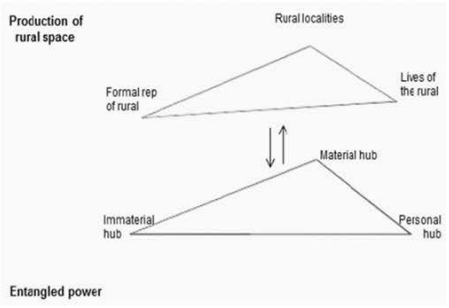

Fig. 2. A conceptual model for untangling power in the production of space. The figure illustrates the suggested extension to Halfacree's model. The extension is conceived as three hubs 'immaterial hub', 'material hub' and 'personal hub', each hub interacting with the others and with each of the three facets of Halfacree's triad. The hubs invite to examine the social relations/actions of the actors fighting for a particular rurality in its clash with a competing rurality.

employed directly in a social relation by the actors possessing them, or indirectly as part of the non-possessing actors' assessments.

Likewise, the *personal hub* addresses the personal side of actors' dealings in a rurality's trial by space. Examples could be actors' careers and/or career plans and family, as well as their follow-through of implemented strategies (e.g. threats, violence), fondness of fighting, and sense of vulnerability and/or perceptions of threat and gender. Other examples would be their attempts to secure perceived bases of existence and their desired way of life.

The three hubs are conceived as conceptual hooks, providing a Halfacreean approach with sensitivity towards entangled power's multitude of kinds and ways. The hubs are, in correspondence with the trialectic nature of Halfacree's triad, distinct but interrelated, interacting within two dimensions. Firstly, the three hubs should conceptually be seen as interacting and mutually constituting each other. For instance, entangled power embedded within social actions projecting from personal motives, agendas, assessments, etc. (i.e. what is addressed by the personal hub) cannot be understood in isolation from that which the other two hubs address. Secondly, the three hubs interact with the processes captured by Halfacree's threefold architecture, mutually affecting each other. Consequently, entangled power embedded within actions projecting from, for instance personal assessments, cannot be understood in isolation from the elements addressed by 'representations of the rural', 'rural localities', and 'lives of the rural'.

3. Method and data

This study rests on two cases, the identities of which are concealed for ethical reasons (McDowell, 1998; Thagaard, 2003): a small community called 'Codville', located in a peripheral coastal region, and 'Farmington', a rapidly developing mountain town located in a peripheral interior region. The case areas were strategically chosen because they were in the midst of transformation from being places sustained by primary industries to becoming dominated by tourism. Data were collected during three periods of fieldwork in the case study areas in 2008. In addition, a fourth period of fieldwork was carried out in Farmington during the winter of 2009, with the objective of examining previously unearthed issues and interviewing informants that previously were unavailable.

The recruitment of informants was guided by the 'strategic sampling' method (Mason, 2002), and the purpose was to identify and acquire data on conflicting spatial narratives in the rural changes experienced by the studied communities. A total of 45 qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 50 informants, covering the positions of tourism entrepreneurs, officials, local political leaders, local residents, property developers, and other stakeholders (Table 1). The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The study data further comprised various forms of official information from public records (official documents, zoning maps, and business register) and also internal documents from Codville Ltd. (tourist company owning most of Codville) and a key regional development organisation (RDO) in Farmington. Software facilitating analysis of qualitative data (NVivo) was used when categorising and analysing the data.

Table 1
List of informants.

Informant position	Information	Recruitment	Number of informants
Codville			
Municipality	Mayor, municipality planner, assistant deputy manager	Strategic	3
General tourism in the area Codville is located	Manager of the regional destination company, head of the local 'tourism board' (informal organisation)	Strategic	2
Local residents		Strategic, drawn from phone book	6
Tourism entrepreneur (Codville Ltd.)	Key owner and head, personnel manager, production and maintenance manager, chef	Strategic	4
Farmington			
Municipality	Mayor, municipality planner	Strategic	2
General tourism in the area Farmington is located	Manager of the regional destination company, Region's public museum (group interview)	Strategic	6
Regional development organisation (RDO)	4 project workers (one group interview with two of them + individual interviews), manager, and head of regional chamber of commerce	Strategic	6
Local residents, Farmville (Farmington's founding village)	In order to capture the rural change from pasture to resort town, "local residents" were defined as dwelling in Farmville, the village originally using Farmington for summer farming	Strategic, drawn from phone book	9
Key tourism enterprise (Farmington Ltd.)	Key owner and head	Strategic	1
Other tourism entrepreneurs in the region		Strategic	8
Stakeholders involved in a zoning conflict	"Marie": Property developer, transforming her farm's outfields to real estate, strongly in favour of the tourism-led development; "John": (middle position in the conflict) expanding farmer and contractor, in favour of some tourism-led development; "Lisa": traditional farmer, strongly opposing the tourism-led development	Strategic	3

4. Case presentation

Codville is a picturesque fishing village that has been turned into a tourism destination by private owners: 150 years ago it was a vibrant community based on rich fisheries off its shores, but today, fewer than 20 residents live in the community year-round, the majority are senior citizens, and only one family has children. Outside the tourist season, the village restaurant, pub, café, and shop are closed. Fewer than five locals are employed full-time, year-round by the former fishery station, now turned tourist company, while there are an additional 20–30 employees in the summer season, most of which are seasonal migrant workers and teenagers from nearby villages. Three non-local owners own the former station through Codville Ltd. Following their arrival 5–10 years ago, the industrial focus of Codville shifted, and for the first time tourism is key industry. The owners hope to realise Codville's potential and return a profit. Apart from the café, a nature tourism operator, and an artisan, Codville Ltd controls all tourism activities in the village.

Farmington is a recently emerged town. A booming tourism-driven property development transformed the area from land used for summer farming in the 1950s into today's year-round

resort town and commercial centre. Beyond the boundaries of the town, farming remains important, and constitutes a significant part of the lagging region's economy. At the time when the study was carried out more than 250 residents live in Farmington on a year-round basis. In addition, the town has a significant number of privately-owned second homes. With the exception of a few summer farms on the outskirts of Farmington, summer farming practices have been superseded by tourism-led developments. A central issue is a zoning dispute arising from the clash between non-agrarian resource use and exploitation of the same resources for traditional agricultural purposes.

5. Findings and discussion

The countryside is a multitude of intersecting spatial narratives. Moreover, communities and the everyday lives of rural people are subjective, diverse, discourse-tangled, and networked (Halfacree, 2007; Liepins, 2000; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2003). In order to analytically pursue actors in such an empirical 'mess' as 'trial by space', a limited set of narratives and set of actors, i.e. 'snapshots' illustrating particular aspects of the modified model, are investigated: a zoning dispute in Farmington, and the clash between a café owner in Codville and the company that controls the town (Codville Ltd.). Other clashes, conflicts, and views than those analysed here exist in the studied communities, as might be expected. The narratives analysed are those that emerged from the data collected. The goal here is to demonstrate the analytical potential of the extended Halfacree-approach. Section 5.1 is devoted to examining the first research question, Section 5.2 the second, while Section 5.3 enlightens the third.

5.1. A structurally coherent rurality?

5.1.1. Codville

Two 'species' of rurality were present in the Codville data, respectively labelled Company-Codville (CC) and Resistance's Codville (RC). CC is a conceived rurality, a type of rurality geared towards cashing in on tourism by: (1) creating a tourism product that can be consumed effortlessly; (2) manufacturing a consistent visual appearance of a destination whose product may be efficiently marketed and communicated; and (3) portraying Codville's history and the fishery heritage as Codville Ltd. perceives it. Several traces of this conceived rurality dominated Codville's space (see Tables 2–4, Section 5.1).

RC is the rurality of those who are opposed to CC in Codville's trial by space. This rurality is produced discursively, as RC's adherents related to and challenged CC. In many instances, it appears diametrical, conveying that Codville should be accessible without an admittance fee, and that tourism should be more based on a 'real community'. It is important to note, however, that the informants voicing opposition towards CC were involved in tourism, but independently from Codville Ltd.

Three points of contradiction between the two ruralities were articulated in the data: the way the company does business, the company's commercialised version of Codville, and owners' moral right to a place. The RC backers argued that Codville was being made into too much of a market place, while the whole point of CC was precisely the utilisation of Codville as a market place, especially in a situation where the company remained unprofitable.

The highly controversial admittance fee played an important role in Codville's trial by space. It substantiated Codville's rurality as a commodity and expressed the autonomy of Codville Ltd., as it demonstrated that Codville was something to be sold by Codville Ltd. One aspect of controversy was the level of the pricing, which was considered too high. Another aspect was the fact that an admittance fee increased tourists' expenses, leaving them with less to spend in the RC backers' non-Codville Ltd. tourism businesses.

However, the controversy runs deeper than the impact on sales. Another important issue was clashing notions of what was acceptable in the commercialisation of Codville. For example, the prominent voice of resistance in the Codville data, 'Hillary', a café owner in her 60s, felt that CC had reduced 'her' Codville by shameless commercialisation, and in which being veracious was cast overboard in the pursuit of tourists' cash. The source of such sentiments seems to have been Codville's recent shift into chiefly a place for tourism:

> *It is so much of this that's not true. It's supposed to be the best-preserved fishery station in the country. But where's the fish? There isn't a fish that's landed in Codville anymore. It's bygone. … To me, it seems like the history's distorted, 'poshed up' and told in a way that makes it unrecognisable.* (Hillary)

Table 2
Representations of the rural.

Codville		Farmington		
CC (dominating)	RC (subdued)	RF (dominating)	CRF (subdued)	SFF (subdued)

- Manual for employees
- Design of the guided walk
- Scheme underlying guides' narration
- Scheme underlying audio/visual show
- Scheme underlying admittance fee
- Company strategy for:
  - Restoration
  - New buildings
  - Commercialisation
  - Displays
  - Restaurant/pub
  - Take on food traditions
	- Scheme for Hillary's café:
	  - Menu
	  - Displays
	- Scheme for supplier of nature experiences:
	  - Codville as port only
	- Artisan's scheme:
	  - Developing his workshop into a tourism product (not realised)
		- Municipality's expropriation scheme
		- Farmington's master plan
		- Municipality's proposed zoning
		- Private plans for real estate developments
		- Farmington Ltd.'s schooling of its employees
		- Farmington Ltd.'s underlying reasoning on:
		  - Design and architecture
		  - Events and offerings
			- Regional Development Organisation's charter and projects on:
			  - Cultural heritage
			  - Summer farm tourism
			  - Local food
			- Tourism entrepreneurs' underlying reasoning on:
			  - Commercialisation
			  - Design and architecture
			  - Events and products
			- Public investment programs
			- Schemes underlying private investments
				- Municipality's mapping of grazing resources
				- Municipality's current zoning
				- Regional Development Organisation's charter
				- Regional Development Organisation's formal statements in zoning conflict
				- Schemes underlying farmer's working plans:
				  - Type of practice
				- Schemes underlying farmers' investments

Table 3
Rural locality.

Codville		Farmington		
CC (dominating)	RC (subdued)	RF (dominating)	CRF (subdued)	SFF (subdued)

- Tourism commerce:
  - Souvenir shop
  - Stream of tourists
  - Ticket booth
  - Parking facilities
  - Reception
  - New "shacks"
  - Artisan's outlet
  - Pricy, "posh" restaurant
- Fishery heritage:
  - Production facilities
  - Archive of artefacts, pictures, maps, etc.
	- Fishery heritage:
	  - Fishers, boats and equipment
	  - Production facilities
	  - Local families imbued ith Codville-heritage
	- Local community:
	  - Local, year round inhabitants
	  - "Proper" village shop, not souvenirs
	- Tourism commerce:
	  - Hillary's café
	  - Codville Ltd.'s infrastructure for tourism
	  - Nature experiences
		- Tourism commerce:
		  - Shops, bars, restaurants, hotels, etc.
		  - Stream of tourists
		  - Infrastructure (roads, parking lots, etc.)
		  - Display of resort's history
		  - Commercialised nature
		  - Signs, ski runs, organised paths, etc.
		- Commercialised farm heritage:
		  - Visitation/display summer farm
			- Commercialised farm heritage:
			  - Special shop selling organic local produce
			  - Continued farming practices
			  - "Authentic" display farm
			  - Signs, organised paths
			- Tourism commerce:
			  - Agritourism
			  - Infrastructure
				- Cultural landscape:
				  - Pastures
				  - Summer farms in mountain outfields
				- Grazing livestock (cows, goats and sheep)
				- Infrastructure (roads, fences)

In contrast to the above claim, the key owner of Codville Ltd. relied on his trained architect's eyes in his approach to Codville as a tourist attraction. For him, it was not the continuation of the fisheries that needed to play first violin in order to stage the destination as an attraction where the fishermen's toil and the coastal heritage could be experienced. Rather, it was Codville's built environment and its rich catalogue of artefacts that he judged to be its finest assets.

Thus, Codville's structural coherence could not be labelled congruent and unified, although to a visitor scratching the surfaces of its front stage Codville may appear to be a space that coheres in a smooth and consistent manner. It was not a chaotic and disjointed rural space either, as Codville Ltd. and the local resistance fundamentally agreed that Codville was supposed to be about tourism. This study suggests that the battle was about the following: (1) the way Codville's heritage was manifested, (2) who possessed the legitimacy to capitalise on and control this heritage, and (3) the manner in which Codville and its heritage was commodified. Codville thus falls into the second level of structural coherence, where space is *contradictory and disjointed* and, although there is tension and contradiction, an overall coherence holds (Halfacree, 2007).

5.1.2. *Farmington*

Three 'species' of rurality were recognisable in the Farmington data: Resort Farmington (RF), Culturally-Rooted Farmington (CRF), and Summer Farm Farmington (SFF). RF is an engineered rurality

Table 4
Lives of the rural.

Codville		Farmington		
CC (dominating)	RC (subdued)	RF (dominating)	CRF (subdued)	SFF (subdued)

- Local employees' chores
- Seasonal immigrant workers' chores
- Village shop workers in "costumes"
- Struggle to change company culture
- Struggle to turn company's negative financial situation
- Locals' "condoning resignation" and "supporting participation"
- Fighting/bickering with café host
	- Avoiding parts of Codville particularly closely associated with CC
	- Hillary's badmouthing of Codville Ltd. to her guests and media
	- Opposing the admittance fee
	- Fighting/bickering with Codville Ltd.
		- Employees' chores
		-Efforts to:
		  - Sell beds
		  - Attract customers
		  - Create events
		  - Realise strategies
		  - Realise perceived potential
		- Activities associated with:
		  - Bars, restaurants, shops and hotels
		  - Volume tourism
		  - Traffic
		- Activities associated with zoning conflict:
		  - Zoning processes
		  - Lobbying
		  - Preparation for land reallocation
			- Activities associated with:
			  - "Authentic" display farm
			  - Local food produce shop
			  - Farming practice
			  - Small scale tourism (e.g. closer interaction between community and visitors)
			- Feeble efforts to:
			  - Establish a culturally rooted tourism
				- Farming practices:
				  - Free ranging livestock
				  - Enclosed grazing
				  - Nomadic seasonal migration of households and livestock between summer pastures and main farm
				- Family practises at summer farm:
				  - Work and recreation
				  - Commuting to off-farm job
				- Activities associated with zoning conflict:
				  - Protesting
				  - Worrying
				  - Preparation for lawsuit
				  - Lobbying

designed to meet the perceived needs of Farmington's largest tourism enterprise, Farmington Ltd, a company that controls most of Farmington's tourism activity and events. It is designed to commercialise tourists' consumption of rural space by (1) transforming a mountain grazing landscape into a resort town, (2) creating and sustaining a tourism-driven economy, and (3) creating recreational activities and events. Evidence of this engineered rurality was present, dominating Farmington's rural space (see Tables 2–4).

CRF is a conceived rurality that attempts to reorientate the area's tourism from large-scale generic tourism to tourism based on a perceived, area-specific quality (agricultural heritage). The conceived rurality is equipped to commercialise agricultural heritage and activities. Although this rurality received substantial attention from public development agencies and political institutions on regional and national levels, its marks were barely noticeable in Farmington's space (see Tables 2–4).

SFF is the rurality originally dominating the area, a rurality produced by local farming practices of exploiting mountain land as an agricultural resource. Several traces of this rurality were present in Farmington's rural space; these were subdued in the town centre, but dominated its outskirts (see Tables 2–4).

The three ruralities each have differing abilities to harmoniously co-exist with the others. To some degree, CRF depended on the traffic generated in RF, as the latter attracted a pool of tourists into which the entrepreneurs promoting CRF could tap. At the same time, CRF was supported by the existence of SFF, as this rurality spatially underpinned the very heritage upon which CRF was conceived to capitalise. RF was to a lesser extent dependent upon its competing ruralities, although the presence of CRF widened the scope of the area's attractions and events, making Farmington into a destination that also had something to offer tourists that preferred more culturally rooted experiences.

The presence of SFF and its adherent activities were more problematic for RF. Roaming livestock was clearly a source of irritation. The greatest source of aggravation between the two 'species' of rurality was SFF's extensive land use; one 'hot' issue was a perceived shortage of residential housing. The municipality, a supporter of RF, intended to remedy this by zoning new areas as residential zones, but the several hundred housing units planned in an area neighbouring a cluster of summer farms created significant conflict. The sustained push for real estate raised difficult issues in Farmington's trial by space, as the conflict conveyed that Farmington's development was incompatible with summer farming. This was a particularly difficult issue for the municipality to which Farmington belonged. The municipality found itself at a crossroads, confronted with a choice between facilitating either RF or SFF:

> *With the revision of the municipality's general plan we need to address the big question: Do we really want these summer farms? We need to begin looking for possibilities to compensate these farmers, expropriate them, so they can establish new summer farms elsewhere.* (Municipality planner)

For SFF, the presence of CRF and RF were a potential threat, as they implied more traffic on pastureland, and because rising property values would create pressure to develop the land into real estate.

The results of the study suggest that the battle in Farmington was over two issues: whether tourism should take place or not, and the cultural rootedness of any tourism that did take place. Farmington, like Codville, thus falls into the second level of structural coherence. Farmington's space may have been chaotic and disjointed, as the primary battling ruralities (RF and SFF) seem to have been mutually exclusive, but RF seemed to suppress opposing voices, thereby maintaining the structural coherence within stage two.

In order to investigate further it is necessary to turn to power in the two case communities' production of space. How did the actors involved champion their desired rurality in the trial by space riddling their community's space?

5.2. Engaging in the production of rural space

Since the trials by space investigated here 'ran hot', the stakeholders close to the core of each 'species' of rurality seemed quite aware of their engagement, and hence they were able to narrate in a relatively straightforward manner during their interviews. However, the engagement by normal 'civilians' is harder to classify, partly because they kept a low profile and consequently were hard to identify, but also because rural residents are heterogeneous.

Nonetheless, in the case of Codville the data suggest that three particular strategies for engagement in the production of space were employed by the interviewed local residents: *condoning resignation*, *supportive participation in CC*, and *resistance*. The first group consisted of local residents that sympathised with Codville Ltd.'s need to commercialise Codville; the company had certain responsibilities to its employees and the community and also needed to make money in order to fulfil these responsibilities. People who employed this strategy saw tourism as the lesser of two evils, the preferred alternative to dwindling into oblivion. The second group comprised locals who worked for Codville Ltd, while the actors championing RC rurality are the third group. In the case of Farmington, a comparatively larger town, the study is too limited to render a precise picture of the engagements outside the inner core of stakeholders engaged in the three identified ruralities.

Within the conceptual triad's first corner, 'representations of the rural', Halfacree (2007, p. 127) places the 'formal representations of the rural such as those expressed by capital interests, cultural arbiters, planners or politicians'. In the case of Codville, this translates to Codville Ltd.'s formal representations of their envisioned Codville. In the trial by space, formal representations surfaced in the stakeholders' decision regarding an admittance fee, the company-certified slide show, the ideas behind the guides' narrations, the schooling of employees, the company's design programme, and the souvenir shop's format. Likewise, the local opposition commanded components belonging to this corner, such as the reasoning behind their own tourism products, as in the case of Hillary's display of artefacts in the café (Table 2).

In Farmington's production of rural space the politicians' and planners' representations play a much more central role, as manifested through the town's master plan and zoning. These actors' ideas were also found in SFF's rurality, as the municipality had commissioned a vegetation survey documenting grazing quality, and in CRF, as the municipality is a member of the RDO that champions this rurality. This does not shift the municipality in its standing as a champion of RF; although the actual area in question remains zoned as a summer farm zone, the informants representing the municipality voiced a desire to change this status (Table 2).

Halfacree's (2007) second corner is 'rural locality', as rurality is 'inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices, linked to production and/or consumption activities' (p. 127). In this corner are placed spatial practices exuding a society's distinct space with its material expression – elements associated with what is perceived as 'real' space (Elden, 2004; Halfacree, 2007). In the case of Codville and Farmington, this corner translates to the materialisation of the actors' representations from the first corner. In Codville's case, the company's commercialisation and the commercialisation's infrastructure are addressed by this corner. As Table 3 indicates, this commercialisation and its infrastructure have two facets. For Codville Ltd., tourism and commerce (activities) and their material infrastructure were important. Examples of such infrastructure are the souvenir shop, the ticket booth, and the new 'posh' 'fishermen shacks'. Tourism and commerce were found in the activities taking place in

these concrete infrastructure elements and in the streams of tourists occupying Codville's space. Furthermore, the fishery heritage was imperative for the company, as it was the material basis for its business, but the actual fishery activities were of marginal importance. The local opposition's 'rural locality' contrasted with that of the company's, because to them it was the fishery activities that was supposed to play centre stage in Codville's 'real' space and should be continued. The tourism-driven village shop was resented too.

The schematic layout of the second corner in Farmington's spatial production is somewhat parallel to Codville's, with a dominating tourism company commercialising its space and a group of voices that wished to see economic development more rooted in local heritage (Table 3). The two cases diverge, however, in that RF was not based on such a heritage, and Farmington also had summer farming champions, who were keeping farming activities and their material elements discernible in the town's surroundings.

'Lives of the rural' is the third and final corner in Halfacree's (2007) triad. The lives of the rural are inevitably subjective and diverse, and reflect varying levels of coherence and in-coherence (Halfacree, 2007, p. 127). This corner of the conceptualisation refers to space as lived (Elden, 2004; Halfacree, 2007). In relation to Codville and Farmington, this translates into the execution of the strategies that stakeholders employed to champion their envisioned rurality. In Codville these were characterised by the employees' performance of their chores for the company and visitors' tourist behaviours (Table 4). Furthermore, it is within this conceptual corner that the conflict between the spearheads of the trial by space, Codville Ltd. and Hillary, belongs. It was in everyday life that Codville's trial by space was manifested:

> *I've been against them from the start. I quarrel with them and take my heart medicine. … They're furious with me, and I have no trouble understanding why.* (Hillary).

The manifestation of the trial by space in his everyday life was something the owner and head of Codville Ltd. also addressed, as illustrated by the paper's opening quote and the following:

> Key owner and head, Codville Ltd.: *Hillary has a tendency to badmouth us to her guests, and that's a shame. … So next week, if she says something, I'll claim rent for her outdoor sitting area* [laughs].
>
> Interviewer: *Does this conflict run beyond friendly bickering?*
>
> Key owner and head, Codville Ltd: *It hasn't been fun at all.*

In this case too, Farmington's conceptual corner resembled Codville's, with tourists and employees performing the performances and chores associated with a resort town's different activities (e.g. running bars and restaurants, and large scale tourism) (Table 4). With limited exceptions, the performances of the supporters of CRF rurality were almost invisible. By contrast, the performances of the champions of SFF rurality were recognisable; their farming practices were a reminder of their rurality. Furthermore, as in the case of Codville, it was in the everyday life of Farmington's stakeholders that trial by space was manifested:

> *Despite the conflict, we're neighbours and shall live together, and that's quite tough. … It's draining, and the time it requires is interminable. This overshadows everything. It demands so much energy.* (Lisa)

5.3. Power in the production of rural space

Indeed, power is indicated when a space's trial by space and corresponding activities are illuminated through Halfacree's triad. However, this power is on a systemic level, such as the relative strength of RF versus CRF and SFF, as indicated by its domination over CRF and SFF. In order to understand the trial by space riddling Farmington and Codville, I will now turn to the question of how entangled power is articulated in the case communities' production of rural space, employing the conceptual extension to Halfacree's model suggested in Section 2.3.

5.3.1. The immaterial hub

When the 'immaterial hub' is applied to the data, power becomes discernible through, but also within, the workings of formal organisational law and the two companies' directives, and the laws and by-laws regulating municipalities and public development schemes such as Farmington's RDO. In Farmington, the municipality's formal zoning authority effectively checked the RDO's attempts to advocate an SFF rurality, and the municipality disapproved of the local development organisation's meddling in municipal affairs, as clearly revealed by the RDO leader:

> *I went a bit too far with my statements in a zoning case in Farmington … and we were in conflict with the municipality. They had already concluded in favour of the zoning, as had the county governor. … So I told them that next time my statement would be more clearly politically 'moored'.* (Leader, RDO)

Lisa, the key champion of SFF rurality according to the data, was grateful for the RDO's support. However, she recognised the municipality's use of institutional force, as the supportive statement from the RDO was removed from the zoning's case documents:

> Lisa: *The RDO has summer farming as their priority. But one begins to wonder whether that's just a pretext for something 'cause a statement was issued by them in this concrete case. But suddenly the statement disappeared.*
>
> *Interviewer: The municipality buried it?*
>
> Lisa: *Yes, officially it's said that the RDO isn't allowed to make statements in issues such as this one. … The mayor is also on the council controlling the RDO. So this is like placing a fox to keep the geese, you know.*

In Codville's spatial production, organisational juridical aspects were also at work on social relations taking place in its trial by space. Codville Ltd.'s key owner was both majority owner and company head, with all the influence that such positions command. Naturally, such aspects were present in the company's internal affairs. An example, is the compendium issued to employees, which made it clear that for an employee to live up to his or her responsibilities, they would have to be familiar with Codville's history, thereby ensuring that all employees 'sung from the same hymn sheet' in Codville's choir of ruralities.

Power was also at play through and within networks and/or relations in the two cases. This was particularly noticeable in the Farmington case. As the mayor admitted, the bonds were tight:

> *It's a challenge that we're such a small community. … [T]he connections between people are close, often family or friendship, at least acquaintances. … [I]t is hard to say no to your neighbour or to someone in your family when you're planning.* (Mayor)

The relations seem perhaps particularly close between the backers of Resort Farmington. Marie, who wanted to develop her land into a residential area, had held a seat on the municipal council for a decade. Furthermore, she was a member of the municipality's committee for planning and zoning issues, which thus placed her within the body that had developed the guiding principles for Farmington's growth. In addition, the municipality's deputy

manager took leave of absence from his municipal job in order to head the work with Farmington's master plan, and later returned to his post as chief bureaucrat, where he was subsequently responsible for the preparation of the zoning. Further, the municipality's section manager, to whom the planning department answered, had a background of working within Farmington's business community.

The above-mentioned networks posed a significant challenge to Lisa's desire for a dominating SFF rurality, as they were out of her reach, given that they took place behind closed doors. The following quote illustrates Lisa's despair over this:

> *Marie's on the planning committee. She's been sitting at that table working on this scheme for many years*! … *We should neither have had that deputy manager nor section manager. But they're relatively young, so I guess we're stuck with them for a while.* (Lisa)

The champions of SFF, however, were not without empowering networks of their own. According to municipal zoning documents, the smallholders association, local residents at Farmington (among them lawyers), second-home owners, and farmers were among those issuing formal statements in favour of the SFF case against the proposed residential zoning.

In the Foucauldian understanding of 'power as entanglements' there is a union between 'truth', 'discourse', and power. In the 'immaterial hub' this surfaces in normative conviction. As noted earlier, RC contained sentiments that Codville's space should first and foremost be about the fishermen and their history. When legitimising her right to have a say in Codville, Hillary pointed to her family's fishery background, their history related to Codville, and her own history in connection with Codville, while pointing out the owners' lack of fishery ancestry, as well her perception of cultural and class differences:

> *'Cause Codville is the fishermen's, and nobody else's. But that's forgotten. My dad, born in 1904, was a fisherman here all his years. And my brother has been a fisherman. He was one of the last to leave Codville. And I'm also an aunt to four nephews that are also fishermen – ordinary people. … My sister, who doesn't live in Codville, had to pay 4 euros to get in, 'cause the people in the booth don't know the locals. That makes me very upset. I don't think it's right.* (Hillary)

For Farmington's opposing voices, normative convictions seemed to be the chief source of empowerment, as with Lisa's conviction in the zoning dispute over whether or not Farmington's resources were best used for agricultural production. Lisa's normative arguments were diverse. One reference that she made was to agriculture as a producer of man's basic needs, with an allusion to a perceived immorality in tourism, from which man cannot be sustained. Another reference was to the natural and cultural qualities read into SFF rurality's resource use, and there was reference to the historical supremacy agriculture held over tourism in Farmington. The implication is that, from Lisa's perspective, Marie indulged in immoral conduct in her desire to convert her agricultural land into cash.

The opposition did not have a monopoly on channelling power through their normative convictions, though. The supporters of RF also conveyed a clear and focused normative conviction that tourism-led growth was necessary for the common welfare. An example was Marie's linkage between the communities' wellbeing and RF rurality:

> As a politician you can't focus on your own industry. That there are job opportunities so enough people may live here to justify the school and kindergarten is one of your responsibilities. Our goal is to avoid a population decline. You need to ensure that there are other industries than agriculture to achieve that.

5.3.2. The material hub

When applying the 'material hub' on the data, power becomes discernible through property, money, usufruct, and localisation. In Codville, for instance, the company's ownership of the property was not questioned. Private owners had purchased the fishery station. Naturally, this granted certain capabilities regarding modifying the property to fit their own needs.

One example of the company's command of their property in order to keep their control of Codville's visual appearance was the deeds to the new 'fishermen shacks', which the owner was quite conscious of:

> *The deeds give property rights to an area that is precisely as big as the shack, 60 m squared. … and since we're in legal control of it, I can tell them that 'no, you can't have a Jacuzzi outside your shack'. … It's important to be in control.* (Key owner and head, Codville Ltd.)

There is no doubt that property was important in the case of Hillary's empowerment. Her café was one of the few buildings not owned by the company. Naturally, the implication of this was that Codville Ltd. could not evict their 'thorn'. Instead, they resorted to removing their adversary by attempting to talk her into working for them:

> *This spring, one of the owners came to me with a job offer. … It was a pretty good offer, but I had to close this place. I replied [that] I would be happy to run both. No, that was out of the question.* (Hillary)

Property was also important in the Farmington case. It was Marie's landownership that empowered in her strive for the development of a residential area on her land. However, with an entangled perspective on power, property rights cannot be seen to yield absolute power.

Money was the second channel of power addressed by the material hub. Codville's informants pointed to the owners' wealth as significant relative to their own ordinary financial means; buying the station to realise RC rurality was not an option. For Farmington's champions of SFF rurality, who were ordinary farmers, money was of paramount concern because it limited their options to fight for their desired rurality:

> *We've tried to get by without a lawyer so far, 'cause they're expensive. And we think it's too bad that we should use our income on such a thing because we have the rights.* (Lisa)

Money is an obvious channel of power, but its workings in the investigated trial by space was not straightforward. Spending money in order to make money, as the owners of Codville Ltd. had done, placed the company under pressure to earn money, especially in its pub and restaurant. This pressure constituted a disempowering force for the company in Codville's trial by space, as Hillary, who had modest expenses, could afford to price her food and beverages well below those sold by Codville Ltd.

As in Codville, money was not a straightforward matter in Farmington. The latter is a popular area for second homes and attracts wealthy people (and companies), some of which have even made Farmington their permanent place of residence. Thus, stakeholders that could extensively draw upon their wealth and networks acquired elsewhere were present in Farmington's trial by space. The records related to the zoning hearings indicate that these stakeholders indeed had engaged in arguing the case against the zoning of the residential area. According to Lisa, the RF campaigners were aware of the force that these stakeholders could potentially muster:

The developers have actually told us that they're afraid of the city people, because they'll immediately put a lawyer on it, 'cause they can afford to. But the village people wait until the last minute, so they have more power over us. (Lisa)

Usufruct is also a means through which power was embedded in the actors' social relations and actions in the investigated trial by space. In the Farmington case, Lisa used her farm's usufruct, i.e. her farm's grazing rights legitimised by common law, to empower her struggle against her neighbour and the RF supporters in her camp:

Our summer farm is very old. It predates the formal system of parcels. … the private parcel's grazing right has always been a common right. No one has opposed that. That the livestock always have been grazing on other people's land. So the grazing right is common. (Lisa)

Clearly, free ranging cattle will not easily co-exist with the development of a residential area, and Lisa's hope was that through legal documentation of her usufruct she would be able to stop the zoning and the development it had legalised. The power of entanglement's dyad of domination and resistance implies that resistance is integral to domination. Lisa's attempt to invoke usufruct was challenged by Marie. In the zoning hearings Marie presented documents allegedly signed in the 1950s by witnesses, stating that the properties in question had been fenced in and hence they were not open for common grazing.

In both cases, location seemed to be important means by which the actors' relations and actions could become infused with power. Marie's land was located in one of the few areas open for Farmington's development. In Codville, Hillary was able to draw significantly on her café's favourable location within the fishery station; tourists had to walk past the café on their way to and from the station. The auspicious location interacted with the other aspects of entangled power embedded in her performance in Codville's trial by space, amplifying the empowering effects and rendering the café owner someone to be reckoned within Codville's production of space.

5.3.3. The personal hub

The aspects referred to by personal hub may be hard to capture data on and thereby also to analyse systematically. Nonetheless, it is important that studies that are to employ the proposed expansion to Halfacree's conceptualisation have the personal hub in mind when designing the fieldwork so that data covering the personal side of actors' dealings in a rurality's trial by space is collected: for instance on careers and/or career plans and family, as to the extent they actually implement strategies/desires into social actions, fondness of fighting, and sense of vulnerability, and whether feeling threatened etc.

Power embedded in the actors' social relations had a personal side in both Codville and Farmington. In Codville, for instance, the personal side was tangible in the contrast between the professional investors who invested a significant amount of money, and expected not only to create a viable and successful tourism destination but also a return on their investment, and the café owner and her hobby-like aspirations for her business; Hillary's main motivation for running the café was to fill her days with meaningful activity. In Farmington, the desire to convert the value of real estate into cash was an apparent motivation, spurring Marie into action when the chance presented itself. However, when interviewed she also revealed another motivation, namely a desire for her children to be able to settle down in Farmington after they had graduated from university:

If it hadn't been for Farmington, and all the jobs created here, we would have been like any other backwater location. … That wouldn't be anything, neither for me or my children. Without Farmington there would be nothing for them to return for. (Marie)

Also Marie's neighbour's dealings in Farmington's trial by space were embedded with power emerging from the personal side. Firstly, the basis of Lisa's engagement lay in her assessment that without the summer farm's recourses (as grazing for her livestock) it would be impossible to continue farming, and she was quite determined to prevent this from happening. RF and its spatial consequences, if realised, would have depleted the resources that her family farm relied on. Secondly, her veneration of her ancestors' toil was important:

We're the sixth generation here. … Of course, we want to continue running the farm, and we hope our descendants will too. … It is precisely the thing, to maintain what your kin has cultivated and built. So we would love to continue that. (Lisa)

5.4. Accounts of trial by space sensitive to actors, agency, and power

For Marie, the elements pointed to by the three hubs of power and Halfacree's three facets came together in her attempt to reap the fruits of 'her' rurality's performance in its trial by space. Over the years, the champions of Resort Farmington had built a rural space that dominated Farmington. Marie was spurred to action because of her desire to convert land into cash, a politician's responsibility for her constituency, and a desire for her children to be able to move back home. Conceptually belonging to the hub of immaterial power, power was embedded with her actions via her professional networks. In her position as a politician, she had ample opportunity to consort with the actors hammering out the principles and by-laws guiding Farmington's growth. These guidelines, conceptually belonging to Halfacree's 'representations of the rural', imply that the only direction open for further development was in the direction of Marie's land, evoking power conceptually belonging to the material hub – her property. This empowered Marie to challenge her neighbours' usufruct that resided in their farming practices. These practises and their materiality conceptually belong to Halfacree's 'lives of the rural' and 'rural localities'.

Marie's efforts, if she were to be successful, would bear a promise of reconfiguration of the aspects addressed by Halfacree's 'lives of the rural' and 'rural localities'. If realised, the residential area would mean an end to the SFF's practice of freely roaming cattle grazing on the area in question; according to Lisa, this would mean an end to their farming altogether. Lisa was fighting for her way of life, for the right to continue to farm. Being easily blocked by the municipality, the RDO proved to be an unsuccessful ally for Lisa in terms of countering the influence of Marie's network in Farmington's trial by space. Powerless against Marie's professional network, one of the few options left to Lisa that potentially would prove to be powerful in the trial by space were her usufruct. As shown this too was fought forcefully by Marie.

For Hillary, power, analytically addressed by the immaterial hub, was embedded with her actions through her normative conviction that Codville belonged to the fishers, and this led to her engagement in taking action against CC. Furthermore, the power and agency addressed by this hub draws significantly on elements referred to by Halfacree's 'rural locality' (e.g. fishery heritage and its material and cultural remnants). However, Hillary's resistance would not have posed much more than an inconvenience for the champions of CC, had it not been for the power analytically manifested through the material hub – property, money, and location. Codville Ltd. had spent a lot of money on its tourist destination but had yet to achieve profitability. Hillary, with her modest expenses, had profited and could afford to charge lower prices for

refreshments than the company. Furthermore, her café was in the only building that Codville Ltd. did not own, and this effectively blocked any attempts made by the company to evict their 'thorn'. Hillary's humble motivation interacted with the power addressed by the other hubs, as her satisfaction was rooted in her ability keep her café, not the maximisation of earnings. Given that she operated independently from Codville Ltd., Hillary escaped the laws, by-laws, and norms regulating relations between the company and its employees; she was able to get away with what the company's key owner described as badmouthing the company to her guests and the media. Hillary thus found herself in a situation where she was in control: she could either accept the company's offer to join them or she could continue her fight for 'her' Codville, and as a consequence she was a voice of rurality that was not easily silenced in Codville's trial by space.

6. Conclusion

Without an analytical tool for power, the localised fault lines of rurality remain in the dark. In this article, Halfacree's (2006, 2007) threefold architecture for the social production of rural space has been criticised for its infinitesimal treatment of actors and their agency. It has been argued that it is analytically insensitive to entangled power's concretisation into something heartfelt and concerned about by those social beings performing the different constituents of a community's trial by space. This is problematic as places are solidifying configurations of complex social relations, material practices, elements in discourse and forms of power.

From a perspective of power as entanglements I have in the paper suggested a conceptual extension that provides the original model with analytical sensitivity to actors' social actions and power. Understanding power as entanglements provides a perspective on power as networks of unsettled social relations within a space that is more than just material, or social, or practices. Consequently, the only way power can be studied is through studying the social practices in which power is embedded within action.

The paper's chief contribution to the analysis of power in rural studies is its call for social practices embedded with action to be examined from three perspectives: immaterial, material, and personal. In correspondence with the trialectic nature of Halfacree's triad are the suggested hubs conceptualised as distinct but interrelated, each hub interacting with each other and with the processes captured by Halfacree's threefold architecture. The three hubs provide a Halfacreean approach with sensitivity towards entangled power's multitude of kinds and ways. By employing this framework, actors and their agency, social relations, and social practices and struggles are brought back into the understanding of rurality, while continuing to illuminate the role of discourse and representations.

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APPENDIX

LETTERS TO INFORMANTS

Appendix

To tourism entrepreneurs/hosts

Informasjon vedrørende din deltagelse i forskningsprosjekt om turisme i distrikts-Norge

Du er plukket ut til å delta i en intervjuundersøkelse om reiseliv på steder i distrikts-Norge. Offentlige myndigheter løfter gjerne fram reiseliv som en redningsplanke for norske distriktssamfunn når sysselsettingen og inntekter fra landbruk og fiskeri faller. Reiseliv, som de fleste andre næringer, påvirker sine omgivelser i større eller mindre grad. Dette forskningsprosjektet undersøker koblingen mellom distriktsturisme (bygdeturisme) og oppfatninger/meninger om distrikts-Norge gjennom å se på forholdet mellom *turistens motivasjon for å reise til distrikts-Norge/opplevelse av stedet turisten besøker*, *tilbyders tilbud til turisten/tilbyders opplevelse av eget sted* og *lokalbefolknings forestillinger om eget bosted.*

Intervjuet vil fokusere på ulike sider ved din reiselivsvirksomhet, ditt forhold til stedet din virksomhet er lokalisert (f.eks. hva stedet betyr for deg og hva du setter størst pris på ved stedet), hvordan du oppfatter stedets reiseliv og hvilke oppfatninger og forestillinger du som reiselivstilbyder har om distrikts-Norge (norske bygder).

For å kunne komme frem til gode og samfunnsnyttige forskningsresultater er vi avhengig av god og bred informasjon. Datainnsamlingen vil hovedsakelig bestå av intervju med fastboende, reiselivstilbydere, reiselivsrelevante organisasjoner og turister i XX og XX, som av faglige grunner er plukket ut som undersøkelsens studieområder. Du er på bakgrunn av din tilknytning til reiselivsvirksomhet i disse områdene plukket ut fra offentlig tilgjengelig informasjon til å delta i undersøkelsen. Vi vil derfor i løpet av kort tid ta kontakt med deg på telefon for å avtale et eventuelt intervju.

Forskning er underlagt strenge kriterier for personvern. Kort gjengitt betyr dette at alle informanter deltar av eget ønske, at de kan trekke seg fra videre deltakelse om de måtte ønske det, samt konfidensiell behandling av informasjon og opplysninger som vi kommer i hende i løpet av prosjektet. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet, anonymiseres datamaterialet fullstendig. Prosjektet er, i tråd med personvernretningslinjene for norsk forskning, innmeld til NSD personvernombudet for norsk forskning.

Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges forskningsråd og er del av Norsk senter for bygdeforsknings strategiske instituttprogram CULTOURFOOD.

Med vennlig hilsen

Svein Frisvoll

Forsker/stipendiat

Karoline Daugstad

Prosjektleder

To local residents

Forespørsel om deltagelse i forskningsprosjekt om turisme i distrikts-Norge

Du er tilfeldig plukket ut til å delta i en intervjuundersøkelse om reiseliv på steder i distrikts-Norge. Offentlige myndigheter løfter gjerne fram reiseliv som en redningsplanke for norske distriktssamfunn når sysselsettingen og inntekter fra landbruk og fiskeri faller. Reiseliv, som de fleste andre næringer, påvirker sine omgivelser i større eller mindre grad. Dette forskningsprosjektet undersøker koblingen mellom distriktsturisme (bygdeturisme) og oppfatninger/meninger om distrikts-Norge gjennom å se på forholdet mellom *turistens motivasjon for å reise til distrikts-Norge/opplevelse av stedet turisten besøker*, *tilbyders tilbud til turisten/tilbyders opplevelse av eget sted* og *lokalbefolknings forestillinger om eget bosted.*

Intervjuet vil fokusere på ulike sider ved ditt forhold til bostedet ditt (f.eks. hva stedet betyr for deg og hva du setter størst pris på ved stedet), hvordan du som fastboende oppfatter stedets reiseliv (f.eks. hvordan påvirker det ditt hverdagsliv) og hvilke oppfatninger og forestillinger du som fastboende har om distrikts-Norge (norske bygder).

For å kunne komme frem til gode og samfunnsnyttige forskningsresultater er vi avhengig av god og bred informasjon. Datainnsamlingen vil hovedsakelig bestå av intervju med fastboende, reiselivstilbydere, reiselivsrelevante organisasjoner og turister i XX og XX, som av faglige grunner er plukket ut som undersøkelsens studieområder. Du er tilfeldig plukket ut fra offentlig tilgjengelig informasjon til å delta i undersøkelsen. Vi vil derfor i løpet av kort tid ta kontakt med deg på telefon for å avtale et eventuelt intervju.

Forskning er underlagt strenge kriterier for personvern. Kort gjengitt betyr dette at alle informanter deltar av eget ønske, at de kan trekke seg fra videre deltakelse om de måtte ønske det, samt konfidensiell behandling av informasjon og opplysninger som vi kommer i hende i løpet av prosjektet. Etter at prosjektet er avsluttet, anonymiseres datamaterialet fullstendig. Prosjektet er, i tråd med personvernretningslinjene for norsk forskning, innmeld til NSD personvernombudet for norsk forskning.

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Med vennlig hilsen

Svein Frisvoll — Forsker/stipendiat

Egil Petter Stræte — Konstituert direktør

Approval from Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Svein Frisvoll
Norsk senter for bygdeforskning
Universitetssenteret Dragvoll
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 01.07.2008 Vår ref :19210 / 2 / AMS Deres dato: Deres ref:

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 07.05.2008. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

19210	*Turismens rolle i forhandlinger om ruralitet*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Norsk senter for bygdeforskning, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Svein Frisvoll*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2010, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Anne-Mette Somby

Bjørn Henrichsen

Kontaktperson: Anne-Mette Somby tlf: 55 58 33 48
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Avdelingskontorer / *District Offices:*
OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no
TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no
TROMSØ: NSD, SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Survey questionnaire

Questionnaire no. (precompleted)				

1. Nationality

☐ NORWEGIAN ☐ DANISH ☐ GERMAN ☐ DUTCH

☐ OTHER NATIONALITY:

|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|

Write from the left. Use BLOCK LETTERS, one per box

2. Do you own hut or other vacation property in XX that you use on this travel?

☐ YES ☐ NO

3. Who do you travel together with on this travel?

☐ ALONE
☐ WITH FAMILY AND CHILDREN UNDER 18 YRS
☐ WITH FAMILY - NO CHILDREN UNDER 18 YRS
☐ TOGETHER WITH FRIENDS
☐ IN A GROUP OR ORGANIZED TRIP
☐ NONE OF THESE

4. What type of travel are you on?

☐ PRIVATE TRAVEL, FOR INSTANCE HOLIDAY ☐ BUSINESS OR WORK TRAVEL

5. How many days does the whole travel last (XX included)?	**6. How many days of the travel are in XX?**
|__|__|__| DAYS	|__|__|__| DAYS

7. If staying overnight in XX on this travel, what kind of accommodation did or do you use?
Use more crosses if necessary!

☐ NO OVERNIGHT STOP IN XX ON THIS TRAVEL
☐ FARM OR SUMMER PASTURE (NOT BY FAMILY, FRIENDS OR ACQUAINTANCES)
☐ HOTEL, MOTEL, BED & BREAKFAST OR SIMILAR
☐ ACCOMMODATION WITHOUT SERVICE (CAMPING HUT, HOLIDAY COTTAGE ETC.)
☐ OWN HUT OR VACATION PROPERTY
☐ RECREATIONAL VEHICLE, CARAVAN, TENT OR SIMILAR
☐ ACCOMMODATION BY FAMILY, FRIENDS OR ACQUAINTANCES
☐ OTHER ACCOMMODATION

8. Was XX part of your plans for this travel?

☐ YES ☐ NO

9. Have you been in XX before on holiday or travel?

☐ NEVER ☐ ONCE ☐ MANY TIMES

Local food

Local food can be defined as **food products** or **dishes** made and eventually served locally and that can be linked to the place, for example through raw materials, recipes, production facilities, or

tradition or history. Examples can be cheese, cured meat, griddle cake (lefse), thin wafer crisp bread, and fermented fish, and can be bought on for example farms, special outlets, some grocery stores, and in places offering service eventually with accommodation.

10. Have you during this travel bought or received <u>meals</u> containing local food from XX?	**11. Have you during this travel bought local <u>food products</u> in a sales outlet (not service) in XX?**
☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE	☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE
12. Did you before this travel know local food products or dishes from XX?	**13. Can you name any local food product or dish from XX?**
☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO, CANNOT NAME ANY
14. Is the possibility to buy or eat local food important to you on a travel?	
☐ NO ☐ YES, TO SOME DEGREE ☐ YES, ESSENTIAL	

Culture

15. What kind of cultural facilities or activities have you used in XX during this travel? If necessary place more crosses!

- ☐ HAVE NOT USED ANY CULTURAL FACILITY OR ACTIVITY
- ☐ FARMYARD, MOUNTAIN DAIRY FARM OR SIMILAR
- ☐ PERMANENT CULTURAL FACILITY (MUSEUM, CHURCH, HISTORICAL PLACE ETC.)
- ☐ SPECIAL CULTURAL EVENT (FESTIVAL, PLAY, CONCERT, OPERA, THEATER, ETC)
- ☐ SPORT AND OUTDOOR LIFE
- ☐ OTHER CULTURAL OFFERING OR ACTIVITY

16. Are cultural facilities or activities important to you on a travel?

☐ NO ☐ YES, TO SOME DEGREE ☐ YES, ESSENTIAL

Final information

17. What of the following are important reasons for your being in XX on this travel? You may use more crosses!

- ☐ ACTIVITY OR EXPERIENCE IN NATURE
- ☐ EXPERIENCE EVERYDAY LIFE, CULTURE OR CULTURAL ARRANGEMENT
- ☐ EAT OR EXPERIENCE LOCAL FOOD
- ☐ ACTIVITIES AND OFFERINGS FOR THE CHILDREN
- ☐ THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
- ☐ FAMILY, RELATIVES OR FRIENDS
- ☐ RELAX – TAKE A REST

☐ MEETING, CONFERENCE, COURSE OR SIMILAR

18. How good does XX function as a travel destination?
One cross only!

☐ VERY GOOD
☐ QUITE GOOD
☐ NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD
☐ QUITE BAD
☐ VERY BAD
☐ I DON'T KNOW – HAVE NO OPINION

19. Did you grow up in the city or in the countryside?	**20. Do you live in a city or in the countryside?**
☐ IN THE CITY ☐ IN THE COUNTRYSIDE (NOT ON A FARM) ☐ ON A FARM	☐ IN A CITY ☐ IN THE COUNTRYSIDE (NOT A FARM) ☐ ON A FARM

21. Sex	☐ FEMALE ☐ MALE	**22. Year of birth**	1 9	

Thank you for participating in the survey!

Interview guides

Qualitative interviews with tourism entrepreneurs/hosts

Bakgrunn informant

- Alder, yrke, utdanning
- Bostedshistorikk
    - Hvorfor bor du der du bor?
    - Hva setter du størst pris på med stedet du bor?
    - Hva setter du minst pris på med stedet du bor?
    - Hva er viktig for ditt dagligliv på stedet du bor? (hvilke aspekt/kvaliteter)

Bakgrunn reiselivsbedriften

- fortell om [navn på bedriften]
    - historie, forretningsidé/konsept, organisering, eierskap, antall ansatte & omsetning
- fortell om historien du ønsker å formidle/fortelle med/i virksomheten
    - hvordan bygger du opp under denne historien?

Om stedet reiselivsbedriften er lokalisert

- hvorfor er bedriften lokalisert der den er?
- hvilke aspekter/kvaliteter ved stedet gjør det egnet for din virksomhet?
    - i hvilken grad bruker du disse aspektene til å støtte opp under/fortelle historien du ønsker å fortelle/formidle?
        - Hvordan benyttes de?
    - finnes elementer/aspekter ved stedet som ikke passer med din virksomhet/historien du ønsker å fortelle/formidle?
        - Hvilke/hvorfor/hvordan forholder du deg til disse?

Om reiselivsvirksomheten og lokalbefolkningen

- Kan du fortelle om hvordan du forholder deg til lokalbefolkningen? (og de til deg & din virksomhet, slik du oppfatter det)
- Involverer du de/deg seg?
    - Hvorfor?/ på hvilke måter

In study region X: Om Regional Development organisation

- har du fått med deg at området du bor har en RDO?
    - hva tror du om det?
    - er dette noe man diskuterer? hva er stemninga i bygda?

- har du noen rolle i forhold til RDO?
- kjenner du til RDOs formål og ønsker?
    - i forhold til RDOs bilder/versjon av XX:
        - hvordan føler du at du og din virksomhet passer inn i denne versjonen/disse bildene?
        - i hvilken grad opplever du at du tvinges inn i denne versjonen?
- kjenner du RDOs merker?
    - Bruker du de i din virksomhet?
        - Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- hvordan forholder du deg til RDO?
- har du tatt/skal du ta vertskurset?
    - Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke/hvordan opplevde du det?

<u>In study region X: (Codville)</u>

- Finnes det elementer/aktiviteter i X som ikke passer inn i det bildet/historien som dere ønsker å formidle? (hva, hvordan, hvorfor?)
    - Hvordan forholder du/dere dere til det?
- Kan du fortelle, slik som du opplever det, om forholdet mellom X [Codville Ltd.] og lokalbefolkningen?
    - Endringer, bakgrunn, fastlåste leirer etc.
    - Hva tenker du om dette?
    - Hvordan forholder X [Codville Ltd.] seg til lokalbefolkningen?
    - Hvordan gir lokalbefolkningen sine meninger til uttrykk ovenfor X [Codville Ltd.]
        - Om informanten er ansatt og bor i lokalsamfunnet: kommer du i skvis mellom barken og veden?
- Hvordan behandles slike meninger om stedets utvikling/X [Codville Ltd.] av bedriften/selskapets ledelse?
    - Om informanten er ansatt: hva synes du om det
- Kan du fortelle om X [Codville Ltd.] sitt forhold til destinasjonsselskapet?
- Hvordan føler du at X [Codville Ltd.] passer inn i bildet av området som destinasjonsselskapet maner fram?
- I hvilken grad opplever du at dere tvinges inn i denne versjonen?
    - Sitter dere selv i førersetet/har kontrollen?
    - Forsøker destinasjonsselskapet å påvirke dere og produktet deres på noen måte? (hvordan)
- Er dere et levende museum? (hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?)
    - Har dere ansatte som spiller roller/dramatiseringer?
- Nye rorbuer og billetter: Bakgrunn og vurdering (Mottakelse turister og lokale/ kontroversielt)

- I hvilken grad tror du at billetter gjør noe med turistenes forventninger/oppfatninger av stedet?
-

Om tid, noen mer generelle spørsmål

- Hva ville du sagt om du skulle overtale noen som aldri hadde vært her før til å legge turen om XX?
- Hva er det som gjør dette stedet til en turistdestinasjon, slik du opplever det?
  - (bygger under/undergraver)
- Hva er turistene mest begeistret for og hva er de mest misfornøyd med når de er her tror du?
- I hvor stor grad er de fastboende en del av turistdestinasjonen?
  - På hvilke måter, hvilke aktiviteter, omfang, kultur, lokal mat?
- Hvilke umiddelbare assosiasjoner vekker ordet distrikts-Norge (ev. bygd) hos deg?
  - Hvilke elementer er til stede i ditt bilde?

Qualitative interviews with land owners in land owner conflict

Bakgrunn informant

- Alder, yrke, utdanning
- Bostedshistorikk
    - Er denne bygda "hjemstedet" ditt?

Bosted

- Hvorfor bor du der du bor?
- Hva setter du størst pris på med stedet du bor?
- Hva setter du minst pris på med stedet du bor?
- Hva er viktig for ditt dagligliv på stedet du bor?
    - Hvilke aspekt/kvaliteter ved bygda bruker du/ er viktige for deg i ditt dagligliv?
- Kan du beskrive hvordan bostedet ditt/bygda du bor i har endret seg de siste 20 årene (tidsperspektiv tilpasses informantens bostedshistorikk og alder)
        - Til det bedre/til det verre?
        - Hva med landbruk og reiselivsnæringa?
    - I hvilken grad har disse utviklingene påvirket ditt dagligliv i bygda?
        - På hvilke måter?
            - Hva synes du om det da?

Konflikten

- Om bruk, behov og verdier
- Om hvem skal setrene være til for
- Om aktørene (interesser og makt)
- Om hvem sitt initiativ/ ide var eiendomsutviklingsprosjektet?
- Om kommunen og planprosessen
    - Høres din stemme?
    - I hvilken grad føler du at løpet er fastlagt allerede?
- Om kompensasjon
    - Om grunn- og bruksretter (avklarte og omforente?) (går konflikten på økonomi (er kompensasjon nok?) eller stikker det dypere?)
- Om Alternative setringsområder?
    - Er frasen landbruk og reiseliv hånd i hånd liv laga etter ditt syn?
- Om reiselivsformer?
    - Finnes reiselivsformer/-tilbud som (bedre) kan forenes med setring?
    - Hvilke er ikke forenlige?

Turisme

- Hva er turisten interessert i slik du oppfatter det?
- Hvordan påvirker turismen slik du opplever det bygda du bor i (og bygdefolket)?
- I hvilken grad påvirker turismen ditt liv og din livsutfoldelse?
    - I forhold til de kvalitetene du satte pris på i bostedsvalg og hverdagsliv?

XX (Regional development organisation (RDO))

- Har du fått med deg at området du bor i har en RDO?
    - Hva tror du/synes du om det?
    - Er det noe man diskuterer?/ Hva er stemninga i bygda?
    - Kjenner du til RDOs formål og arbeidsmål?
    - Kjenner du til RDOs to merker?

Noen generelle spørsmål om det blir tid til dem

- Hva ville du sagt om du skulle overtale noen som aldri hadde vært her før til å legge turen om XX?
- Hvilke umiddelbare assosiasjoner vekker ordet distrikts-Norge (ev. bygd) hos deg?

Qualitative interviews with representatives from tourism organisations (Destination Organisations, etc.)

Bakgrunn

- Kort om informantens bakgrunn
- Kort om den aktuelle organisasjonen

XX/XX som reisemål

- struktur
- aktører
- produkter
- flaskehalser/utfordringer
- Hva vil du si er XX største fortrinn i reiselivs/turismesammenheng?
    - Finnes "uheldige" elementer
        - Hva/hvilke
- Hvorfor promoterer dere/promoteres XX?
    - Hva vektlegges i promoteringen av XX?

Ordskiftet om XX

- Beskriv ordskiftet om XX?
    - Karakter, temperatur, hvem er aktøren, meninger
- Hvordan utarter debatten seg?
    - Hvem deltar?
    - På hvilke måter?
    - Hvilke meninger og ønsker fremmes?
- Hvilke ulike ønsker for hva XX skal være finnes/ er det?
    - Etter ditt skjønn, er det noen som er lite virkelighetstro?
        - Hvilke/hvorfor/hvordan?
- Hvordan plasserer dere [den aktuelle organisasjonen] seg i dette ordskiftet?
    - Hvordan deltar dere?
    - Hva flagger dere? Hvorfor?

Framtid/ønsker for framtid

- Hvordan ser du for deg at XX utvikler seg i årene som kommer?
    - Er dette sett fra deres ståsted [den aktuelle organisasjonen] en ønsket utvikling?

Studieområdet (stedet) og reiselivet der

- Kan du beskrive reiselivet i XX slik du opplever det?
    - Karakter,
    - Produkt
    - Utfordringer og muligheter
    - Posisjon relativ til det øvrige reiselivet i XX
    - Bruker de dere/ promoterer dere de?

Om XX [Regional Development organisation]

- Kan du fortelle om ditt og destinasjonsselskapets forhold til XX?

Qualitative interviews with mayors

Bakgrunn

- kort om informantens bakgrunn
- kort om XX/XX
    - geografisk
    - politisk
        - politisk landskap, kommunens arbeid, prioriteringer, utfordringer og visjoner

XX/XX og Reiseliv

- reiselivets betydning
- kommunens arbeid i f t reiseliv
- hvordan bruker/ forholder reiselivstilbydere (seg til) dere, kommunen?
    - Krav om spesielle hensyn? (areal plan etc.)
- Hvordan påvirker reiselivsutviklingen spenningsnivået mellom politikerne og administrasjon?
    - "ja-kommune" vs "lover & regler"?
- Har du inntrykk av at det er ulike oppfatninger om hva XX skal være i f t reiseliv?
    - Kun XX ('Farmington')?
- Hva med lokalbefolkningen? Blir det mye turister?

XX (Regional Development Organisation)

- Kan du fortelle om din rolle i f t XX (RDO)?
- Hva tenker du omkring XX?

XX (destinasjonsselskap)

- eierskap og kommunens forventninger/bruk/rolle

Qualitative interviews with municipal administrative leaders

Bakgrunn

- Kort om informantens bakgrunn
- Beskriv kommunen (både geografisk og "kommunal kommune")
    - Næringsliv og befolkningsstruktur
    - Kommunens arbeid, prioriteringer, utfordringer og visjoner

Kommunen som reisemål/destinasjon

- Hva ville du sagt om du skulle overtale noen som aldri hadde vært her før til å legge turen om XX?
    - Og om vedkommende var en som aldri hadde vært i XX før, og kun hadde én dag til rådighet?
    - Ville XX vært på din liste over ting vedkommende måtte se og oppleve?
        - Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- Fortell om turistnæringen i XX:
    - Omfang, produkt, struktur, hva er det som selges, tilbydere, lokale eiere/drivere
    - Samspill med andre næringer?
- Har du inntrykk av at de er ulike oppfatninger av hva "XX" skal være?
    - Hva med XX (og/eller bygdene i kommunen)
        - Hvem ønsker hva?
    - Hva med lokalbefolkningen?
        - Er variablene innflyttere/bodd hele livet relevante her?
        - Oppfatter lokalbefolkningen turistene som noe positivt eller negativt?
            - Hvilke grupper ønsker hva?

Kommunens arbeid med turisme/reiseliv

- Hva betyr reiselivet og turisme i kommunen for kommunen?
    - Økonomi, sysselsetting, skatt, skape liv etc.?
- Kan du fortelle om XX kommunes arbeide med reiseliv/turisme?
    - Arealplanlegging, næringsutvikling, kulturarbeid, vern/bruk? Andre ting?
        - Hvilke vurderinger og hensyn må dere ta/tar dere? (hvem sier i så fall?)
        - Bevissthet omkring effekter på eksisterende reiseliv?
            - Tilbudet/opplevelser de selger
    - Hvordan spilles ønsker/interessert inn til kommunen?
        - Hvem ønsker hva?
    - Hvordan veier dere ulike interesser opp mot hverandre?
- Hva med det politiske nivået?
    - Dimensjon jeg ønsker å fange opp: politikere ønsker å være ja-kommune, mens adm ansatte føler presset fra å leve opp til lover og regler

Avrunding

- Visjoner/ønsker for framtida?
- Navn på personer jeg bør snakke med

Qualitative interviews with municipal planner

Bakgrunn

- Kort om informantens bakgrunn
- Beskriv kommunen (både geografisk og "kommunal kommune")
    - Næringsliv og befolkningsstruktur

Kommuneplan

- Kan du beskrive/fortelle om arbeidet med kommuneplanen
    - (prioriteringer, konfliktsaker, politisk behandling, folkelig engasjement/deltakelse)
- Og i forhold til reiseliv: hvilken plass får det i planarbeidet
    - (vurderinger og prioriteringer)
- Gir plan- og bygningsloven mulighet til å gjøre spesielle prioriteringer innenfor hver sonering?
    - Kan det gis spesielle næringssoner eller gis egne prioriteringer innenfor disse ift f.eks. reiselivsbehov?
- Hva med sikring av de verdiene reiselivet lever av?
- Fortell om samarbeidet med nabokommune?

Be om å få kommuneplanen og strategiplanen

Qualitative interviews with informants from Regional Development Organisation (RDO)

Guide for interview with RDO's leader

Bakgrunn

- Kort om informantens bakgrunn
- Hvorfor ville du ha jobben som leder i XX (RDO)?

Om reiseliv

- Hva er reiselivsproduktet i XX, slik du som daglig leder i RDO ser det? (reelt/ideelt) (kulturelle opplevelser vs. natur)
- Er det enighet omkring destinasjonsselskapets satsinger?
- Hva med nisje vs masseturisme?

Om RDO

- Hva er RDO slik du ser/tilnærmer deg RDO?
    - Hvilke tanker gjør du deg rundt din rolle i RDO?
- Midt i mellom barken og veden (j.f. RDO's offentlige og det private eiere)?
    - Regionråd (politikernes forventning) eller verktøykasse for næringsutvikling/distriktsutvikling?
- Tilrettelegge eller utøve?
- Satse på alle eller på utvalgte lokomotiv/vekstmotorer?
- Er det andre spenningsfelt RDO står midt oppe i?
- Har RDO vært gjennom en brytningsperiode?
    - I hvilken grad tones landbruk/setring ned i RDOs satsinger
        - Hvorfor? / til fordel for hva?
        - Reaksjoner (internt i RDO og eksternt)
- Hva med merkevaren XX?
- Ift til uenigheter
    - hvor har skillelinjene gått?
    - Hva har blitt utslagsgivende i maktkampen rundt RDO?
- Ift mangfoldet som er inkorporert i RDO (oppgaver, ansvarsområder og eierinteresser)
    - Hvordan håndteres dette?
    - Hva med politiske diktat/veto j.f. leserbrevet ditt i XX hvor du går imot en av RDOs politiske eiere [omhandler konflikten i Farmington]
        - Hvordan ble dette motatt?
        - Hvordan opplever du at dette står seg ift verdiene RDO ble stiftet på?
        - Hvordan håndterer du dette spennet?

Guide for interview with RDO's regional consultant

Bakgrunn

- Kort om informantens bakgrunn

Om XX (RDO)

- Bakgrunn (hvorfor, hvordan og hvem)
    - Hvem var nøkkelaktørene?
- Hvordan jobber dere?
- Hva vektlegges (kriterier)?
- Hvorfor akkurat disse prosjektene?
- Hva med reiselivet ift RDO?
- Får alle som vil bli med?
- Hvordan mottas opplegget? (bl.a. tilbydere, lokale og turister)
    - I hvilken grad ønsker dere å forme hvordan XX framstår (Hvorfor og hvordan?)
- Hvordan jobber dere for å kople mat, kultur og reiseliv
- Hva er viktige utfordringer for RDO?

Guide for interview with RDO-informant working to facilitate for tourism

Bakgrunn
- Kort om informantens bakgrunn

XX som reiselivsdestinasjon
- Kan du fortelle om XX som reiselivsdestinasjon (også historisk dimmensjon)
- Hvordan har man jobbet med reiseliv, profilering og promotering

RDOs rolle i forhold til reiselivet i XX?
- Kan du fortelle om RDOs rolle i forhold til reiselivet i XX
- Hvordan har man jobbet med reiseliv, profilering og promotering

RDOs formgivingsprogram
- Fortell om formgivingsprogrammet
    - Symbol, fremtining og profil
    - Design firma
        - Hvem er de?
        - Hvilke vurderinger gjorde oppdragsgiverne seg, hvilke føringer fikk firmaet?

Om vert-utdanningen
- Fortell om vertutdanningen

Om Destinasjonsselskapet
- Hvilke utfordringer står destinasjonsselskapet ovenfor?
- Hvorfor er det bedre forutsetninger til å lykkes nå enn tidligere?

Om Seterprosjektet
- Om hovedpillarene
- Hvordan bruke RDO i dette?
- Hvordan få tak i bønder?

Utfordringer i forhold til RDO
- utvanning?
- For mye indremedisin?
- Er dere det nye regionrådet?

Guide for interview with RDO-informant working to facilitate for agriculture

Bakgrunn
- Kort om informantens bakgrunn

Seterprosjektet
- Fortell om prosjektet (bakgrunn, formål, arbeidsområder/prioriteringer, hvem-hva-hvor, finansiering og organisering)

Innpassing i XX (RDO)
- verdigrunnlaget
- prosjektaktiviteten

Reiseliv
- Hva er reiselivsproduktet i XX slik du oppfatter det (ideelt/reelt)
- Tenkt høyt omkring følgende påstander:
    - 'Bonden og landbruket er det viktigste for reiselivet i XX'
    - 'Nisjeturisme framfor masseturisme'
    - 'Seter og setring er fortsatt i sentrum for hva XX skal være i reiselivssammenheng'
- Hvilken rolle ser du for seterprosjektet ift reisleiv?

Om XX (RDO)
- Hva er RDO slik du ser/oppfatter RDO?
- Hva bør RDO være, slik du oppfatter det?
- Har RDO vært gjennom en brytnigsperiode, slik du oppfatter det?
    - Tones landbruk/setring ned? (hvorfor?)
    - Til fordel for hva?
    - Hva synes du om det?
- Merkevaren XX (har lufta gått ut av ballongen?)
    - Uenigheter/intern uro som en følge av dette?
    - Hva har blitt utslagsgivende i kampen om hva RDO skal være?
- Med tanke på verdigrunnlaget RDO ble etablert utfra: Hvordan oppfatter du med din posisjon innenfor RDO reiselivsutviklingen rundt XX (Farmington) og ekspansjonen mot aktive setre?
    - Er dette noe dere diskuterer internt?
    - Hva med kommunen som både pro reiselivsutvikling og RDO-eier?
    - Påtrykk/instrukser fra ledelsen i slike saker?

Veien videre
- For seterprosjektet
- For RDO

Guide for interview with RDO-informant working to facilitate for culture

Bakgrunn
- Kort om informantens bakgrunn

Kulturprosjektet
- Fortell om prosjektet (bakgrunn, formål, arbeidsområder/prioriteringer, hvem-hva-hvor, finansiering og organisering)
- Hva skal profileres (hvilken type natur, hvilken type kultur)
- Hvem skal kulturen være for? (fastboende/tilreisende)

Innpassing i XX (RDO)
- verdigrunnlaget
- prosjektaktiviteten

Reiseliv
- Hva er reiselivsproduktet i XX slik du oppfatter det (ideelt/reelt)
- Tenkt høyt omkring følgende påstander:
    - 'Bonden og landbruket er det viktigste for reiselivet i XX'
    - 'Nisjeturisme framfor masseturisme'
    - 'Seter og setring er fortsatt i sentrum for hva XX skal være i reiselivssammenheng'
- Hvilken rolle ser du for kulturprosjektet ift reisleiv?

Om XX (RDO)
- Hva er RDO slik du ser/oppfatter RDO?
- Hva bør RDO være, slik du oppfatter det?
- Har RDO vært gjennom en brytnigsperiode, slik du oppfatter det?
    - Tones landbruk/setring ned? (hvorfor?)
    - Til fordel for hva?
    - Hva synes du om det?
- Merkevaren XX (har lufta gått ut av ballongen?)
    - Uenigheter/intern uro som en følge av dette?
    - Hva har blitt utslagsgivende i kampen om hva RDO skal være?
- Med tanke på verdigrunnlaget RDO ble etablert utfra: Hvordan oppfatter du med din posisjon innenfor RDO reiselivsutviklingen rundt XX (Farmington) og ekspansjonen mot aktive setre?
    - Er dette noe dere diskuterer internt?
    - Hva med kommunen som både pro reiselivsutvikling og RDO-eier?
    - Påtrykk/instrukser fra ledelsen i slike saker?

Veien videre
- For kulturprosjektet
- For RDO

Qualitative interviews with local residents

Bakgrunn informant

- Alder, yrke, utdanning
- Bostedshistorikk
    - Er denne bygda "hjemstedet" ditt?

Bosted

- Hvorfor bor du der du bor?
- Hva setter du størst pris på med stedet du bor?
- Hva setter du minst pris på med stedet du bor?
- Hva er viktig for ditt dagligliv på stedet du bor?
    - Hvilke aspekt/kvaliteter ved bygda bruker du/ er viktige for deg i ditt dagligliv?
- Kan du beskrive hvordan bostedet ditt/bygda du bor i har endret seg de siste 20 årene (tidsperspektiv tilpasses informantens bostedshistorikk og alder)
        - Til det bedre/til det værre?
        - Hva med landbruk og reiselivsnæringa?
    - I hvilken grad har disse utviklingende påvirket ditt dagligliv i bygda?
        - På hvilke måter?
        - Hva synes du om det da?

Lokalforedlet mat og kultur

- i hvilken grad er lokalforedlet mat og lokal kultur noe du benytter deg av?

Turisme

- Kan du fortelle om hva reiselivet betyr for deg?
    - Om levebrød, fortell om reiselivsaktiviteten (hva ønsker du å formidle?)
- Hvordan vil du beskrive omfanget av turisme i din bygd?
    - Sesongvariasjoner, kvaliteter etc.
- Hva er turisten interessert i slik du oppfatter det?
- Hvordan påvirker turismen slik du opplever det bygda du bor i (og bygdefolket)?
- I hvilken grad påvirker turismen ditt liv og din livsutfoldelse?
    - I forhold til de kvalitetene du satte pris på i bostedsvalg og hverdagsliv?
- Er det ting du gjør ellers på året som du avstår fra å gjøre i turistsesongen?
    - Hva synes du om det da?
- For folk fra XX: fisk etter XX (bedrift) og forhold omkring lokalbefolkningens tanker omkring bedriften og bedriftens planer/filosofi

I studieområde XX (Regional development organisation (RDO))

- Har du fått med deg at området du bor i har en XX (RDO)?
    - Hva tror du/synes du om det?
    - Er det noe man diskuterer?/ Hva er stemninga i bygda?
    - Kjenner du til RDOs formål og arbeidsmål?
    - Kjenner du til RDOs to merker?

Noen generelle spørsmål om det blir tid til dem

- Hva ville du sagt om du skulle overtale noen som aldri hadde vært her før til å legge turen om XX?
- Kan du fortelle om i hvilken grad du benytter deg av det lokale reiselivets tilbud?
- Har du inntrykk av det er ulike oppfatninger av hva XX skal være?
- Hva opplever du at reiselivsnæringa ønsker at bygda/regionen skal være som reiselivsprodukt?
- Hvordan forteller du ukjente hvor du kommer fra?
- I hvor stor grad oppfatter du at dere fastboende er del av turistattraksjonen?
- Hvilke umiddelbare assosiasjoner vekker ordet distrikts-Norge (ev. bygd) hos deg?

Qualitative interviews with tourists

Interview No.				

1. Nationality

☐ NORWEGIAN ☐ DANISH ☐ GERMAN ☐ DUTCH
☐ OTHER NATIONALITY:
|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|

2. Do you own hut or other vacation property in XX that you use on this travel?

☐ YES ☐ NO

3. Who do you travel together with on this travel?

☐ ALONE
☐ WITH FAMILY AND CHILDREN UNDER 18 YRS
☐ WITH FAMILY - NO CHILDREN UNDER 18 YRS
☐ TOGETHER WITH FRIENDS
☐ IN A GROUP OR ORGANIZED TRIP
☐ NONE OF THESE

4. What type of travel are you on?

☐ PRIVATE TRAVEL, FOR INSTANCE HOLIDAY ☐ BUSINESS OR WORK TRAVEL

5. How many days does the whole travel last (XX/XX included)?	**6a. How many days of the travel are in XX/XX?**
|__|__|__| DAYS	|__|__|__| DAYS
6b. How many days of the travel are in XX	**6c. Have you stayed overnight in XX on this travel**
|__|__|__| DAYS	☐ YES (if YES, proceed to no 7) ☐ NO
6d. Do you plan to stay overnight in XX on this travel	**7. Was XX/XX part of your plans for this travel?**
☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO

8. Have you been in XX/XX before on holiday or travel?

☐ NEVER ☐ ONCE ☐ MANY TIMES

9. If staying overnight in XX/XX on this travel, what kind of accommodation did or do you use? Use more crosses if necessary!

☐ NO OVERNIGHT STOP IN XX ON THIS TRAVEL
☐ HOTEL, MOTEL, BED & BREAKFAST OR SIMILAR
☐ FARM OR SUMMER PASTURE (NOT BY FAMILY, FRIENDS OR ACQUAINTANCES)
☐ FISHERMAN'S SHACK (RORBU)
☐ OTHER ACCOMMODATION WITHOUT SERVICE (CAMPING HUT, HOLIDAY

COTTAGE ETC.)
☐ OWN HUT OR VACATION PROPERTY
☐ RECREATIONAL VEHICLE, CARAVAN, TENT OR SIMILAR
☐ ACCOMMODATION BY FAMILY, FRIENDS OR ACQUAINTANCES
☐ OTHER ACCOMMODATION

Local food

Local food can be defined as **food products** or **dishes** made and eventually served locally and that can be linked to the place, for example through raw materials, recipes, production facilities, or tradition or history. Examples can be [**FOR XX READ:** cheese, cured meat, griddle cake (lefse), thin wafer crisp bread, and fermented fish]. [**FOR XX READ:** DRIED FISH/STOCK FISH AND LAMB). These food products can be bought on for example farms, in special outlets, some grocery stores, and in places offering service eventually with accommodation.

10. Have you during this travel bought or received <u>meals</u> containing local food from XX/XX?	**11. Did you before this travel know local food products or dishes from XX/XX?**
☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NOT SURE	☐ YES ☐ NO

12. Is the possibility to buy or consume local food important to you on a travel?

☐ NO ☐ YES, TO SOME DEGREE ☐ YES, ESSENTIAL

Culture

13. What kind of cultural facilities or activities have you used in XX/XX during this travel?
If necessary place more crosses!

☐ HAVE NOT USED ANY CULTURAL FACILITY OR ACTIVITY
☐ FARMYARD, SUMMER PASTURE OR SIMILAR
☐ FISHERMAN'S SHACKS (RORBU), FISHING VILLAGE
☐ FIXED CULTURAL FACILITY (MUSEUM, CHURCH, HISTORICAL PLACE, MEMORIAL ETC.)
☐ SPECIAL CULTURAL EVENT (FESTIVAL, PLAY, CONCERT, OPERA, THEATER, ETC)
☐ SPORT AND OUTDOOR LIFE
☐ OTHER CULTURAL OFFERING OR ACTIVITY

14. Are cultural facilities or activities important to you on a travel?

☐ NO ☐ YES, TO SOME DEGREE ☐ YES, ESSENTIAL

15. To what extent are the following aspects important to you on *THIS* travel to XX/XX:

	To a large extent	To some extent	To little or no extent	Not relevant
EXPERIENCES IN NATURE	☐	☐	☐	☐
LOCAL PEOPLE	☐	☐	☐	☐
SURROUNDINGS AND LANDSCAPE	☐	☐	☐	☐
HOSTS	☐	☐	☐	☐
CONSUME/EXPERIENCE LOCAL FOOD	☐	☐	☐	☐
THE PLACE'S HISTORY	☐	☐	☐	☐

CULTURE/ CULTURAL ACTIVES	☐	☐	☐	☐
TO EXPERIENCE SOMETHING REAL	☐	☐	☐	☐
TO EXPERIENCE EVERYDAY AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES ON A FARM	☐	☐	☐	☐
TO EXPERIENCE EVERYDAY FISHERY ACTIVITIES IN A FISHING VILLAGE OR FISHERMAN'S SHACK	☐	☐	☐	☐
TO EXPERIENCE RURAL NORWAY (COUNTRYSIDE)	☐	☐	☐	☐
ACTIVITIES AND OFFERINGS FOR THE CHILDREN	☐	☐	☐	☐
FAMILY, RELATIVES & FRIENDS	☐	☐	☐	☐
RELAX – TAKE A REST	☐	☐	☐	☐

EXPECTATIONS AND MOTIVATION

16. My expectations for this travel have been	**17. Is to experience something real important to you on a travel?**
☐ FULFILLED ☐ NOT FULFILLED ☐ NEITHER	☐ NO ☐ YES, TO SOME EXTENT ☐ YES, ESSENTIAL

ABOUT THE RESPONDENT

19. Did you grow up in the city or in the countryside?	**20. Do you live in a city or in the countryside?**
☐ IN THE CITY/TOWN ☐ IN THE COUNTRYSIDE (NOT ON A FARM) ☐ ON A FARM	☐ IN THE CITY/TOWN ☐ IN THE COUNTRYSIDE (NOT ON A FARM) ☐ ON A FARM

21. Sex	☐ FEMALE ☐ MALE	**22. Year of birth**	1 9	

Open-ended section (ok if I tape this part of the interview?)

1. Why did you travel to XX/XX?

2. The 'real' and 'authentic':
   a. Can you give some examples on what you on this travel have perceived as real?
      i. How important are local dishes and food products (local food) for your experience of "the real and genuine"?
   b. Do you experience this particular place (the place where the interview takes place) as real?

c. What destroys your personal experience of "the real and genuine"? (when does something appear as fake/constructed)

3. Rural Norway/ the Norwegian countryside:
    a. What opinions or apprehensions (understandings) of the Norwegian countryside did you have before this travel?
    b. Have these changed during this travel?
        i. In what ways?
    c. To what extent does the primary industries (agriculture and fisheries) visible elements in the landscape you're travelling in, shape/colour your experience of the landscape you're travelling in?
        i. Examples of visible elements in the landscape may be: farm animals, buildings, fields, fences, machinery, equipment, forestry's clearing of woods, fishing vessels (boats) etc.
4. Local food:
    a. Why is /isn't local food important to you when you're travelling?